

The Works of Ibn Wādīḥ al-Ya‘qūbī

Volume 3

# **Islamic History and Civilization**

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# The Works of Ibn Wādīḥ al-Ya‘qūbī

*An English Translation*

VOLUME 3

*Edited by*

Matthew S. Gordon  
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B R I L L

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# [Introduction]

In the Name of God, the Merciful and Compassionate

2:2

Praise be to God, the granter of success. Praise be to God, the Lord of the worlds. May God bless Muḥammad, the seal of the prophets, and the goodly and pure members of his family.

When our first book was finished, wherein we gave a brief account of the beginning of the world's existence and the history of the early peoples—the ancient nations, separate kingdoms, and divided tribes<sup>1</sup>—we composed this present book of ours according to what earlier authorities—scholars, transmitters, and authors of biographies, histories, and chronicles—transmitted. We did not set out to compile by ourselves a book in which we would undertake to retell what others had said before us. Rather, we set out to gather things that had been said and transmitted, for we discovered that men differed in their accounts and in their chronologies. Some added things and some omitted things. We wished to gather together what has come down to us from what each of them produced; for one person cannot encompass all knowledge. The Commander of the Faithful, ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, said, “Knowledge is more than one can retain, so take from each knower the best things he has to offer.”<sup>2</sup> Ja‘far b. Ḥarb al-Ashajj<sup>3</sup> said: “I have found knowledge to be like wealth: every human being possesses a bit of it; and if a man holds a quantity of it he is called well-off, while someone else holds something more and is also called well-off. Similarly with knowledge: anyone who possesses something of it is called a knower, even if someone else knows more than he. If we did not call a scholar ‘scholar’ until | he comprehended all knowledge, the name would apply to no human being.” A wise man has said, “My pursuit of knowledge is not from hope to reach its remotest point and master its farthest end, but rather to seek something of which one must not be ignorant and which no rational person should act contrary to.” Another wise man has said: “If you are not learned, learn; and if you are not wise, become wise; for rarely does a man come to resemble others but that he is on the verge of becoming one of them.”<sup>4</sup> Someone has said: “Knowledge

2:3

<sup>1</sup> Amending the reading of ed. Leiden and M *asbāb* (causes) to *asbāt* (tribes).

<sup>2</sup> Reading with M, *‘ālim* (knower); ed. Leiden, *‘ilm* (science).

<sup>3</sup> Abū l-Fadl Ja‘far b. Ḥarb al-Hamadhānī (d. 236/850) was a Zaydī Shi‘ī Mu‘tazilī theologian. See the article by Albert N. Nader in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Dja‘far b. Ḥarb*.

<sup>4</sup> The Arabic involves a pun, since the verb *ta‘allam* (learn) can also mean “act like a learned man,” and *taḥakkam* (become wise) can also mean “act like a wise man.”

is a spirit and action is a body. Knowledge is the root, and action is a branch. Knowledge is a begetter, and action is a child. One acts because one knows; one does not know because one acts." Another has said: "Whoever seeks knowledge from desire or fear, or from emulation or covetousness, his share of it will be in accordance with his fear; but anyone who pursues knowledge for the honor of knowledge and seeks it for the merit of understanding, his share of it will be in accordance with its honor, and his benefit from it will be in accordance with its merit." Someone has said: "Everything needs intellect, and the intellect needs knowledge."

This book of ours begins with the birth of the Messenger of God and the reports of him from one stage to another and from one time to another, until God took him to Himself. Then I mention the reports of the caliphs after him: the biography of one caliph after another, the conquests of each, what each did, what was done in his days, and the years of his reign.

The people from whom we have transmitted what is in this book are: Ishāq b. Sulaymān b. ‘Alī al-Hāshimī,<sup>5</sup> who transmitted from the elders of the Banū Hāshim; Abū l-Bakhtārī Wahb b. Wahb al-Qurashī,<sup>6</sup> who transmitted from Ja‘far b. Muḥammad<sup>7</sup> and other men; Abān b. ‘Uthmān,<sup>8</sup> who transmitted from Ja‘far b. Muḥammad; Muḥammad b. ‘Umar al-Wāqidī,<sup>9</sup> who transmitted

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5 Abū Ya‘qūb Ishāq b. Sulaymān b. ‘Alī b. ‘Abdallāh al-Hāshimī held various offices under Hārūn al-Rashīd, and enjoyed a good reputation as a historian. A book of his entitled *Kitāb al-Ta’rīkh wa-l-siyar* is mentioned. See Fuat Sezgin, *GAS*, 1:313.

6 Abū l-Bakhtārī Wahb b. Wahb b. Kabīr al-Qurashī (d. 200/815) served as a judge under Hārūn al-Rashīd and was a traditionist, genealogist, and historian. See Fuat Sezgin, *GAS*, 1:267.

7 Ja‘far b. Muḥammad (d. 148/765) is Abū ‘Abdallāh Ja‘far b. Muḥammad al-Bāqir b. ‘Alī Zayn al-‘Abidin, surnamed Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq, reckoned to be the sixth Imam by Twelver Shī‘is. See Fuat Sezgin, *GAS*, 1:528–531.

8 Abān b. ‘Uthmān b. Yahyā, known as al-Aḥmar al-Bajalī, is listed in Shī‘ī reference works as having transmitted from the sixth Imam, Ja‘far b. Muḥammad, surnamed al-Ṣādiq (cf. al-Ṭūsī, *Ikhtiyār ma‘rifat al-rijāl al-ma‘rūf bi-Rijāl al-Kashshāf*, No. 659, 705; also Yāqūt, *Mu‘jam al-udabā‘*, No. 3). He was correctly identified by Josef Horovitz in *The Earliest Biographies of the Prophet and Their Authors*, 9. Chronology and political affiliation rule out identifying him as Abān b. ‘Uthmān b. ‘Affān, the son of the third caliph.

9 Muḥammad b. ‘Umar b. Wāqid al-Wāqidī (d. 207/822) was a major historian active during the reigns of Hārūn al-Rashīd and al-Ma’mūn. His *Maghāzī* (on the Prophet’s military expeditions) has survived. See Fuat Sezgin, *GAS*, 1:294–297, and the article by S. Leder in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Wāqidī.

from Mūsā b. ‘Uqba<sup>10</sup> and other men; ‘Abd al-Malik b. Hishām, who transmitted from Ziyād b. ‘Abdallāh al-Bakkā‘ī, who transmitted from Muḥammad b. Iṣhāq al-Muṭṭalibī,<sup>11</sup> Abū Ḥassān al-Ziyādī,<sup>12</sup> who transmitted from Abū l-Mundhir al-Kalbī and other men; Īsā b. Yazīd b. Da‘b; al-Haytham b. ‘Adī al-Tā‘ī,<sup>13</sup> who transmitted from ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Abbās al-Hamdānī; Muḥammad b. Kathīr al-Qurashī,<sup>14</sup> who transmitted from Abū Ṣalīḥ and other men; ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. [‘Abdallāh b. Abī] Sayf al-Madā‘inī;<sup>15</sup> Abū Ma‘shar al-Madanī;<sup>16</sup> Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Khwārazmī al-Munajjim;<sup>17</sup> and Māshā’allāh al-Ḥāsib<sup>18</sup> concerning the ascendants of years and times. We have written down, on the authority of men other than those we have named, certain items—biographies and accounts of caliphs—that others recorded and transmitted and that we have learned. We have made it a brief book, suppressing poems and lengthy accounts. In God lie help, success, power, and strength.

2:4

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- <sup>10</sup> Abū Muḥammad Mūsā b. ‘Uqba b. Abī ‘Ayyās al-Asadī (d. 141/758) was a pupil of al-Zuhrī and lived in Medina. He is said to have written a book on the Prophet’s military expeditions. See Fuat Sezgin, *GAS*, 1:286–287; also *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Mūsā b. ‘Uqba.
- <sup>11</sup> That is, al-Yaqūbī made use of the *Sīra* of the Prophet that was edited by Ibn Hishām (d. 218/833 or 213/828), from the *riwāya* (version) transmitted by Ziyād al-Bakkā‘ī (d. 183/799), of the original work by Ibn Iṣhāq (d. 150/767). See the following articles in *EI*<sup>2</sup>: Ibn Hishām (by W. Montgomery Watt), Ibn Iṣhāq (by J. M. B. Jones); also Fuat Sezgin, *GAS*, 1:288–290 (Ibn Iṣhāq), and 297–299 (Ibn Hishām).
- <sup>12</sup> Abū Ḥassān al-Ziyādī (d. 243/857) was a judge under al-Mutawakkil, a traditionist, and historian. See Fuat Sezgin, *GAS*, 1:316.
- <sup>13</sup> Al-Haytham b. ‘Adī al-Tā‘ī (d. between 206/821 and 209/824) was a historian known to have attended the ‘Abbāsid court. See the article by Ch. Pellat in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Haytham b. ‘Adī.
- <sup>14</sup> Muḥammad b. Kathīr al-Qurashī (d. 120/737) was a Qur’ān reciter in Mecca, accredited with one of the seven authoritative readings (*qirā’āt*) of the Qur’ān. See W. Montgomery Watt, *Bell’s Introduction to the Qur’ān*, 49.
- <sup>15</sup> Al-Madā‘inī (d. c. 228/843) was a major historian, credited with over two hundred works. See the article by Ursula Sezgin in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Madā‘inī; Fuat Sezgin, *GAS*, 1:314–315.
- <sup>16</sup> Abū Ma‘shar Nadjīb b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān al-Sindī al-Madanī (d. 170/787) was the author of a book on the Prophet’s military expeditions. See Fuat Sezgin, *GAS*, 1:291–292; also the article by J. Horovitz and F. Rosenthal in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Abū Ma‘shar Nadjīb.
- <sup>17</sup> Abū Ja‘far Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Khwārazmī (often written al-Khuwārizmī) the astronomer/astrologer (*munajjim*), a major figure in the development of mathematics, was active during the caliphate of al-Ma’mūn and died c. 232/847. See the article by J. Vernet in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Khwārazmī.
- <sup>18</sup> Māshā’allāh b. Atharī or b. Sāriya (d. c. 193/809) was a Jewish astrologer (*al-Ḥāsib* means arithmetician or expert in astronomical calculations). See the article by J. Samsó in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Māshā’ Allāh.

## The Birth of the Messenger of God

The birth of the Messenger of God took place in the Year of the Elephant.<sup>19</sup> Between his birth and the elephant there were fifty nights. According to what some have transmitted, it took place on Monday, the 2nd of the month of Rabi‘ 1. It was also said to have taken place on the eve of Tuesday, the 8th of the month of Rabi‘ 1. Those who transmitted from Ja‘far b. Muḥammad say that it was on Friday at daybreak on the 12th of the month of Ramaḍān.

According to what experts in astronomical computations have said, he was born in the conjunction of Scorpio.<sup>20</sup> According to the astrologer Māshā’allāh: The ascendant of the year in which the conjunction took place that indicated the birth of the Messenger of God was Libra,  $22^\circ$ , the term and house of Venus.

- 2:5 Jupiter was in Scorpio,  $3^\circ 23'$ . Saturn was in Scorpio,  $| 6^\circ 23'$ , retrograde. The two were in the second of the ascendants. The Sun was in the sign opposite the ascendant, in Aries, the 1st minute. Venus was in Aries,  $1^\circ 56'$ . Mercury was in Aries,  $18^\circ 16'$ , retrograde. Mars was in Gemini,  $12^\circ 15'$ . The Moon was in midheaven in Cancer,  $1^\circ 20'$ .

According to al-Khwārazmī: On the day the Messenger of God was born, the Sun was in Taurus,  $1^\circ$ . The Moon was in Leo,  $18^\circ 10'$ . Saturn was in Scorpio,  $9^\circ 40'$ , retrograde. Jupiter was in Scorpio,  $2^\circ 10'$ , retrograde. Mars was in Cancer,  $2^\circ 50'$ . Venus was in Taurus,  $12^\circ 10'$ .

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<sup>19</sup> According to the accepted chronology of Muḥammad’s life, this would be around 570 CE. Concerning the historicity of the reputed attack on the Ka‘ba by the Yemenite king Abraha, whose army was said to have included an elephant, see the article by A. F. L. Beeston in *EI<sup>2</sup>*, s.v. al-Fil. No attempt to convert the date into an exact Western date has been made due to uncertainty about the pre-Islamic calendar.

<sup>20</sup> That is, the conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn in the constellation of Scorpio. Al-Ya‘qūbī is following the astrological system of Māshā’allāh, who followed a Sasanian theory “that important religious and political changes are indicated by conjunctions of the planets Saturn and Jupiter, which recur at intervals of about twenty years. Successive conjunctions tend to stay in the same astrological triplicity. After a long time, however, over two centuries, they move along into another triplicity. Any such ‘shift’ of triplicity indicates changes of more sweeping nature than a simple conjunction—the rise of a new nation or dynasty. The advent of a major prophet, an event most portentous of all, is heralded by the completion of a cycle of shifts through all four triplicities. Predictions are made by casting the horoscope for the instant of the vernal equinox (*tāhwīl al-sana*, year transfer) of the year in which this conjunction or shift occurs.” E. S. Kennedy and David Pingree, *The Astrological History of Māshā’allāh*, vi, 48 ff., 98 ff. The margin of M contains a schematic diagram of this horoscope.

The Quraysh used to date the years by the death of Quṣayy b. Kilāb because of Quṣayy's greatness. When the Year of the Elephant came, they dated by it because of the renown of that year, and so their dating was from the birth of the Messenger of God.

When the Messenger of God was born, devils were pelted and stars fell. When the Quraysh saw it, not knowing what to make of the falling stars, they said, "This can be for no other reason than the coming of the Last Hour." An earthquake encompassing the entire world struck mankind, so that synagogues and churches collapsed, and everything that was worshipped other than God removed from its place. The magicians and soothsayers were at a loss; their familiar spirits were restrained [from speaking]. Stars never seen before rose, such that the soothsayers of the Jews did not know what to make of them. The Palace of Kisrā was shaken, so that thirteen pinnacles fell from atop the building.<sup>21</sup> The fire of Persia went out; it had never gone out for a thousand years before that. The chief scholar and wise man of the Persians, | whom the Persians call *mōbadhān mōbadh*, who was in charge of the rites of their religion, had a vision of Arabian camels leading intractable horses which, having crossed the Tigris, spread throughout the country. This frightened and alarmed Kisrā Anūširwān. He sent to al-Nu'mān, asking whether any of the soothsayers of the Arabs remained. Al-Nu'mān replied that yes, there was Saṭīḥ al-Ghassānī in Damascus in the land of Syria. "Bring me an elder of the Arabs," he said, "one who has intelligence and knowledge, whom I can send to him." He brought him 'Abd al-Masīḥ b. Buqayla, and he sent him to him. 'Abd al-Masīḥ set out on a camel and, having arrived in Damascus, inquired about the man and was directed to him. He dwelt at the Jābiya Gate, and 'Abd al-Masīḥ found him about to expire. So he called into his ear at the top of his voice:

Are you deaf, or can you hear?—O nobleman of Yemen,  
who can relieve an anxiety that has defied the greatest men,  
Who can pronounce judgment on a matter concealed:  
the tribe's elder from the people of Yazan has come to you.

Then Saṭīḥ said:<sup>22</sup> "Abd al-Masīḥ hastens on a camel toward Saṭīḥ, who is on the edge of the grave. The Sasanians' king has sent you because of the hall's destruction, the fire's extinction, and the *mōbadhān*'s vision. He saw Arabian

<sup>21</sup> Arabic: Īwān Kisrā, that is, the Sasanian palace at Ctesiphon (al-Madā'in). The parallel in al-Tabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 1:981–984, includes a longer version of the following poem.

<sup>22</sup> The words of Saṭīḥ are in rhymed prose (*saj'*), the typical style for such mantic utterances. The "recitation" (*tilāwa*) may refer to the Qur'ān; Tihāma, the coastal plain of the southern

camels leading intractable horses, which, having crossed the Tigris, spread throughout the country. Son of Dhū Yazan, there shall be trials and tribulations, and kings and queens to the number of the pinnacles shall die. When Lake Sāwah sinks into the earth, and the recitation appears in the land of Tihāma, and the man with the staff appears, then Syria will not be Syria for Saṭīḥ.” Then he gave up the ghost.

A certain man from the People of the Book came to a gathering of the Quraysh, among whom were Hishām b. al-Mughīra, al-Walīd b. al-Mughīra, and ‘Uṭba b. Rabī‘a. He asked, “Has a child been born to you tonight?” | “No,” they said. He said, “I say you are wrong, by God, men of Quraysh; for there has been born in Palestine<sup>23</sup> a boy named Aḥmad on whom there is a mole like the color of a black cat, because of whom the destruction of the People of the Book shall take place.” Before they left the place it was announced to them that a boy had been born to ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib that night. The man went and looked at him, and said: “It is he, by God! Woe to the People of the Book because of him!” When he saw the joy of the Quraysh over what they had heard from him, he said, “By God, he will make an assault on you that shall be spoken of by people east and west.”

The marriage of ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib to Āmina bt. Wahb took place ten years after the digging of the well of Zamzam. Some have said a few years more than ten. There was one year between ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib’s ransoming of his son and his arranging of his marriage.<sup>24</sup> The name of ‘Abdallāh, the father of the Messenger of God, was ‘Abd al-Dār. Some have said that his name was ‘Abd Quṣayy, but when he was in the year in which he was ransomed ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib said, “This one shall be ‘Abdallāh,” and he named him so on that day.<sup>25</sup>

Arabian peninsula, may be a veiled reference to Mecca; and “the man with the staff” (*sāhib al-hirāwa*) is taken by C. E. Bosworth in his translation of this section of al-Ṭabarī’s history as a veiled reference to the second caliph, ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. See C. E. Bosworth, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, v, 288.

<sup>23</sup> Sic M and Ed. Leiden.

<sup>24</sup> ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib is said to have vowed that if he were granted ten sons to protect him, he would sacrifice one of them at the Ka‘ba. When he did indeed become the father of ten sons, he prepared to carry out his vow. Lots were cast, and ‘Abdallāh, his favorite son, was chosen to be the victim. When the Quraysh and the other sons objected, it was suggested that ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib consult a certain sorceress; she suggested a procedure by which lots would be cast between ‘Abdallāh and ever increasing numbers of camels until it was determined that the gods would be satisfied and release ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib from his vow; which happened when the number of camels to be sacrificed in lieu of ‘Abdallāh rose to one hundred. See Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 97–100; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh*, 1:1074–1077.

<sup>25</sup> ‘Abdallāh means “Servant of Allāh.”

Between the marriage of the father of the Messenger of God to his mother and the latter's birth, according to what Ja'far b. Muḥammad has transmitted, there were ten months. Some have said a year and eight months.

It has been transmitted from his mother: "When I gave birth to him, I saw a light appearing from me, so bright that it frightened me; I did not see anything such as women see." Some have transmitted that she said: "The light shone from me until I saw the castles of Syria. When he fell on the ground, he grabbed a handful of dust, and then raised his head to the sky."<sup>26</sup>

The first milk that he drank after his mother's was the milk of Thuwayba, the freedwoman (*mawlāh*) of Abū Lahab. This Thuwayba had also nursed Ḥamza b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, Ja'far b. Abī Ṭālib, and Abū Salama b. 'Abd al-Asad al-Makhzūmī.<sup>27</sup> | Later, after God sent him as a prophet, the Messenger of God said: "I saw Abū Lahab in the fires of hell crying, 'Thirst! Thirst!' and he was given to drink at the snap of his finger. 'Why is this?' I asked. He said, 'For my freeing of Thuwayba, because she nursed you.'"

2:8

'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, the father of the Messenger of God, died, according to what Ja'far b. Muḥammad has transmitted, two months after his son's birth. Some have said that he died before his son was born, but this is an incorrect statement, the consensus being that he died after his son's birth. Others have said that it was a year after his birth. 'Abdallāh's death took place in Medina among his father's maternal uncles, the Banū l-Najjār, in a house called the House of al-Nābigha. His age at the time of his death was twenty-five years.

A wet-nurse was sought for the child among the Banū Sa'd b. Bakr b. Hawāzin.<sup>28</sup> 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib delivered the child to al-Hārith b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā b. Rifā'a al-Sa'dī, the husband of Ḥalima bt. Abī Dhu'ayb al-Sa'dī. He continued to reside among the Banū Sa'd, who saw in him a blessing to themselves and their cattle, until the incident took place in which someone came to him in the form of a man, split open his belly, and washed his inward parts. Fearing for him, they

<sup>26</sup> "There seems to be a lacuna in the text at this point" (note in Ed. Leiden).

<sup>27</sup> These three are singled out for mention because of their importance as early converts to Islam. Muḥammad's uncle Ḥamza b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib was an early convert, emigrated to Medina, fought at Badr, and was killed at Uhud. Muḥammad's cousin Ja'far b. Abī Ṭālib ('Ali's brother), emigrated to Abyssinia after his conversion, went to Medina on his return, and eventually met his death in the expedition to Mu'ta. Abū Salama b. 'Abd al-Asad al-Makhzūmī is said to have been the first Muslim to emigrate to Medina.

<sup>28</sup> Parallels in Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 103–106; Ibn Sa'd, *Tabaqāt*, 1/1, 96–111; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 1:969–977. The incident referred to in this paragraph is traditionally connected with Sura 94 of the Qur'an.

returned him, at age five, to his grandfather 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib. Some have said at age four, and that he was like a ten-year-old in character and strength.

His mother, Āmina bt. Wahb b. 'Abd Manāf b. Zuhra, died when he was six years and three months old; she was thirty years old. Her death occurred at a place called al-Abwā', between Mecca and Medina. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, the grandfather of the Messenger of God, used to care for him. At that time 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib was the uncontested leader (*sayyid*) of the Quraysh: God had given him honor such as He had given no one else and had given him the water of Zamzam and Dhū l-Haram to drink.<sup>29</sup> | The Quraysh appointed him arbitrator in matters concerning their cattle. He gave food in times of famine, feeding even the birds and beasts of the mountains. Abū Ṭālib said:

And we give food until the birds feed on our excess,  
when the hands of the pilgrims pressing on begin to tremble.

He rejected idolatry and declared the unity of God, the Mighty and Majestic. He fulfilled his vows, and he established precedents most of which were confirmed by the Qur'ān and have come down as Sunna from the Messenger of God. They are the fulfillment of vows, a hundred camels as bloodwite, not marrying close kin, not approaching houses from the back, cutting off the thief's hand, the prohibition on female infanticide, the *mubāhala*,<sup>30</sup> the prohibition on wine, the prohibition on fornication (*zīnā*) and the punishment for it, the casting of lots, that no one should circumambulate the Ka'ba naked, showing hospitality to the guest and that when they performed the pilgrimage they should expend only from the best of their cattle, venerating the sacred months, and banishing prostitutes.<sup>31</sup> When the man of the elephant came,<sup>32</sup> the Quraysh left the sacred precinct in flight from the men with the elephant, but 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib said, "I will not leave God's precinct and seek strength in another." So he sat in the courtyard of the Ka'ba and said:

<sup>29</sup> Dhū l-Haram was a well or estate belonging to 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib in al-Ṭā'if. See Ibn Sa'd, *Tabaqāt*, 1/1, 52–53 for the story of how he came to possess it. For a summary of what is known about him, see the article by U. Rubin in *EI*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim.

<sup>30</sup> *Mubāhala* is a kind of trial by mutual imprecation in which the opposing parties call down a curse on whichever party is not speaking the truth. See the article by W. Schmucker in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Mubāhala.

<sup>31</sup> *Dhawāt al-rāyāt*, or "women who have flags," refers to prostitutes who indicated their availability by raising a particular kind of flag (Dozy, *Supplément*, 1:498a).

<sup>32</sup> That is, Abraha, the Abyssinian general who intended to conquer Mecca. The history of Abraha and his expedition, which included a war elephant, may be found Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 29–38; al-Ṭabarī, *Tarīkh*, 1:935–942.

O God, if You forgive, they will be Your dependents;  
if not, then whatever seems best to You.<sup>33</sup>

The Quraysh used to say that ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib was the second Abraham.

The man who brought the Quraysh the tidings of what God had done to the men of the elephant was ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib, the father of the Messenger of God. Therefore ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib said, “‘Abdallāh has come to you as a bearer of good tidings | and as a warner.” He told them what had befallen the men of the elephant, and so they said, “You have been great of blessing and fortunate of omen ever since you have been.”

‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib had ten male children and four female: ‘Abdallāh (the father of the Messenger of God), Abū Ṭālib (who was ‘Abd Manāf), al-Zubayr (who was Abū l-Tāhir), and ‘Abd al-Ka’ba (who was al-Muqawwam)—their mother was Fātima bt. ‘Amr b. Ā’idh b. Imrān b. Makhzūm; she was the mother of ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib’s daughters Umm Ḥakīm al-Bayḍā’, Ḫātika, Barra, Arwā, and Umayma. Also, al-Ḥārith, who was ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib’s oldest child, from whom he received his honorific name (*kunya*), and Qutham; the mother of the two of them was Ṣafiyya bt. Jundub b. Hujayr b. Zabbāb b. Ḥabib b. Suwa’a b. Āmir b. Ṣa’ṣa’. Also, Ḥamza (he was Abū Ya’lā), “God’s Lion” and “Lion of the Messenger of God”; his mother was Hāla bt. Wuhayb b. ‘Abd Manāf b. Zuhra, who was also the mother of Ṣafiyya bt. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib. Also, al-‘Abbās and Dirār; the mother of these two was Nutayla bt. Jannāb b. Kulayb b. al-Nimr b. Qāsiṭ. Also, Abū Lahab (who was ‘Abd al-‘Uzzā), whose mother was Lubnā bt. Hājir b. ‘Abd Manāf b. Dāṭir al-Khuza’ī. Also, al-Ghaydāq (who was Jahl)—he was called al-Ghaydāq (the Generous) because he was the most openhanded of the Quraysh and the most generous with food—his mother was Mumanna’ā bt. ‘Amr b. Mālik b. Nawfal al-Khuza’ī. These are the paternal uncles and aunts of the Messenger of God. Every one of ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib’s children had honor, renown, | merit, esteem, and glory.

Āmir b. Mālik, “the Player with spear-heads,” once came on pilgrimage. “Men,” he said, “who look like black camel stallions.” And he said, “By them will Mecca be protected.”

Aktham b. Ṣayfi once came on pilgrimage with some men of the Banū Tamīm. He saw them striding across al-Baṭḥā<sup>34</sup> as if they were towers of silver, causing their neighbors to cleave to the earth. So he said, “Banū Tamīm, if God

2:10

2:11

33 As Houtsma observes, the text of the verse in al-Ya’qūbī is problematic. Longer versions of the poem can be found in Ibn Sa’d, *Tabaqāt*, 1/1, 56; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:940–941.

34 Al-Baṭḥā’ (literally, the dry streambed) is a name for the central area of Mecca, where the Ka’ba is located.

decides to establish a favorable turn of events (*dawla*), He will cause men like these to sprout up for it. These are God's planting, not the planting of men."

A mat would be spread out for 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib in the courtyard of the Ka'ba, but no one would approach his mat until the Messenger of God, who was a young boy, came to him, stepping over the necks of his uncles. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib would say to them: "Let my son do it. Surely this son of mine will be very important."

'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, with the chiefs of his people, went to visit Sayf b. Dhī Yazan when the latter took possession of Yemen. Sayf gave him precedence over them all and preferred him. He took him aside, announced to him the glad tidings of the Messenger of God, and described the latter's attributes to him. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib shouted praise to God and, recognizing the truth of what Sayf had said, bowed to the ground. Sayf asked him, "Did you become aware of some tidings because of what I said?" "Yes," he told him, "A boy like what you described has been born to my son, O King." Sayf said: "Beware of the Jews with regard to him, and your people, too—your people are more powerful than the Jews. God will complete his affair and raise up his call."

The People of the Book never ceased speaking to 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib about the Messenger of God from the time he was born, and 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib's joy at this was great. He said, "By God, if the Quraysh envy me for the water"—he meant the water that God had given him to drink from Zamzam and Dhū al-Haram—"tomorrow they will envy me for the great honor, noble edifice, enduring might, and sublime splendor until the end of time and the Day of Congregation."

Once the Quraysh experienced uninterrupted drought, so that vegetation died and udders went dry. In panic they said: "God has given us water through 2:12 you time after time. | Pray therefore to God, that He will give us something to drink." They heard a voice call out from one of the mountains of Mecca: "People of Quraysh, the prophet of the gentiles<sup>35</sup> shall be from you. This is the time to expect him. Seek out from yourselves a man very great, very important, having a manner of life to which he summons and honor for which he is revered. Let him and his children go out to touch water, seek goodness, and kiss the corner. Let the man call out, and let the people say amen. Then you shall have

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35 Arabic *al-nabī al-ummī*. The interpretation of the phrase as applied to Muḥammad is a matter of controversy. The most common interpretations are first, "the illiterate prophet," based on the idea that Muḥammad did not know how to read or write, and therefore the production (or channeling) of the Qur'ān through him was a miracle; second, that Muḥammad was the prophet sent to the Arabs, who as a nation had previously had no scripture; and third, that Muḥammad was a prophet sent to all nations. See E. Geoffroy's article in *EI<sup>2</sup>*, s.v. Ummī.

as much abundance of plants and rain as you wish." There remained no one in Mecca who did not say, "This is Shaybat al-Ḥamد! This is Shaybat al-Ḥamد!"<sup>36</sup> So ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib went out—with him was the Messenger of God, who at the time had his loin cloth tightly bound. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib said: "O God, supplier of what is lacking and reliever of distress: You are a knower who is not taught, an asked one to whom no miserliness is imputed. Behold these Your servants and handmaids in the courtyards of Your sacred precinct. To You they complain of their years that have dried up the udder and destroyed the vegetation. Hear, O God, and send down a fructifying, abundant rain." Before they could leave, the heavens burst open with their water and the valley was filled with its torrent. One of the Quraysh said concerning this:

Through Shaybat al-Ḥamد God gave water to our town,  
when we lacked sleep<sup>37</sup> and the rain had ceased.  
It came as a boon from God through a man who brings good fortune,  
the best of those for whom Muḍar ever rejoiced:  
A man blessed in his affairs, by whom the clouds are made to yield rain,  
whose equal or like in eminence mankind has never known.

‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib bequeathed his judicial authority to his son al-Zubayr, along with matters relating to the Ka‘ba; to Abū Ṭālib he entrusted the Messenger of God, as well as the office of dispensing water from the well of Zamzam. He said to him, "I have left in your hands great honor whereby you shall tread upon the necks of the Arabs." And he said to Abū Ṭālib:

I entrust to you, O ‘Abd Manāf,<sup>38</sup> after my death,  
one who is unique and, after his father's death, alone.  
He left him still lying in the cradle,  
and I was like a mother to him in affection,  
A mother who draws him close to her bowels and liver.  
For you, I think, of all my sons can be most counted on  
To repel a wrong or to bind a compact.

2:13

<sup>36</sup> The birth name of ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib was Shayba, or Shaybat al-Ḥamد, because a "whiteness of the hair" (*shayba*) was seen on his head when he was born. See the article by U. Rubin in *EI*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim.

<sup>37</sup> Sic ed. Leiden and M. One is tempted to amend *al-karā* (sleep) to *al-kalā*, a shortened form of *al-kala'* (grass, herbage, pasture).

<sup>38</sup> That is, Abū Ṭālib, whose birth name was ‘Abd Manāf.

'Abd al-Muṭṭalib died when the Messenger of God was eight years old; 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib was one hundred and twenty years old. Some have said one hundred and forty years. The Quraysh treated his death as a momentous event. He was washed with water and lote-tree [leaves]—the Quraysh were the first people to wash the dead with the lote-tree.<sup>39</sup> He was wrapped in two garments of Yemeni cloth valued at a thousand *mithqāls* of gold.<sup>40</sup> Musk was cast over him until it covered him, and he was carried on men's hands for several days as a mark of honor, esteem, and reverence at his interment.

After 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib was interred, his son<sup>41</sup> seated himself in the courtyard of the Ka'ba; Ibn Jud'ān al-Taymī sat on one side, along with al-Walīd b. Rabi'a al-Makhzūmī. Each one claimed leadership.

It has been transmitted from the Messenger of God that he said, "God will raise up my grandfather 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib as a nation unto himself, like the prophets in appearance and the kings in dress."

After the death of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, the Messenger of God was cared for by Abū Ṭālib his uncle. He was the best of guardians: Abū Ṭālib was a noble leader, obeyed and respected despite his poverty. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib said, "My father ruled though he was poor, and no poor man had ever ruled before him." Abū Ṭālib took the Messenger of God on a journey to Buṣrā in Syria when the latter was nine years old—he said, "By God, I will entrust you to no one but myself." He was raised by Fāṭima bt. Asad b. Hāshim, the wife of Abū Ṭālib and mother of all his children. It has been transmitted from the Messenger of God that when she died as a good Muslim he said: "Today my mother has died." He shrouded her in his own shirt, | went down into her grave, and lay down in the niche prepared to receive her body. Someone said to him, "Messenger of God, your grief over Fāṭima is very great!" He said: "She was my mother; she would make her

2:14

39 See the article by Remke Kruk in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Sidr, where the tree is identified as most likely *Ziziphus leucodermis*, related to the jujube. A paste of crushed leaves of the tree was used for cleansing the scalp, hair, and body.

40 The *mithqāl* was the standard weight of the dinar, the unit of gold currency in early Islam. The standard weight after the currency reform of 'Abd al-Malik was 4.25 grams. For comparison, the U.S. quarter-eagle gold coin, with a face value of \$2.50, weighed 4.37 grams. See the article by G. C. Miles in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Dīnār.

41 Since, according to Ibn Sa'd, *Tabaqāt*, 1/1, 57, 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib was survived by four sons, al-Ya'qūbī's failure to specify which one claimed primacy is strange. According to Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 114, al-'Abbās took charge of Zamzam and the watering of the pilgrims, although he was the youngest son. The failure to mention al-'Abbās may be intentional. See the article by U. Rubin in *EI*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim.

children go hungry and satisfy me, and would leave them unkempt and anoint me. She was my mother."

When he reached the age of twenty, the signs [of prophethood] appeared in him. People who possessed knowledge of the books<sup>42</sup> began to talk about him and discuss him among themselves. They described his attributes and said that his appearance was imminent. One day he said to Abū Ṭālib, "Uncle, I dreamt that I saw a man coming to me, and with him were two men who were saying: 'He is the one. When he comes of age, do what you will with him.' The other man did not speak." Abū Ṭālib described what Muḥammad had said to a learned man who was in Mecca, and the latter, having looked at the Messenger of God, said: "This is the goodly spirit. This, by God, is the most pure prophet." Abū Ṭālib said to him, "Keep my nephew secret. Do not incite his people against him. By God, I have told the things I have said only to 'Alī. My father 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib told me that he was the prophet who would be sent, and he commanded me to hide it lest it incite his enemies against him."

### Al-Fijār: The Sacrilegious War

The Messenger of God witnessed the Sacrilegious War (al-Fijār) when he was seventeen—some say twenty—years old.<sup>43</sup> The cause of the Sacrilegious War, which took place between the Kināna and the Qays, was that a man from the Banū Ḍamra named al-Barrāḍ b. Qays—he was in Mecca under the protection of Ḥarb b. Umayya—assaulted and killed a man from the Hudhayl named al-Ḥārith. When Ḥarb b. Umayya expelled al-Barrāḍ from his protection, the latter joined al-Nu'mān b. al-Mundhir<sup>44</sup> and got together with 'Urwa b. 'Utba b. Ja'far b. Kilāb. Every year al-Nu'mān used to send a caravan<sup>45</sup> to 'Ukāz<sup>46</sup> to trade.

<sup>42</sup> That is, people who knew the Jewish and Christian scriptures. The expression used here (*aṣḥāb al-kutub*) is different from the term designating the Jews and Christians as 'People of the Book' (*ahl al-kitāb*) in Islamic law.

<sup>43</sup> Parallels: Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 117–119; Ibn Sa'd, *Tabaqāt*, 1/1, 80–82; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 1:1130, 1255; *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, 19:73–82; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 1:439–445. See the articles by J. W. Fück in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Fidjār*, and by Ella Landau-Tasseron in *EI*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. *Fijār*.

<sup>44</sup> Also known as al-Nu'mān II, the Arab king of al-Ḥīra (r. 580–602 CE).

<sup>45</sup> The word used here, *laṭīma*, is said to mean a caravan of camels carrying musk or perfume or precious cloth. The parallel in *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, 19:73–82, gives a list of the merchandise; cf. Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. *zawmala*.

<sup>46</sup> 'Ukāz, southeast of Mecca, between Nakhla and al-Ṭā'if, was the site of the most important fair in pre-Islamic Arabia. To facilitate peaceful intercourse between the tribes, the fair

None of the Arabs ever interfered with it, until al-Nu'mān killed the brother of Balā b. Qays; | afterward, Balā used to raid the caravans of al-Nu'mān. When 'Urwa and al-Barrād were together before al-Nu'mān, the latter asked, "Who will protect my caravans?" Al-Barrād said, "I will." 'Urwa said the same. So the two exchanged words. When the two left and 'Urwa set out to depart, al-Barrād blocked his path, killed him, and took the camels of al-Nu'mān's caravan that were with him. The Qays assembled in support of al-Barrād; the Kināna turned to the Quraysh, who aided them and went out with them. They fought each other in Rajab, which was a sacred month for them in which no blood should be shed. Therefore the war was called *al-Fijār* because they committed sacrilege (*fajarū*) in a sacred month. Each division of the Quraysh had its leader; the leader of the Banū Hāshim was al-Zubayr b. 'Abd al-Mu'talib.

It has been transmitted that Abū Ṭālib forbade any of the Banū Hāshim to take part in it. He said: "This is wrongdoing, aggression, breach of kinship, and profaning of the sacred month. Neither I nor any of my family will participate in it." Al-Zubayr b. 'Abd al-Mu'talib therefore was constrained against his will, but, when 'Abdallāh b. Judān al-Taymī and Ḥarb b. Umayya said, "We will not participate in an affair from which the Banū Hāshim stay away," al-Zubayr went out.

Others have said that Abū Ṭālib, along with the Messenger of God, was present at the battles. Whenever he was present, the Kināna defeated the Qays. Recognizing the blessing brought by his presence, the people said, "Son of the man who fed the birds<sup>47</sup> and gave water to the pilgrims, do not leave us, for we see that triumph and victory attend your presence." He said: "Avoid wrongdoing, aggression, breach of kinship, and slander. Then I will not stay away from you." "You have it," they said; and so he remained present until they were victorious.

It has been transmitted from the Messenger of God that he said: "I was present as a young boy at the Sacrilegious War with my uncle Abū Ṭālib."

Some transmit that he was present at the Sacrilegious War when he was twenty years old and that he stabbed Abū Barā', the Player with Spear-heads, and toppled him from his horse, | and so the victory came through him. (We have brought together all the accounts.) Ḥarb b. Umayya b. 'Abd Shams died in Syria some months after the Sacrilegious War.

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was held in one of the sacred months, Dhū l-Qa'da, immediately before the month of pilgrimage. See the article by Irfan Shahîd in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. 'Ukāz.

<sup>47</sup> That is, son of 'Abd al-Mu'talib, who received this title for his generosity (see above).

### The Pact of the Fuðūl

The Messenger of God was present at the Pact of the Fuðūl<sup>48</sup> when he had passed the age of twenty. After God had sent him [with his prophetic mission], he said, “I was present in the house of ‘Abdallāh b. Judān at a pact in exchange for which I would not be happy with even the reddest of camels. If I were invited to take part in it today, I would agree.”

The background of the Pact of the Fuðūl is as follows. The Quraysh concluded many pacts for protection and defense. For example, the Muṭayyabūn<sup>49</sup>—the Banū ‘Abd Manāf, Banū Asad, Banū Zuhra, Banū Taym, and Banū l-Hārith b. Fihir—concluded a pact not to surrender the Ka’ba “as long as Mount Ḥirā and Thabīr shall stand and as long as the sea soaks seaweed.” ‘Ātika bt. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib made perfume, and they dipped their hands into it. Some say that the perfume belonged to Umm Ḥakīm al-Bayḍā’ bt. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib, who was the twin of ‘Abdallāh, the father of the Messenger of God. The La’aqā<sup>50</sup>—the Banū ‘Abd al-Dār, Banū Makhzūm, Banū Jumāḥ, Banū Sahm, and Banū ‘Adī—concluded a pact to defend one another and to pay bloodwite for each other. They slaughtered a cow and dipped their hands into its blood.

The Quraysh used to mistreat the stranger in the sacred territory and anyone who had no kinfolk. Once a member of the Banū Asad b. Khuzayma brought some goods to trade. A member of the Banū Sahm bought them, took them, and refused to pay the man the price. The latter addressed the Quraysh, sought their protection, and asked them to help him obtain his due; no one, however, would take his part. So the man from the Banū Asad climbed the hill called Abū Qubays and cried at the top of his voice:

People of Fihir, help one who has been wronged of his goods,  
in the Valley of Mecca, far from kin and helpers.

2:17

<sup>48</sup> The name of the pact has been left untranslated as al-Ya’qūbī mentions several explanations for it without indicating a preference for any of them. Parallels: Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 85–87; *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, 17:218–222 (= ed. Cairo, 19:6600–6616); Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 2:29–30. See also the article with bibliography by Ch. Pellat in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Hilf al-Fuðūl*.

<sup>49</sup> The name, which means “The Perfumed Ones,” referred to the ceremony by which the pact was formalized.

<sup>50</sup> The name, “Those who Lick,” is a shortening of La’aqat al-Dam, referring to the ceremony by which the pact was formalized. According to Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 125, the La’aqat al-Dam (Lickers of Blood) were a group of clans who vowed to fight anyone who contested their right to place the Black Stone when the Ka’ba was rebuilt.

The sanctuary belongs to those whose sacredness is perfect;  
no sanctuary belongs to the garments of those who wear deceit.

Some have said that it was not a member of the Banū Asad, but Qays b. Shayba al-Sulamī, who sold some goods to Abū Khalaf al-Jumahī, who made off with his due. So he recited these verses. Others say that he said:

O Quṣayy, how comes this to pass in the sanctuary?  
By the sanctity of the house and the customs of generosity,  
I am wronged, and the one who wronged me is not prevented.

Feeling ashamed, the Quraysh rose up and made a pact that no stranger or other person should be wronged and that they would take the wronged person's part against the wrongdoer. They assembled in the house of 'Abdallāh b. Jud'ān al-Taymī. The parties to the pact were the clans of Hāshim, Asad, Zuhra, Taym, and al-Hārith b. Fihrah. The Quraysh said, "This is a pact that is superfluous (*fuḍūl*)," and so it came to be called the Pact of the Fuḍūl.<sup>51</sup> Someone else has said that three persons named al-Faḍl were present—al-Faḍl b. Quḍā'a, al-Faḍl b. Ḥashā'a, and al-Faḍl b. Biḍā'a—and so it came to be called the Pact of the Fuḍūl.<sup>52</sup> It has also been said that these were men who had been present at a pact sworn by the tribe of Jurhum,<sup>53</sup> which was called the Pact of the Fuḍūl after them, and that the pact in that year was seen as similar.

### The Rebuilding of the Ka'ba

The Messenger of God placed the stone<sup>54</sup> in its place when the Quraysh argued among themselves—he was twenty-five years old at the time. This took place

<sup>51</sup> The sense of the name is unclear, since *fuḍūl* can mean something that is excessive in the sense of being superfluous or something that is excessive in the sense of being superior. In the former sense, the non-participating clans may have seen the pact as something superfluous. Later interpretations, based on the Prophet's approval of the pact, connect the name with the Arabic word for virtue (*fadila*) and see it as the Pact of the Virtuous. See the discussion by Ch. Pellat in *ER*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Hilf al-Fuḍūl*.

<sup>52</sup> That is, taking *fuḍūl* as the plural of *faḍl*. The names show variation in the parallel sources. *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, 16:65 (= ed. Cairo, 19:6602), has "al-Faḍl b. Sharā'a, al-Faḍl b. Quḍā'a, and al-Faḍl b. Wadā'a."

<sup>53</sup> Jurhum was a tribe that controlled Mecca and the Ka'ba before the Quraysh.

<sup>54</sup> This is the Black Stone (*al-Hajar al-Aswad*) affixed to the eastern wall of the Ka'ba that

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as follows. The Quraysh demolished the Ka'ba because of | a flood that struck them and demolished it. Others say that while a woman of the Quraysh was censing the Ka'ba, a spark flew out and set fire to the Ka'ba's door, which was nine cubits in height. They therefore tore it down. The first to take a pickaxe to it was al-Walid b. al-Mughīra al-Makhzūmī. They dug until they reached Abraham's foundations. They pulled a stone out of it, but the stone jumped up and returned to its place; so they desisted. It is said that the person from whose hand the stone flew was Abū Wahb b. 'Amr b. 'Āidh b. 'Imrān b. Makhzūm. Then a snake came out at them and prevented them from building. They assembled, and he asked, "What do you think it best to do?" Abū Ṭālib said: "It is not right to expend anything on this except lawful gains. Do not put into it any wealth derived from wrongdoing or injustice." So they brought of their wealth what was undoubtedly lawful. They raised their hands toward heaven, and a bird came, snatched up the snake, and went away. Then they put off their waistcloths and worked naked, except for the Messenger of God, for he refused to take off his garment. He heard a voice cry out, "Do not take off your garment." The stones from which the house was built were brought from a mountain called al-Siyāda<sup>55</sup> from the highest part of the valley. They made it eighteen cubits.<sup>56</sup> Each division of the Quraysh took charge of part of it: the Banū 'Abd Manāf took one quarter; the other descendants of Quṣayy b. Kilāb and the Banū Taym took one quarter; Makhzūm took one quarter; and the Banū Sahm, Jumāḥ, 'Adī, and 'Āmir b. Fihr took one quarter. When they wanted to place the stone, they quarreled over it: each division said, "We will take charge of placing it." Then the Messenger of God approached—the Quraysh used to call him al-Amīn (the Trustworthy One). When they saw him coming, they said, | "We will accept the judgment of Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh." The Messenger of God spread out his cloak, put the stone into the middle of it, and said, "Let each division take one side of the cloak; then lift it all together." That is what they did. 'Utba b. Rabi'a carried one of the sides of the cloak; Abū Zam'a b. al-Aswad, Abū Ḥudhayfa b. al-Mughīra, and Qays b. 'Adī al-Sahmī [took the other sides]—some have said it was al-'Aṣ b. Wā'il. When it reached the place, the

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pilgrims stroke or kiss. Parallels: Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 122–125; Ibn Sa'd, *Tabaqāt*, 1/1, 93–95; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 1:1130–1139.

55 The correct reading of this otherwise unknown toponym is uncertain.

56 Whether the height or the length is meant is unclear. Taking a cubit as approximately 1.5 feet, this comes to 27 feet, which is considerably less than the length of the walls of the modern building, which are about 35 feet long. The modern building is c. 50 feet in height. See the article by A. J. Wensinck and J. Jomier in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ka'ba.

Messenger of God took the stone and put it in its place, where it now is. They roofed the building; before that it had no roof.

### The Marriage of Khadija bt. Khuwaylid

The Messenger of God married Khadija bt. Khuwaylid when he was twenty-five years old.<sup>57</sup> Others say that he married her when he was thirty years old.

Before he was sent as a prophet, she bore him al-Qāsim, Ruqayya, Zaynab, and Umm Kulthūm; after he was sent as a prophet, she bore him ‘Abdallāh (who is al-Tayyib [the Goodly] and al-Tāhir [the Pure], because he was born in Islam) and Fātima.

Someone has transmitted that ‘Ammār b. Yāsir<sup>58</sup> said: “I am the person best informed about the marriage of the Messenger of God and Khadija bt. Khuwaylid. I was a friend of his. One day, while we were walking between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa,<sup>59</sup> there was Khadija bt. Khuwaylid with her sister Hāla. When she saw the Messenger of God, her sister Hāla came to me and said, ‘Ammār, doesn’t your companion have some business concerning Khadija?’ ‘By God,’ I said, ‘I don’t know.’ So I went back and mentioned it to him. He said, ‘Go back, come to an agreement with her, and promise her a date on which we will come to her.’ I did it. When the day came, she sent for ‘Amr b. Asad,<sup>60</sup> plied him with drink on that day, anointed his beard with yellow ointment, and threw a colored garment over him. Then the Messenger of God came with a group of his uncles led by Abū Ṭālib. Abū Ṭālib asked for her hand, saying: ‘Praise be to God, who has made us of | the seed of Abraham and the progeny of Ishmael and has given to us a house of pilgrimage and a safe sacred precinct; who has made us judges over men and has blessed us in the land where we are. Weighed against any man among the Quraysh, my nephew, Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh, outweighs them; measured against anyone, he is greater. If he is small in wealth, wealth is a sustenance that changes, a shadow that passes away.

<sup>57</sup> Parallels: Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 119–122; Ibn Sa‘d, *Ṭabaqāt*, 1/1, 84–85, and 8:7–11; al-Tabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:1127–1130. See also the article by W. Montgomery Watt, with bibliography, in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Khadiđja.

<sup>58</sup> ‘Ammār b. Yāsir was an early Meccan convert to Islam; details of his career will be mentioned by al-Ya‘qūbī below. See the article by H. Reckendorf in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. ‘Ammār b. Yāsir b. ‘Āmir b. Mālik, Abu ‘l-Yaḳzān, and by Isaac Hasson in *EI*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. ‘Ammār b. Yāsir.

<sup>59</sup> Two hills in Mecca.

<sup>60</sup> Her paternal uncle. According to this version, her father Khuwaylid had already died.

He has a desire for Khadīja, and she has a desire for him. As for the bride-price you have asked, the part of it due immediately will come from my wealth. By God, he will have great importance and widespread repute.' So he married her and went away. The next morning, her uncle 'Amr b. Asad could not understand what he saw. He was told, 'Behold, your son-in-law Muḥammad b. Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib has given you this gift.' 'And when,' he asked, 'did I marry him [to Khadīja]?' 'Yesterday,' he was told. 'I didn't do it,' he said. 'Yes,' he was told, 'we bear witness that you did.' When 'Amr saw the Messenger of God, he said: 'Bear witness, all of you, that if I didn't marry him [to Khadīja] yesterday, I have indeed married him to her today, and that none of what people say ever took place: that she took him as a hired man or that he ever was anybody's hireling.'"'

Muḥammad b. Ishāq related that it was Khuwaylid b. Asad b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā who married his daughter Khadīja to the Messenger of God and that he died five years after the so-called Sacrilegious War. Others have related that Khuwaylid was killed in the Sacrilegious War or died in its year.

### The Beginning of the Prophetic Mission

The Messenger of God was sent on his mission when he had completed forty years.<sup>61</sup> The beginning of his mission took place in the month of Rabī' I. Others say that it took place in Ramaḍān. It was in the month of Shubāt<sup>62</sup> of the non-Arabs.

The year in which he was sent on his mission was the year of conjunction in Aquarius. According to the astronomer Māshā'allāh:<sup>63</sup> The ascendant of the year in which the Messenger of God was sent on his mission—it was the third conjunction | from the conjunction of his birth—was Virgo, 4°. The Moon was in Libra, 17°. Mars was 13° from the ascendant in Virgo, retrograde. Jupiter was in the fifth,<sup>64</sup> in Capricorn, 21°. Saturn was in Aquarius in the sixth, 9°. The term of Venus was in Pisces. The Sun was in the eighth in Aries, 1'. Mercury was in Aries, 14°. The term of the entry of the year was from the first day the Sun entered into it [viz. Aries].

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61 Parallels: Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 150–154; Ibn Sa'd, *Tabaqāt*, 1/1, 95–132; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 1:146–1156.

62 February of the Julian calendar.

63 This horoscope is discussed in E. S. Kennedy and David Pingree, *The Astrological History of Māshā'allāh*, 103.

64 That is, the fifth sign counting from Virgo, the ascendant.

According to al-Khwārizmī: The Sun on that day was in Aquarius,  $24^{\circ} 15'$ . The Moon was in Cancer,  $17^{\circ}$ . Saturn was in Aquarius,  $19^{\circ}$ . Jupiter was ...<sup>65</sup>  $12^{\circ}$ . Mars was in Pisces,  $15^{\circ} 30'$ . Venus was in Aries,  $11^{\circ}$ . Mercury was in Aquarius,  $23^{\circ} 30'$ .

Gabriel used to appear to him and address him. He often called him from the sky, from the tree, and from the mountain, and the Messenger of God would become frightened at this. Then he said to him: "Your Lord commands you to avoid the filth of idols." This was how it started. The Messenger of God would come to Khadīja bt. Khuwaylid, tell what he had heard, and speak about it. She would say to him, "Cover up, cousin; by God, I hope that God will do good to you."

Gabriel came to him the night of Saturday and the night of Sunday; then he appeared, bringing him the prophetic mission, on Monday. Some say Thursday. Those who have transmitted the account from Ja'far b. Muḥammad say it was Friday, ten days remaining in the month of Ramaḍān, and that he therefore made it a holiday for Muslims. Gabriel was wearing a tunic of fine silk. He took out one of the carpets of Paradise for him, sat him down on it, and told him that he was the Messenger of God. He communicated to him from God and taught him: "Recite in the name of thy Lord who created."<sup>66</sup>

<sup>2:22</sup> Gabriel came to him | on the following day, when he had wrapped himself in a warm garment, and said to him: "O you, wrapped in a garment, arise and warn."<sup>67</sup>

The Messenger of God said, "The first thing that Gabriel forbade to me, after idolatry, was quarreling with men."

Some relate that Isrāfil was charged with his care for three years and that Gabriel was charged with it for twenty years. Others say that Gabriel never ceased to be charged with his care. Waraqā b. Nawfal<sup>68</sup> said to Khadija bt. Khuwaylid: "Ask him who is this who comes to him. If it is Michael, he has come to him with a message of tranquility, meekness, and softness; if it is Gabriel, he has come to him with a message of killing and taking captives." So she asked him, and he said, "Gabriel," whereupon Khadija struck her brow.

The first prayer that was prescribed for him was the noon prayer. Gabriel came to him and showed him the ablution, and the Messenger of God made

<sup>65</sup> The name of the sign has dropped out of the text.

<sup>66</sup> Qur'ān 96:1, traditionally considered the first verse of the Qur'ān to be revealed.

<sup>67</sup> Qur'ān 74:1–2.

<sup>68</sup> Waraqā was Khadija's cousin (their fathers, Nawfal and Khuwaylid, were brothers). He is said to have abandoned paganism or even to have become a Christian. See the article by C. F. Robinson in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Waraqā b. Nawfal.

the ablution as Gabriel had done. Then Gabriel prayed to show him how to pray, and the Messenger of God prayed.

Some relate that the middle prayer, noon, was the first prayer that the Messenger of God prayed. It was a Friday. Then he came to Khadija bt. Khuwaylid and informed her; so she performed the ablution and prayed. Then ‘Alī b. Abī Tālib saw him and did as he saw him do.

When the Prophet was sent with his mission, the devils were pelted with meteors from the sky and prevented from listening by stealth. Iblīs said, “This can only be because of some event that has taken place and some prophet who has been sent with a mission.” The idols in all the world were overturned, and the fires that were worshipped went out.

The first people to accept Islam were Khadija bt. Khuwaylid, of the women, and ‘Alī b. Abī Tālib (may God honor him), of the men. Next came Zayd b. Ḥāritha, and then Abū Dharr. Some say that Abū Bakr was before Abū Dharr. Next came ‘Amr b. ‘Abasa al-Sulamī, then Khālid b. Sa‘id b. al-Āṣ, then Sa‘id b. Abī Waqqāṣ, then ‘Utbā b. Ghazwān, | then Khabbāb b. al-Aratt, and then Muṣ‘ab b. ‘Umair.

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The following account was transmitted from ‘Amr b. ‘Abasa al-Sulamī: “I came to the Messenger of God at the beginning of his mission when word of it reached me. I said, ‘Describe your affair to me.’ So he described it to me and what God had sent him to bring. I asked, ‘Is anyone following you in this?’ ‘Yes,’ he said, ‘a woman, a boy, and a slave.’ He meant Khadīja bt. Khuwaylid, ‘Alī b. Abī Tālib, and Zayd b. Ḥāritha.”

The Messenger of God stayed in Mecca for three years, hiding his affair. He would invite people to declare the unity of God, to worship Him, and to affirm his prophethood. Whenever he passed an assembly of the Quraysh, they would say, “The young man, the son<sup>69</sup> of ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib, is being spoken to from heaven.” Finally, however, he reproved them for their gods and spoke of the perdition of their fathers who had died as unbelievers. God then commanded him to speak of his mission openly. So he made his affair manifest: he stood in central area<sup>70</sup> of Mecca and said: “I am the Messenger of God. I call on you to worship God alone and to leave off worshipping idols, which neither benefit nor harm, neither create nor sustain, neither give life nor give death.” The Quraysh derided him and harassed him. They said to Abū Tālib: “Your

69 That is, grandson; Muḥammad, who was raised by his grandfather after his father’s death, was frequently called the “son” of ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib.

70 Literally, in the *Abṭah*, the lower part of the *Baṭn* or Hollow of Mecca. This was the area around the Kā’ba.

nephew has denounced our gods, belittled our intelligence, and declared our ancestors to have erred. Let him desist from this, and let him ordain regarding our property as he wishes.” Muḥammad replied: “God did not send me to amass worldly goods and to desire them. He sent me to deliver His message and to guide to Him.”

They harassed him most sorely. Among those who harassed him were Abū Lahab, al-Ḥakam b. Abī l-Āṣ, ‘Uqba b. Abī Mu‘ayṭ, ‘Adī b. Ḥamrā’ al-Thaqafī, and ‘Amr b. al-Ṭulāṭila al-Khuzaī. Abū Lahab was the one who most sorely harassed him.

A certain person relates the following: “The Messenger of God once stood up at the fair at ‘Ukāz<sup>71</sup> wearing a red tunic and said: ‘People, say, “There is no god but God,” and you shall prosper and succeed.’ Suddenly there was a man with two braids of hair and a face like gold following him, | saying: ‘People, this man is my nephew, and he is a liar. Beware of him!’ I asked, ‘Who is this?’ I was told, ‘This is Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh, and this is his uncle, Abū Lahab b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib.’”

Those who ridiculed him were al-‘Āṣ b. Wā’il al-Sahmī, al-Ḥārith b. Qays b. ‘Adī al-Sahmī, al-Aswad b. al-Muṭṭalib b. Asad, al-Walīd b. al-Mughīra al-Makhzūmī, and al-Aswad b. ‘Abd Yaghūth al-Zuhri. They would set their young boys and slaves on him to treat him in ways disagreeable to him. Once they slaughtered a camel at a place called al-Hazwara<sup>72</sup> while the Messenger of God was standing in prayer. They commanded a slave boy of theirs to carry the contents of the womb and stomach and put them before his shoulders while he was prostrating himself. The Prophet went away and came to Abū Ṭālib and asked, “How is my position among you?” Abū Ṭālib replied, “What is wrong, nephew?” So he told him what had been done to him. Abū Ṭālib set off, covering his sword with his garment, followed by a slave boy of his. Then he drew his sword and said, “By God, let no man of you speak or I will smite him.” Then he commanded his slave lad to smear the offal over their faces one by one. They said, “Let this be sufficient for you regarding us, son of our brother.”

The Quraysh came in a group to Abū Ṭālib and said: “We invite you to a fair exchange. Here is ‘Umāra b. al-Walīd b. al-Mughīra, the most handsome of the Quraysh in face and most perfect in figure. Take him and make him your son,

<sup>71</sup> The fair at ‘Ukāz (*Sūq ‘Ukāz*) was a gathering for commerce held annually southeast of Mecca, between Nakhla and al-Tā’if, in the month of Dhū l-Qa’da, just before the start of the Meccan pilgrimage. See the article by Irfan Shahid in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. ‘Ukāz.

<sup>72</sup> A place in Mecca—*hazwara* means a small hill or rough place. According to Yāqūt, *Mu’jam al-buldān*, s.v., it was the marketplace of Mecca. The *Lisān al-‘Arab* cites Ibn al-Athīr as locating it near Bāb al-Ḥannatīn (the Gate of the Wheat Merchants).

and turn Muḥammad over to us and we will kill him." He said, "You have not treated me fairly. I give you my son and you kill him, and you give me your son and I feed him!"

Abū Ṭālib spoke the following verses concerning this:

You marveled, son of Shayba,<sup>73</sup> at the wisdom of one who knows,

and the intellect of peoples who in your opinion are foolish.

They say, "Support those who wish to mistreat Muḥammad;  
rise up in opposition to his affair."

Hopelessly deaf! Either envious and full of treachery,  
or a relative lacking in sincerity.

Never shall they commit injustice toward you,  
when you are a man from the best of 'Abd Manāf.

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He has a relationship that is a means of access to you:  
he is not a confederate or a guest.

Rather, he is from the heart of Hāshim,  
with access to "seas that float above seas."<sup>74</sup>

Therefore, if the Quraysh bind themselves against him, say to them:  
"Sons of our uncle, your people are not weak.

Your people are not people whose wrongdoing they fear,  
and we are not light in weight when it comes to what will displease  
you."

He also said:

Men will rise up toward you not unarmed,  
with bright [swords] newly acquainted with the sharpeners;  
And a man free of faults, before whom the clouds are made to yield rain,  
the stay of orphans, the protector of widows.

### The Night Journey

He was taken on a night journey: Gabriel brought him al-Burāq, which was smaller than a mule and larger than a donkey, flop-eared, with a stride as far as its eye could see, two wings that propelled it from behind, and a saddle of

<sup>73</sup> That is, Abū Ṭālib, the birth name of whose father, 'Abd al-Muṭalib, was Shayba.

<sup>74</sup> That is, men supremely generous and noble. "Sea" is used in Arabic poetry as a metaphor for such a person.

sapphire. It took him to Jerusalem, where he prayed.<sup>75</sup> Then it ascended with him to heaven, where between him and his Lord there were, as God has said, “the length of two bows or closer,”<sup>76</sup> and then it brought him down. He came down at the house of Umm Hānī bt. Abī Ṭālib and told her the story. She said to him, “By my father and mother! Do not mention this to the Quraysh, lest they call you a liar.”

The night he was taken on his journey, Abū Ṭālib noticed that he was missing. Fearing that the Quraysh had seized or killed him, he gathered seventy men of the Banū ‘Abd al-Muttalib with knives. He commanded them to sit, each of them beside a member of the Quraysh. He said, “If you see me and Muḥammad with me, hold off until I come to you. Otherwise, let each of you kill | the man sitting beside him, and do not wait for me.” They found Muḥammad at Umm Hānī’s door. Abū Ṭālib led him before him until he stood by the Quraysh, and he let them know what had happened to him. They deemed the matter to be of great importance, and they promised him and agreed with him that they would not harm the Messenger of God and that nothing disagreeable to him would ever befall him at their hands.

### The Warning

God, who is mighty and majestic, commanded him to warn his closest kin.<sup>77</sup> So he stood on the Hill of al-Marwa and called out at the top of his voice, “O descendants of Fihr!” The clans of Quraysh assembled before him until no one was left. Abū Lahab said to him, “Behold, this is Fihr.” Then he called out, “O descendants of Ghālib!” So the Banū Muḥārib and the Banū l-Ḥārith b. Fihr went away. Then he called out, “O descendants of Lu’ayy!” So the Banū Taym al-Adram b. Ghālib went away. Then he called out, “O descendants of Ka'b!” So the Banū Āmir and the Banū ‘Awf b. Lu’ayy went away. Then he called out, “O descendants of Murra!” So the Banū ‘Adī b. Ka'b and the Banū Sahm and the Banū Jumah, both of whom descended from Huṣayb b. Ka'b, went away. Then he called out, “O descendants of Kilāb!” So the Banū Taym b. Murra and the Banū Makhzūm b. Yaqaṣa b. Murra went away. [Then he called out, “O descendants of Quṣayy!” So the Banū Zuhra went away.] Then he called out, “O descendants

<sup>75</sup> Parallels: Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 263–271; Ibn Sa’d, *Tabaqāt*, 1/1, 142–145; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:1157–1159. Muḥammad’s Night Journey (*al-Isrā’*) and Ascent to Heaven (*al-Mi’rāj*) generated an extensive exegetical and mystical literature. For a summary, see the article by B. Schrieke and J. Horovitz, with bibliography, in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Mi’rādj*.

<sup>76</sup> Qur’ān 53:9.

<sup>77</sup> Parallels: Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 166–170; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:1169–1180.

of ‘Abd Manāf!” So the Banū ‘Abd al-Dār and the Banū ‘Abd al-‘Uzzā, both of whom descended from Quṣayy, went away. Then he called out, “O descendants of Hāshim!” So the Banū ‘Abd Shams and the Banū Nawfal went away. The Banū ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib stayed. [Abū Lahab said,] “Behold, Hāshim has assembled.” So he assembled them in one of their houses.

Abū ‘Abdallāh al-Fadl b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān al-Hāshimī, one of the descendants of Rabī‘a b. al-Ḥārith, related to me that they were in the house of al-Ḥārith b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib, forty men, give or take a man. | He made food for them, and they ate in groups of ten until they were full. Their entire food was the leg of a sheep and their drink a large bowl of milk. Some of them were men who could eat a yearling sheep and drink a whole milking-tub. He warned them as God had commanded and summoned them to worship God. He told them how God had favored them and how He had distinguished them by sending him from among them and commanding him to warn them. Abū Lahab said, “Restrain your companion before others restrain him; for then, if you protect him you will be killed, and if you abandon him you will be humiliated.” Abū Ṭālib said, “O shameful one, by God we will help him and assist him. Nephew, if you wish to summon to your Lord, inform us, so that we may go out armed with you.” On that day, Ja‘far b. Abī Ṭālib and ‘Ubayda b. al-Ḥārith accepted Islam.

Many people accepted Islam. Their affair became visible, their number increased, and they opposed their relatives who were polytheists. The Quraysh tried to force those who were weak to turn away from Islam and revile the Messenger of God. Among those who were tormented for the sake of God was ‘Ammār b. Yāsir, along with Yāsir his father and Sumayya his mother. Abū Jahl killed Sumayya; he struck her with a spear in her heart and she died. She was the first martyr in Islam. Also among those tormented were Khabbāb b. al-Aratt, Ṣuhayb b. Sinān, Abū Fukayha al-Azdī, ‘Āmir b. Fuhayra, and Bilāl b. Rabāḥ.<sup>78</sup> Khabbāb b. al-Aratt said, “Messenger of God, pray for us.” He replied, “You are being too hasty. Men who lived before you were raked with iron combs and split with a saw, but it did not turn them from their religion. By God, God will bring this matter to such perfection that a rider will be able to go from Ḫanā’ to Ḥadramawt, fearing none but God and the wolf for his goats.”

The torments grew and the people suffered greatly. Five persons turned away from Islam. | They were Abū Qays [b. al-Walid] b. al-Mughira, Abū Qays b. al-Fākih b. al-Mughīra ...<sup>79</sup> It has been related that the following verse was

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<sup>78</sup> Bilāl b. Rabāḥ, an Ethiopian slave, tortured by his pagan master for accepting Islam, was rescued by Abū Bakr and became the first muezzin of the Muslim community. See the article by W. ‘Arafat in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Bilāl b. Rabāḥ.

<sup>79</sup> Three names have dropped out of the text. The five men are given in Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*,

revealed concerning them: "And those the angels take, while still they are wronging themselves—the angels will say, 'In what circumstances were you?' They will say, 'We were abased in the earth.' The angels will say, 'But was not God's earth wide, so that you might have emigrated in it?' Such men, their refuge shall be Gehenna—an evil homecoming!"<sup>80</sup>

### Those Who Emigrated to Abyssinia

When the Messenger of God saw the distress and torment his companions were in and the security he enjoyed because of his uncle Abū Ṭalib's protection, he said to them, "Depart as emigrants to the land of Abyssinia, to the Negus,<sup>81</sup> for he grants protection to the stranger."<sup>82</sup> So twelve men departed in the first group, and in the second seventy, not counting their children and wives. They were the first emigrants. They were accorded hospitality by the Negus, who would send to Ja'far and ask him what he needed. When word of this reached the Quraysh, they sent 'Amr b. al-Āṣ and 'Umāra b. al-Walīd al-Makhzūmī to the Negus with gifts and asked him to send them the companions of the Messenger of God who had come to him. They said: "Foolish men of our people, who have departed from our religion, declared our deceased to have gone astray, and denounced our gods! If we leave them to their opinion, we fear that they will corrupt your religion."

When 'Amr and 'Umāra said this to the Negus, he sent for Ja'far and questioned him. The latter replied: "These men follow the worst religion. They worship stones, they make gifts to idols, they sever the bonds of kinship, they practice injustice, and they countenance things that are forbidden. God has sent among us a prophet, one of the greatest among us in rank, one of the most noble among us in lineage, one of the most truthful among us in speech, and one of the most honored among us in family. He has commanded from God that

456: al-Ḥārith b. Zama'a, Abū Qays b. al-Fakih, Abū Qays b. al-Walid, 'Alī b. Umayya, and al-Āṣ b. Munabbih. Ibn Hishām adds: "These had been Muslims while the Messenger of God was in Mecca. When he migrated to Medina their fathers and families in Mecca shut them up and seduced them and they let themselves be seduced. Then they joined their people in the expedition to Badr and were all killed."

<sup>80</sup> Qur'ān 4:97.

<sup>81</sup> Arabic *al-Najāshī*, from Ge'ez *nägäśi*, ruler, used as a title for the ruler of Ethiopia. See the article by E. van Donzel in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *al-Nadjāshī*.

<sup>82</sup> Parallels: Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 208–222; Ibn Sa'd, *Tabaqāt*, 1/1, 136–139; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 1:180–184, 1189, 1196, 1198.

we should cease worshipping idols, avoid wrongdoing and forbidden things, do what is right, and worship God alone."

The Negus, returning the gifts to ‘Amr and ‘Umāra, said, "Shall I deliver to you men under my protection who follow the religion of truth, while you follow the religion of falsehood?" And he said to Ja‘far, "Recite | to me something that has been sent down upon your prophet." So he recited: "*Kāf Hā’ Yā’ Ayn Ṣād*,"<sup>83</sup> and the bishops in his presence wept.

2:29

‘Amr and ‘Umāra said, "King, they allege that Christ was a slave who was owned." Troubled by this, the Negus sent for Ja‘far and said to him, "What do you say and what does your companion say about Christ?" He replied, "He says that he is God’s Spirit and Word, which he sent into the chaste virgin."<sup>84</sup> Taking a twig between his fingers, the Negus said, "Christ does not exceed what you have said even by this much."

Now ‘Amr b. al-Āṣ and ‘Umāra b. al-Walīd had reviled one another on the way. ‘Umāra was a man very fond of women, and ‘Amr had his wife, Rābiṭa bt. Muṇabbih b. al-Hajjāj al-Sahmī, with him. ‘Umāra said, "Tell her to kiss me." "God be praised," replied ‘Amr, "would you say such a thing to your paternal uncle’s daughter?" ‘Umāra said, "You shall do it, or I will strike you with this sword!" So he said to her, "Kiss him!" Then ‘Umāra bound ‘Amr and threw him into the sea. When ‘Amr floated to the surface, ‘Umāra pretended to him that he had done it as a joke. ‘Amr said: "Throw your cousin the rope, God be praised! Is this how one jokes?" So ‘Umāra threw him a rope and he came out.

When ‘Amr and ‘Umāra were about to leave and had despaired of obtaining anything from the Negus, ‘Amr said to ‘Umāra: "Why don’t you send a message to the wife of the Negus? Perhaps we shall obtain from her what we are seeking from him." He did so and flattered her, so that she sent him some of the king’s own perfume. ‘Amr, however, using deception against ‘Umāra, said to the Negus, "This companion of mine sent a message to the king’s wife, with the result that she made him lust after her and sent him some of the king’s own perfume." The Negus therefore took ‘Umāra and blew poison onto his testicles—some say it was mercury—with the result that he roamed bewildered and frenzied with the wild animals. He continued in his frenzy until some men from the Banū Makhzūm came and asked the king for permission to take him. They ambushed him and took him, and he kept trembling in their hands | 2:30 until he died. ‘Amr returned to the polytheists disappointed.

<sup>83</sup> The beginning of Sura 19 of the Qur’ān, which contains the story of the Virgin Mary and the birth of Jesus.

<sup>84</sup> Cf. Qur’ān 4:171, where Christ is called "the Messenger of God, and His Word that He committed to Mary, and a Spirit from Him."

The Muslims stayed in the land of Abyssinia until children were born to them—all of Ja'far's children were born in the land of Abyssinia—and they remained there in peace and safety. The name of the Negus was Aṣḥama.

### **The Siege of the Messenger of God by the Quraysh and the Story of the Document**

The Quraysh intended to kill the Messenger of God; their assembly agreed to this. When word reached Abū Ṭālib, he said:

By God, they shall not reach you with their assembly,  
until I am laid to rest, buried in the ground.  
You summoned me, saying you were giving sincere advice:  
you spoke truly, and you were trustworthy, too.  
You offered a religion that now I know is  
truly the best of all creation's religions.

When the Quraysh realized that they could not kill the Messenger of God and that Abū Ṭālib would not hand him over and when they heard these words of Abū Ṭālib, they wrote up the iniquitous boycott document; that they would not buy from or sell to any of the Banū Hāshim, intermarry with them, or have any dealings with them until they delivered Muḥammad to them so that they might kill him.<sup>85</sup> They made a contract and pact with each other on these terms and sealed the document with eighty seals. The person who wrote it was [Mansūr b.]<sup>86</sup> Ikrīma b. Āmir b. Hāshim b. ‘Abd Manāf b. ‘Abd al-Dār—his hand became paralyzed as a result.

The Quraysh then besieged the Messenger of God and the people of his household—the Banū Hāshim and the Banū al-Muṭṭalib b. ‘Abd Manāf—in the side-valley known as Shi'b Banī Hāshim<sup>87</sup> six years after the commence-

<sup>85</sup> Parallels: Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 230–232, 247–251; Ibn Sa‘d, *Tabaqāt*, 1/1, 139–141; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:189–191, 196–198.

<sup>86</sup> Supplied from Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 230.

<sup>87</sup> “The Side-Valley, or Canyon, of the Banū Hāshim.” Montgomery Watt describes the topography in his article in *EI<sup>2</sup>*, s.v. Makka: “Mecca lies in a kind of corridor between two ranges of bare steep hills, with an area in the centre rather lower than the rest. The whole corridor is the *wādī* or the *baṭn Makka*, ‘the hollow of Mecca’, and the lower part is al-Baṭḥā’, which was doubtless the original settlement and where the Ka‘ba stands ... Into the Baṭḥā’ con-

ment of his mission. He, along with all the Banū Hāshim and the Banū l-Muṭṭalib, stayed in the side-valley for three years, until the Messenger of God had exhausted his wealth, Abū Ṭālib had exhausted his wealth, | and Khadija bt. Khuwaylid had exhausted her wealth, and they were on the verge of poverty and destitution.

2:31

Then Gabriel came down to the Messenger of God and said: “God has sent termites to attack the document of the Quraysh. They have eaten everything in it concerning boycotting and wrongdoing, everything except the places where there is mention of God.” The Messenger of God informed Abū Ṭālib of this. Abū Ṭālib then went out, along with the Messenger of God and his household. When they reached the Ka‘ba, they sat down in its courtyard. The Quraysh approached from every direction and said, “The time has come for you, Abū Ṭālib, to remember acquaintance, yearn for your people, and stop being obstinate about your nephew.”

Abū Ṭālib said to them, “People, bring your document here; perhaps we shall find relief and a way to rebind the ties of kinship and cease the boycott.” So they brought it—it along with its seals. He said, “Is this your document concerning the pact? You don’t deny it, do you?” “Yes, it is,” they answered. He asked, “Have you made any alteration in it?” “No, by God,” they said. He said: “Muhammad has informed me from his Lord that He, the Lord, has sent termites and that they have eaten everything in it except the mention of God. What do you think? If he has spoken the truth, what will you do?” They said, “We will cease and desist.” “And if he has lied,” he said, “I will deliver him to you for you to kill.” “A fair and fine proposal!” they said.

So the document was unsealed, and lo and behold the termites had eaten everything in it, except the places where the words, “In the name of Allāh, the mighty and exalted,” occurred.<sup>88</sup> So they said, “This is nothing but sorcery. Today we are more eager to call him a liar than ever.”

Many people accepted Islam on that day. The Banū Hāshim emerged from the side-valley, as well as the Banū l-Muṭṭalib, and they did not return to it.

verged a number of side-valleys, each known as a *shi'b*, often occupied by a single clan. The outer and higher area of settlement was known as the *zawāhir*.

<sup>88</sup> The punctuation is uncertain. Al-Ya'qūbī may have intended “the mighty and exalted” as his own pious addition. One might translate, “Except the places where the words, ‘In the name of Allāh’ (the mighty and exalted) occurred.” The parallels in al-Ṭabarī, *Tarikh*, 1:198, and Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, p. 249, give the miraculously surviving words as, “In Thy name, O Allāh.” “Allāh” has been retained in translation, instead of rendering the name as “God,” in order to bring out that the pagan Meccans venerated Allāh as a high god in their pantheon, though not as the sole deity, invoking him as the guarantor of contracts and promises.

## The Death of al-Qāsim, the Son of the Messenger of God

Al-Qāsim, the son of the Messenger of God, died. While the Messenger of God was at the funeral, he looked at one of the mountains of Mecca and said, “If you felt what I am feeling, it would crush you.” | Al-Qāsim was four years old when he died. ‘Abdallāh, the son of the Messenger of God, died one month after al-Qāsim; he had not been weaned. Khadija said, “Messenger of God, if only he had survived until I could wean him!” “His weaning,” he replied, “will be in heaven.” Khadija asked the Messenger of God, “Where are my children from you?” “In heaven,” he said. “Without any works?” she asked. He said, “God knows best what works they would have done.” “And where,” she asked, “are my children from other than you?”<sup>89</sup> “In the Fire,” he said. “Without any works?” she asked. He said, “God knows best what works they would have done.”

## The Part of the Qur’ān That was Revealed at Mecca

Eighty-two suras of the Qur’ān were revealed at Mecca, according to what Muḥammad b. Ḥafṣ b. Asad al-Kūfī transmitted from Muḥammad b. Kathīr and Muḥammad b. al-Sā’ib al-Kalbī,<sup>90</sup> from Abū Ṣāliḥ, from Ibn ‘Abbās.<sup>91</sup>

The first revelation to the Messenger of God was, “Recite: In the Name of thy Lord who created.”<sup>92</sup> Then came, “Nūn. By the Pen, and what they inscribe.”<sup>93</sup> Then came, “By the forenoon.”<sup>94</sup> Then came, “O thou enwrapped in thy robes.”<sup>95</sup> Then came, “O thou shrouded in thy mantle.”<sup>96</sup> Then came the Opening of

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89 Khadija had been married twice before marrying Muḥammad, one marriage ending in divorce and one in the death of her husband. She is said to have borne three children before her marriage to Muḥammad. See the article by W. Montgomery Watt in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Khadidja.

90 Muḥammad b. al-Sā’ib al-Kalbī (d. 146/763) wrote a Qur’ān commentary. See F. Sezgin, *GAS*, 1:34–35.

91 For an account of the foundational role of ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Abbās in the exegetical history of the Qur’ān, see the articles by L. Veccia Vaglieri in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. ‘Abd Allāh b. al-‘Abbās, and Claude Gilliot in *EI*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Abbās; F. Sezgin, *GAS*, 1:25–28.

92 Qur’ān 96.

93 Qur’ān 68.

94 Qur’ān 93.

95 Qur’ān 73.

96 Qur’ān 74.

the Book.<sup>97</sup> Then came, "Perish."<sup>98</sup> Then came, "When the sun shall be darkened."<sup>99</sup> Then came, "Magnify the Name of thy Lord the Most High."<sup>100</sup> Then came, "By the night enshrouding."<sup>101</sup> Then came, "By the dawn!"<sup>102</sup> Then came, "Did We not expand thy breast for thee?"<sup>103</sup> Then came, "The All-Merciful."<sup>104</sup> Then came, "By the afternoon!"<sup>105</sup> Then came, "Surely We have given thee abundance."<sup>106</sup> Then came, "Gross rivalry diverts you."<sup>107</sup> Then came, "Hast thou seen him who cries lies to the Doom?"<sup>108</sup> Then, "Hast thou not seen how thy Lord did with the Men of the Elephant?"<sup>109</sup> Then came, "By the Star when it plunges!"<sup>110</sup> Then came, "He frowned and turned away."<sup>111</sup> Then came, "Behold, We sent it down on the Night of Power."<sup>112</sup> Then came, "By the sun and his morning brightness!"<sup>113</sup> Then came, "By heaven of the constellations."<sup>114</sup> Then came, "By the fig and the olive!"<sup>115</sup> Then came, "For the composing of Quraysh!"<sup>116</sup> Then came, "The Clatterer!"<sup>117</sup> Then came, "No! I swear by the Day of Resurrection."<sup>118</sup> Then came, "Woe to every backbiter!"<sup>119</sup> Then came, "By the loosed ones successively."<sup>120</sup> Then came, "Qāf. By the glorious Qur'ān!"<sup>121</sup> Then came, "No! I swear

97 Qur'ān 1.

98 Qur'ān 111.

99 Qur'ān 81.

100 Qur'ān 87.

101 Qur'ān 92.

102 Qur'ān 89.

103 Qur'ān 94.

104 Qur'ān 55.

105 Qur'ān 103.

106 Qur'ān 108.

107 Qur'ān 102.

108 Qur'ān 107.

109 Qur'ān 105.

110 Qur'ān 53.

111 Qur'ān 80.

112 Qur'ān 97.

113 Qur'ān 91.

114 Qur'ān 85.

115 Qur'ān 95.

116 Qur'ān 106.

117 Qur'ān 101.

118 Qur'ān 75.

119 Qur'ān 104.

120 Qur'ān 77.

121 Qur'ān 50.

2:33 by this land.”<sup>122</sup> Then came, “By heaven and the night-star!”<sup>123</sup> | Then came, “The Hour has drawn nigh.”<sup>124</sup> Then came, “*Sād*. By the Qur’ān, containing the Remembrance.”<sup>125</sup> Then came, “The Battlements.”<sup>126</sup> Then came the Sura of the Jinn.<sup>127</sup> Then came the Sura of *Yā’ Sīn*.<sup>128</sup> Then came, “Blessed be He who has sent down the Salvation.”<sup>129</sup> Then came “Praise: the Angels.”<sup>130</sup> Then came the Sura of Mary.<sup>131</sup> Then came the Sura of *Tā’ Hā’*.<sup>132</sup> Then came, “*Tā’ Sīn Mīm*” (The Poets).<sup>133</sup> Then came, “*Tā’ Sīn*” (The Ant).<sup>134</sup> Then came, “*Tā’ Sīn Mīm*” (The Story).<sup>135</sup> Then came the Sura of the Children of Israel.<sup>136</sup> Then came the Sura of Jonah.<sup>137</sup> Then came the Sura of *Hūd*.<sup>138</sup> Then came the Sura of Joseph.<sup>139</sup> Then came “The Apartments.”<sup>140</sup> Then came “The Cattle.”<sup>141</sup> Then came “The Rangers.”<sup>142</sup> Then came “*Luqmān*.”<sup>143</sup> Then came, “*Hā’ Mīm*” (The Believer).<sup>144</sup> Then came “*Hā’ Mīm*” (The Prostration).<sup>145</sup> Then came “*Hā’ Mīm ‘Ayn Sīn Qāf*.”<sup>146</sup> Then came “Ornaments.”<sup>147</sup> Then came “Praise: Sheba.”<sup>148</sup> Then came “The

<sup>122</sup> Qur’ān 90.

<sup>123</sup> Qur’ān 86.

<sup>124</sup> Qur’ān 54.

<sup>125</sup> Qur’ān 38.

<sup>126</sup> Qur’ān 7.

<sup>127</sup> Qur’ān 72.

<sup>128</sup> Qur’ān 36.

<sup>129</sup> Qur’ān 25.

<sup>130</sup> Qur’ān 35.

<sup>131</sup> Qur’ān 19.

<sup>132</sup> Qur’ān 20.

<sup>133</sup> Qur’ān 26.

<sup>134</sup> Qur’ān 27.

<sup>135</sup> Qur’ān 28.

<sup>136</sup> Qur’ān 17, more commonly called “The Night Journey.”

<sup>137</sup> Qur’ān 10.

<sup>138</sup> Qur’ān 11.

<sup>139</sup> Qur’ān 12.

<sup>140</sup> Qur’ān 49.

<sup>141</sup> Qur’ān 6.

<sup>142</sup> Qur’ān 37.

<sup>143</sup> Qur’ān 31.

<sup>144</sup> Qur’ān 40.

<sup>145</sup> Qur’ān 32.

<sup>146</sup> Qur’ān 42 (Counsel).

<sup>147</sup> Qur’ān 43.

<sup>148</sup> Qur’ān 34.

Sending Down: The Companies.”<sup>149</sup> Then came, “*Hā’ Mīm*” (Smoke).<sup>150</sup> Then came, “*Hā’ Mīm*” (The Open Way).<sup>151</sup> Then came “The Sand-dunes.”<sup>152</sup> Then came, “By the swift scatterers!”<sup>153</sup> Then came, “Hast thou received the story of the Enveloper?”<sup>154</sup> Then came the Sura of the Cave.<sup>155</sup> Then came the Sura of the Bee.<sup>156</sup> Then came, “We sent Noah.”<sup>157</sup> Then came the Sura of Abraham.<sup>158</sup> Then came, “Nigh unto men has drawn their reckoning.”<sup>159</sup> Then came, “Prosperous are the believers.”<sup>160</sup> Then came “Thunder.”<sup>161</sup> Then came, “By the Mount.”<sup>162</sup> Then came, “Blessed be He in whose hand is the Kingdom.”<sup>163</sup> Then came “The Indubitable.”<sup>164</sup> Then came, “A questioner asked.”<sup>165</sup> Then came, “Of what do they question one another?”<sup>166</sup> Then came, “By those that pluck out vehemently.”<sup>167</sup> Then came, “When heaven is split open.”<sup>168</sup> Then came the Sura of the Greeks.<sup>169</sup> Then came the Sura of the Spider.<sup>170</sup>

Authorities have differed about this sequence, giving versions other than that of Ibn ‘Abbās, though the difference is slight.

Muhammad b. Kathīr and Muhammad b. al-Sā’ib transmitted from Abū<sup>171</sup> Shāliḥ from Ibn ‘Abbās that the latter said: “The Qur’ān was revealed bit by bit, not sura by sura.” We have assigned to Mecca any sura whose beginning was revealed in Mecca, even if its completion was in Medina, and likewise

<sup>149</sup> Qur’ān 39.

<sup>150</sup> Qur’ān 44.

<sup>151</sup> Qur’ān 45, more commonly called “Hobbling.”

<sup>152</sup> Qur’ān 46.

<sup>153</sup> Qur’ān 51.

<sup>154</sup> Qur’ān 88.

<sup>155</sup> Qur’ān 18.

<sup>156</sup> Qur’ān 16.

<sup>157</sup> Qur’ān 71.

<sup>158</sup> Qur’ān 14.

<sup>159</sup> Qur’ān 21, more commonly called “The Prophets.”

<sup>160</sup> Qur’ān 23.

<sup>161</sup> Qur’ān 13.

<sup>162</sup> Qur’ān 52.

<sup>163</sup> Qur’ān 67.

<sup>164</sup> Qur’ān 69.

<sup>165</sup> Qur’ān 70, more commonly called “The Stairways.”

<sup>166</sup> Qur’ān 78, more commonly called “The Tiding.”

<sup>167</sup> Qur’ān 79.

<sup>168</sup> Qur’ān 82.

<sup>169</sup> Qur’ān 30.

<sup>170</sup> Qur’ān 29.

<sup>171</sup> Following M; ed. Leiden, Ibn.

anything that was revealed in Medina. The Prophet recognized the division between sura and sura when the words “In the Name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate” were revealed. So they knew that the first sura was finished and a new sura was begun.

2:34 Some authorities have transmitted that | the Torah was revealed on the sixth day of the month of Ramaḍān; the Psalms on the twelfth day of the month of Ramaḍān, one thousand five hundred years after the Torah; and the Gospel on the eighteenth day of the month of Ramaḍān, eight hundred years after the Psalms—some say six hundred.

Others relate that the Qur’ān was revealed on the twentieth day of the month of Ramaḍān.

Ja’far b. Muḥammad related that he said: Whenever God sent a prophet, He sent him with what dominated the people of his time. Thus, He sent Moses the son of ʿImrān to people who were dominated by magic; he came to them bringing things that confounded their magic, such the staff, his hand, the locusts, the lice, the frogs, the blood, the splitting of the sea, the cleaving of the rock so that water came out of it, and the obliteration of their faces; these were his signs.<sup>172</sup> He sent David at a time when workmanship and entertainments dominated the people; so He made iron soft for him and gave him a beautiful voice, so that wild animals gathered because of the beauty of his voice. He sent Solomon when people were dominated by a love of building and by the use of charms and wonders; so He made the wind and the jinn subservient to him. He sent Jesus at a time when medicine was the thing that dominated people; so He sent him to revive the dead and to heal the man born blind and the leper. He sent Muḥammad at a time when the people were dominated by speech, soothsaying, rhymed prose, and orations; so He sent him with the clear Qur’ān and disputation.

### The Deaths of Khadija and Abū Ṭālib

Khadija bt. Khuwaylid died in the month of Ramaḍān, three years before the Prophet’s emigration; she was sixty-five years old. As she was giving up the ghost, the Messenger of God came into her room and said, “How I hate what

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<sup>172</sup> A similar list of nine signs visited on the Egyptians is given in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:485, where it is explained that the obliteration refers to when Moses prayed against the Egyptians and God turned their property into stone. A Syrian traveler is said to have seen a complete man who was turned into stone. Al-Yāqūbī, however, seems to be referring to a different version.

2:35

I see; but perhaps God will bring | much good out of what is hateful. When you meet your co-wives in paradise, Khadija, greet them." "And who are they, Messenger of God?" she asked.<sup>173</sup> He said: "God married me to you in paradise, and He also married me to Mary the daughter of 'Imrān, to Āsiya bt. Muzāḥim, and to Moses's sister Kulthūm."<sup>174</sup> She said, "May the marriages be tranquil and fruitful!" When Khadija passed away, Fāṭima clung to the Messenger of God, weeping and saying: "Where is my mother? Where is my mother?" Gabriel then descended upon him and said, "Say to Fāṭima, 'God the Exalted has built for your mother in paradise a house of brilliant pearls wherein there is neither weariness nor tumult.'"<sup>175</sup>

Abū Ṭālib died three days after Khadija; he was eighty-six years old—some say ninety. When the Messenger of God was told that Abū Ṭālib had died, he took it to heart and was sorely grieved. He went into the room and wiped his right brow four times and his left brow three times, and said: "Uncle, you raised a young child, cared for an orphan, and helped an adult. May God reward you well for my sake." He walked before his bed; then he faced it and said, "The ties of kinship bound you; may you be well rewarded!" He said: "Two blows have come together on this community in these days. I do not know for which of them I grieve more." He meant the blow of [the deaths of] Khadija and Abū Ṭālib.

He is reported to have said, "God the Mighty and Exalted made a promise to me with regard to four people: my father, my mother, my uncle, and a brother I had in the time of ignorance."<sup>176</sup>

### The Messenger of God Offers Himself to the Tribes and Leaves for al-Ṭā'if

The Quraysh became emboldened against the Messenger of God after the death of Abū Ṭālib; they desired to overcome him and tried time after time to kill him. The Messenger of God would offer himself to the tribes of the Arabs at every

<sup>173</sup> Khadija was Muḥammad's only wife at this time; hence her surprise at Muḥammad's mention of co-wives.

<sup>174</sup> That is, to Mary the mother of Jesus, to the wife of Pharaoh who took pity on the infant Moses (cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:444–449), and to the sister of Moses.

<sup>175</sup> "A house of *brilliant pearls*": This is the usual interpretation of the word *qaṣab* in this tradition—it normally means "reeds." A lengthy explanation can be found in Lane, *Lexicon*, 7:2529c–2530a, s.v. *qaṣab*.

<sup>176</sup> That is, a promise that they would enter paradise.

2:36 pilgrimage season.<sup>177</sup> He would speak to the nobleman of every group of men, asking them only that they shelter him | and protect him. He would say, “I will not compel any of you; I only want you to protect me from attempts on my life, until I transmit the messages of my Lord.” No one, however, accepted him. They said, “A man’s own people know best about him.”

Then he went to the Thaqīf in al-Tā’if.<sup>178</sup> He found three men, brothers who at that time were the chieftains of Thaqīf: ‘Abd Yālāy b. ‘Amr, Ḥabib b. ‘Amr, and Mas‘ūd b. ‘Amr. He presented himself to them and complained to them of his troubles. One of them said, “I will steal the coverings of the Ka‘ba if God has sent you!”<sup>179</sup> The second said, “Was God incapable of sending anyone but you?” The last said: “By God, I will not speak to you [ever]. If you are a messenger, as you say, you are too important for me to reply to you; and if you are lying against God, it is not fitting for me to speak to you.”]<sup>180</sup> They derided him and divulged among their kin what they had said to him. They lay in wait for him in two rows, and when the Messenger of God passed by, they pelted him with stones until they bloodied his leg. The Messenger of God said, “I could neither raise a foot or lower it except on a stone.”

In al-Tā’if, ‘Utbā b. Rabi‘a and Shayba b. Rabi‘a came to him, and with them was a Christian slave boy of theirs named ‘Addās.<sup>181</sup> They sent the latter to the Messenger of God, and when he heard his words, he accepted Islam.

The Messenger of God returned to Mecca.

<sup>177</sup> Arabic *mawsim*, which can refer to the pilgrimage festival or to a commercial fair such as held at ‘Ukāz.

<sup>178</sup> Parallels: Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 279–281; Ibn Sa‘d, *Ṭabaqāt*, 1/1, 141–142; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:1199–1202.

<sup>179</sup> The text of Ed. Leiden translates: “One of them said verily he would steal the coverings of the Ka‘ba ‘if God has sent you.’” The transition from third person to first is strange, and M has an undotted tooth letter that Houtsma deleted to obtain his reading of *alā* in *fa-qāla ahaduhum alā yasriqu*. It would be better to read, *fa-qāla ahaduhum an la-asriqu* ... Also, M does not show the *yā’* needed for the Houtsma’s reading of *yasriqu*.

<sup>180</sup> The text in brackets was restored by the Leiden editor from the parallels in Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 279, and in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:1200. It has fallen out of the MSS by homeoteleuton.

<sup>181</sup> MSS ‘Addāsh, corrected by the Leiden editor on the basis of Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 280.

## The Coming of the Anşār<sup>182</sup> to Mecca

The Aws and the Khazraj, sons of Hāritha b. Tha'laba,<sup>183</sup> were people of strength and power in their lands until the wars took place between them that brought destruction upon them in well-known battles that they fought. Among these were the Day of al-Şufayna, which was the first day on which fighting took place, the Day of al-Sarāra,<sup>184</sup> | the Day of the Agreement of the Banū Khaṭma, the Day of Hātib,<sup>185</sup> the Day of Huḍayr al-Kata'ib,<sup>186</sup> The Day of the Fortress of the Banū Sālim, the Day of [...],<sup>187</sup> the Day of al-Baqī', the Day of Bu'āth, the Day of Muḍarris and Mu'abbis,<sup>188</sup> the Day of al-Dār, the Day of Bu'āth II, and the Day of the Sacrilege (*Fijār*) of the Anşār.<sup>189</sup> They used to move around in these places by which their battle days came to be known and fight each other fiercely.

2:37

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- 182 The Anşār (Helpers) were the inhabitants of Medina, especially those of the tribes of Aws and Khazraj, who accepted Islam, as distinguished from the Muhājirūn, Meccans who emigrated to Medina. See the article by W. Montgomery Watt in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Anşār. Strictly speaking, the use of the designation here appears anachronistic. Ibn al-Athīr begins his section on the “Battle Days of the Anşār (the Aws and Khazraj) and the Wars that Took Place Between Them,” with the statement: “Anşār is a designation for the tribes of al-Aws and al-Khazraj, the two sons of Hāritha b. Tha'laba ... The Messenger of God bestowed this designation on them when he emigrated to them and they protected and helped him.” (Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 1:491.) Parallels: Ibn Hishām, *Sūra*, 286–313; Ibn Sa'd, *Tabaqāt*, 1/1, 145–150; al-Tabārī, *Ta'rīkh*, 1:1207–1227. On the history of Yathrib/Medina before Islam, see the article by W. M. Watt in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Madina. J. Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, iv/1 (“Medina vor dem Islam”), collects and translates the primary texts on the “days”—that is, tribal battles—in Medina from the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* and Ibn Athīr, *al-Kāmil*.
- 183 For “the (two) sons (i.e., descendants) of Hāritha b. Tha'laba,” M reads, incorrectly, “and the two sons of Hāritha Abī (i.e., father of) Tha'laba.”
- 184 MSS: al-Sarāda. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 1:497–498. The poem on p. 498 shows that Wellhausen's vocalization in *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, iv/1, 41 (*al-Sarrāra*) is wrong.
- 185 Thus, correctly, M. The MS on which ed. Leiden was based (C) read “Hātib Qays,” which Houtsma corrected to “Hātib b. Qays” on the basis of Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 1:503, where the Hātib after whom the war was named is identified as Hātib b. Qays.
- 186 This nickname of Huḍayr b. Simāk means “Huḍayr of the Battalions.” For its origin, see Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, iv/1, 57 (citing *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, 15:165).
- 187 The word is unpointed in the MSS and uncertain. Houtsma's conjectural reading can be vocalized as *ibtarawhu*, which would mean “they sharpened it (sc. the arrow)” or as *abtarūhu*, “they cut off its tail” or “they deprived him of male progeny.”
- 188 So called because the fighting took place near two walls called al-Muḍarris and al-Mu'abbis. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 1:507.
- 189 So called because it was triggered by the unjust killing of hostages. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 1:509.

When war had bitten them with its teeth and laid its breast upon them,<sup>190</sup> and they supposed that it would be their destruction, and when the Banū l-Naḍīr, Qurayṣa, and other Jewish tribes became emboldened against them, some of their men set out for Mecca to ask the Quraysh to strengthen them. The latter, however, were disdainful and set them unacceptable conditions. The person who set these conditions for them was Abū Jahl b. Hishām al-Makhzūmī. Some say that the Quraysh had in fact agreed to their request, until Abū Jahl returned from a journey—he had been absent. He broke the pact and set unacceptable conditions for them.<sup>191</sup>

Next they went to al-Ṭā’if and asked the Thaqīf, but they were slow in responding to them, and so they left.

After the Messenger of God was sent with his mission, one of their men—he was named Suwayd b. al-Ṣāmit of the Aws—came to perform the pilgrimage or the lesser pilgrimage.<sup>192</sup> Having learned of the affair of the Messenger of God, he met him and spoke to him, and the Messenger of God summoned him [to God]. Suwayd said to him, “I have the scroll of Luqmān<sup>193</sup> with me.” “Show it to me,” he said. So he showed it to him. The Messenger of God said, “This discourse is indeed good, but what I have with me is better than it: the discourse of God,” and he recited to him. So he said, “Muḥammad, this discourse is indeed good.” He then returned to Medina, where the Khazraj killed him soon afterward.

Then a group of them came again to Mecca—they were the Banū ‘Afrā’—  
2:38 to vie for glory, along with As‘ad b. Zurāra. | The Messenger of God met them, summoned them to God, and recited the Qur’ān to them. One of them—his name was Iyās b. Mu‘ādh—said, “Men, this, by God, is the prophet with whom the Jews have been threatening you; so let no one reach him before you.” They therefore accepted Islam. The Messenger of God obligated them to believe in God and in His Messenger. Then they went back and told their fellow tribesmen what had taken place. They had asked the Messenger of God to send with them a man from himself to summon the people by means of the Book of God, and

<sup>190</sup> The metaphor is of war as a camel that bites people and then lies down crushing whatever is beneath its breast.

<sup>191</sup> For a fuller narrative, see Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 1:507–508.

<sup>192</sup> The lesser pilgrimage (*‘umra*) involves circumambulating the Ka‘ba outside of the time of the main pilgrimage. Also omitted in the lesser pilgrimage are the rites connected with the journey to ‘Arafat.

<sup>193</sup> Luqmān was a legendary hero and sage of pre-Islamic Arabia. For the legends connected with him, see the article by B. Heller and N. A. Stillmann, in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Luqmān. The story of Suwayd b. al-Ṣāmit can be found with more details in Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 283–285; Ibn Sa‘d, *Tabaqāt*, 1/1, 147–148; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:1207–1209.

so the latter sent Muṣ‘ab b. ‘Umayr, who lodged with As‘ad b. Zurāra. He began summoning them to God the Mighty and Exalted and teaching them Islam. He was the first to come to Medina.<sup>194</sup>

Then twelve of their men went out to him and met him. They were the participants in the First [Pledge of] al-‘Aqaba.<sup>195</sup> They believed in God and affirmed his truthfulness. Then they returned to Medina. There were many reports about him, and Islam spread there.

When the next year came, a group of the Aws and a group of the Khazraj set out to meet him. Seventy men and two women came; they accepted Islam and affirmed his truthfulness. The Messenger of God took from them an oath of allegiance according to the pledge of women.<sup>196</sup> They asked him to leave for Medina with them. They said: “No group of men has come to be in such evil straits as we are. Perhaps God will bring us together through you and unify us; then no one will be stronger than you.”<sup>197</sup> The Messenger of God answered them with kind words. Then they returned to their people and summoned them to Islam, which so increased that there remained not a single house of the Anṣār in which the Messenger of God was not well spoken of.

They asked him to leave with them.<sup>198</sup> They promised him that they would help him against near and far, black and ruddy.<sup>199</sup> Al-‘Abbās b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib said to him, “As for me, may my father and my mother be your ransom, I will obligate them to that oath.” So he granted that to him, and he took oaths and covenants from them that they would protect him and his family from what they would protect themselves, their families, and their children, that they would make war with him | against the black and the ruddy, and that they would aid him against near and far. He stipulated for them the fulfillment of this ... and paradise.<sup>200</sup>

2:39

<sup>194</sup> That is, the first Meccan Muslim to emigrate to Medina.

<sup>195</sup> Thus called because it was sworn at a place called al-‘Aqaba on the pilgrimage route between Mecca and ‘Arafat. Parallels: Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 288–290; Ibn Sa‘d, *Tabaqāt*, 1/1, 148–150; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:1210–1213.

<sup>196</sup> *Bay’at al-nisā’*: This was a pledge to accept Islam, without any commitment to defend Muḥammad.

<sup>197</sup> Reading with M *a‘azz minka*; ed. Leiden reads *a‘azz minnā*, “stronger than we,” agreeing with Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 287 and al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:1210.

<sup>198</sup> Either al-Ya‘qūbī’s account at this point is highly abbreviated or something has fallen out of the MSS indicating that this paragraph relates to events in the next pilgrimage season, the so-called Second Pledge at al-‘Aqaba, involving an obligation to fight in Muḥammad’s defense. Parallels: Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 293–303; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:1217–1227.

<sup>199</sup> “The black and the ruddy” refers to the Arabs (the black) and the non-Arabs (the ruddy).

<sup>200</sup> Some words apparently have dropped out of the text. In M, the word “and paradise” (*wa-*

## The Departure of the Messenger of God from Mecca

The Quraysh decided<sup>201</sup> to kill the Messenger of God. They said, “Today he has no one to help him, now that Abū Ṭālib has died.” They decided together that they would get a strapping young man from every clan; they would come against him together and strike him with their swords as one man. The Banū Hāshim would not have the strength to fall out with all of the Quraysh. When the Messenger of God learned that they had decided to attack him, in the night that they had set, the Messenger of God went out under cover of darkness; Abū Bakr was with him. He left ‘Alī<sup>202</sup> behind on his bed to return the things that had been entrusted to him and went to a cave in the mountains and hid there. The Quraysh came to his bed and found ‘Alī. They asked, “Where is your cousin?”

2:40 He replied, “You said to him, ‘Depart from us’ | and so he has departed.” They looked for footprints, but could find none; God blinded them to the places. They stood at the entrance to the cave—a turtle-dove had nested there—so they said that no one was in the cave and departed.

The Messenger of God came out [from the cave], heading for Medina. He passed by Umm Ma‘bad al-Khuzā‘iyya and stayed with her; then he continued on his way until he came to Medina. He had stayed a total of thirteen years in Mecca from the time he received his mission until he left it for Medina.

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*l-janna*) is written between the lines. What dropped out can be inferred from Ibn Hishām and al-Ṭabarī, who read: “And what will we get in return if we keep our word?”—“Paradise,” he said.

201 Following ed. Leiden, *ajma‘at* here and in the next sentence; M has *ijtama‘at*, “came together, met together,” in both places.

202 M at this point has an x over the word ‘Alī, pointing to the following text in the margin, which was probably inserted by a copyist after al-Ya‘qūbī to exalt ‘Alī over Abū Bakr. Following C, ed. Leiden incorporates the passage into the main text at this point, although it clearly interrupts the flow of the narrative. The addition is as follows:

It has been related that God the Mighty and Exalted revealed to Gabriel and Michael in that night: “I have decreed death for one of you. Which of you, then, will share equally with his comrade?” Each of them chose life. God then revealed to them, “Why have you not been like ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib? I united him and Muhammad in brotherhood, but made the lifespan of one of them greater than the other’s. ‘Alī has chosen death and preferred that Muhammad should survive; he has gone to sleep in his bed. Go down both of you and protect him from his enemies.” So Gabriel and Michael went down. One of them sat by his head, the other by his feet, guarding him from his enemies and warding off the stones. Gabriel said: “Well done! Well done, son of Abū Ṭālib! Who is like you? God boasts of your goodness to the angels of seven heavens.”

Someone has related that he said that the Quraysh did not know where the Messenger of God had gone until they heard a mysterious voice from one of the mountains of Mecca call out, saying:

If the two Sa‘ds accept Islam, Muḥammad then  
will not fear the opposition of any opponent in Mecca.

Abū Sufyān said, “Among the Sa‘ds there are the Sa‘d of Hudhaym,<sup>203</sup> the Sa‘d of Tamīm, and the Sa‘d of Bakr.” The next night they heard someone say:

O Sa‘d, Sa‘d of the Aws, be you a helper;  
and Sa‘d, Sa‘d of the noble Khazrajīs.  
Turn you to the proclaimer of guidance, and hope to obtain  
from God in Paradise the hope of one who knows.

The Quraysh then knew that he had gone to Yathrib.<sup>204</sup>

Surāqa b. Ju‘shum al-Mudlīj followed him when he came to the watering-place of the Banū Mudlīj. When he caught up with him, the Messenger of God said, “O God, protect me from Surāqa.” Thereupon, the legs of Surāqa’s horse sank into the earth. “Son of Abū Quhāfa,”<sup>205</sup> he cried out, “tell your companion to pray to God to release my horse. I swear by my life that if good does not come to him from me, no evil will come to him from me!” When Surāqa returned to Mecca, he reported the news to them, | but they did not believe him. The person strongest in his unbelief was Abū Jahl. Surāqa therefore said:

2:41

Abū Ḥakam, by God had you been present  
at the incident of my horse, when its feet sank into the ground,  
You would have known and not doubted that Muḥammad  
is a messenger and a proof.<sup>206</sup> Who then can conceal it?

<sup>203</sup> MSS: Hudhayl, corrected by Houtsma on the basis of Ibn Qutayba, p. 51.

<sup>204</sup> An early name of Medina.

<sup>205</sup> That is, Abū Bakr.

<sup>206</sup> A *burhān*, usually taken to mean a proof of God’s power, sometimes referring to miraculous or prodigious events. See Dozy, *Supplément*, s.v.

## The Coming of the Messenger of God to Medina

The Messenger of God came to Medina on Monday, the eighth day of the month of Rabi‘ I.<sup>207</sup> Others say that it was on Thursday, the twelfth of the same month. The Sun on that day was in Cancer, 23° 6'; the moon in Leo, 6° 35'; Saturn in Leo, 2°; Jupiter in Pisces, 6°, retrograde; Venus in Leo, 13°; and Mercury in Leo, 15°.

He lodged with Kulthūm b. al-Hidm, but Kulthūm died only a few days later; so he moved and lodged with Sa‘d b. Khaythama, among the Banū ‘Amr b. ‘Awf.<sup>208</sup> He stayed a few days, but then the fools and hypocrites of the Banū ‘Amr began to throw stones at him at night. When he saw that, he said, “This is no way to treat a guest,”<sup>209</sup> and he departed from them. He mounted his camel and said, “Give her free rein.” Whenever he passed one of the neighborhoods of the Anṣār, they said to him, “Messenger of God, lodge among us and you will lodge among multitude and numbers.” He would say, “Give the camel free rein, for she has been commanded.” Finally, she stopped at the door of Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī and knelt. They prodded her with a stick, but she would not move. So he lodged with Abū Ayyūb and remained with him for several days; then he moved to his own quarters.

<sup>242</sup> Others say that his camel knelt on the site of the mosque, | and he dismounted. Abū Ayyūb came, took his saddle, and led the camel to his home. The Anṣār spoke to him about staying with them, but the Prophet said, “A man stays with his saddle.”

‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib arrived with Fāṭima, the daughter of the Messenger of God. This was some days before his marriage to her. He traveled by night and hid by day until he arrived. He lodged with the Messenger of God. The Messenger of God married her to ‘Alī two months after his arrival. A number of the emigrants<sup>210</sup> had asked the Messenger of God for her hand. When he married

<sup>207</sup> By conventional reckoning, 8 Rabi‘ I of 1 A.H. would be equivalent to September 21, 622; however, this is very uncertain, as the Qur‘ānic revelation abolishing the intercalary month inserted to synchronize the lunar calendar with the solar year had not yet been received. Furthermore, the sun would not have been in Cancer in September.

<sup>208</sup> ‘Amr b. Mālik was a clan of the Aws. Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 306, names Sa‘d b. Khaythama as having been present at the Second Pledge of al-Aqaba and as having been killed in the Battle of Badr. Ibn Hishām adds that although Sa‘d lived among the Banū ‘Amr b. ‘Awf, he belonged to a different clan of the Aws, the Banū Ghanm b. Silm.

<sup>209</sup> Literally, “What sort of *jīwār* is this?” *Jīwār* designates the protection that one gives to a guest, a *jār*.

<sup>210</sup> *Al-Muhājirūn*, Muslims who had emigrated from Mecca to Medina.

her to ‘Alī, they talked about it; so he said, “It wasn’t I who made his marriage; God did.”

Al-‘Abbās b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib arrived with Zaynab,<sup>211</sup> the daughter of the Messenger of God; she had been in al-Tā’if when the Messenger of God emigrated, in the home of Abū l-‘Āṣ b. Bishr b. ‘Abd Duḥmān al-Thaqafī. Then al-‘Abbās returned to Mecca. The emigrants arrived and lodged in the homes of the Anṣār, and the latter shared their homes and wealth with them.

### The Imposition of the Duties of Fasting and Prayer

God the Mighty and Exalted made the month of Ramaḍān a duty and turned the direction for prayer<sup>212</sup> toward the Sacred Mosque<sup>213</sup> in the month of Sha‘-bān, one year and five months after the Prophet’s arrival in Medina.<sup>214</sup> Others say it was one year and a half. God the Mighty and Exalted sent down [the verse]: “We have seen thee turning thy face about in the heaven; now We will surely turn thee to a direction that shall satisfy thee. Turn thy face towards the Sacred Mosque.”<sup>215</sup> There were thirteen days between the revelation of the duty of the month of Ramaḍān and the turning of the direction of prayer to the Ka‘ba.

Some relate that the Messenger of God was praying the noon prayer in the mosque of the Banū Salima. When he had prayed two prostrations, the turning of the direction of prayer toward the Ka‘ba was revealed to him. | So he turned around and set his face toward the Ka‘ba. That mosque therefore was named the Mosque of the Two *Qiblas*.

2:43

<sup>211</sup> M reads, “arrived with the two daughters of the Messenger of God; the two had been in al-Tā’if ...” C, the basis of ed. Leiden, apparently cancels “the two daughters of ...” with an interlinear correction reading, “with Zaynab, the daughter of ...” Houtsma, the Leiden editor, therefore emended the text to give what is translated here. Houtsma, however, doubted that the reading was correct. His note is as follows: “He [the inserter of the correction] has confused Abū l-‘Āṣ b. Bishr with Abū l-‘Āṣ b. al-Rabi’. According to *Khamīs*, 2:92, Fāṭima and Umm Kulthūm are to be understood [as the two daughters], which does not square with what precedes. Sure emendation requires another manuscript.”

<sup>212</sup> Arabic, *qibla*. On the concept and its historical development in Islam, see the article by A. J. Wensinck in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Qibla*.

<sup>213</sup> Arabic *al-masjid al-harām*, that is, the Ka‘ba in Mecca.

<sup>214</sup> Parallels: Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 381–382; Ibn Sa‘d, *Tabaqāt*, 1/2, 3–5, 8–9; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh*, 1:1279–1281.

<sup>215</sup> Qur’ān 2:144.

He built a mosque of bricks and roofed it with palm branches. Someone said to him, “Messenger of God, why don’t you enlarge the mosque, for the Muslims have become many?” He said, “There is no tabernacle like the tabernacle of Moses.”<sup>216</sup>

A male slave of al-‘Abbās called Kilāb worked [on it].<sup>217</sup> The mosque had no minaret in the time of the Messenger of God. Bilāl used to give the call to prayer; then the son of Umm Maktūm gave the call to prayer with him—whichever of them arrived first would give the call to prayer. When the prayer started, one of them would give the second call.<sup>218</sup>

Al-Wāqidī reports that when Bilāl gave the call to prayer, he would stand at the door of the Messenger of God and say, “The prayer, Messenger of God! Come to prayer! Come to prosperity!”<sup>219</sup>

### The Part of the Qur’ān That was Revealed at Medina

Thirty-two suras of the Qur’ān were revealed in Medina. The first to be revealed was, “Woe to the stinters.”<sup>220</sup> Then came the Sura of the Cow.<sup>221</sup> Then came the

<sup>216</sup> Literally, “There is no ‘arīsh (ed. Leiden ‘arsh) like the ‘arīsh of Moses.” An ‘arīsh (for which ‘arsh can be a synonym) is “a booth, or shed, or thing constructed for shade, mostly made of canes, or reeds; and sometimes made of palm-sticks, over which is thrown *thumām*, a species of panic grass” (Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v.). Cf. the account in Ibn Sa‘d, *Tabaqāt*, 1/2, 1–3, which reads ‘arīsh.

<sup>217</sup> Sic M. The text appears to be defective. One might emend ‘amila to ‘amilahu (made it), but there is no other account that singles out the builder of the mosque as this person; all the accounts portray it as a community effort in which Muḥammad joined. C, the basis of ed. Leiden, inserts the word *manāra* (minaret) between the lines, “... Kilāb made a minaret.” But the chronological leap ahead of Muḥammad’s lifetime is very abrupt. It seems best to leave the problem unresolved.

<sup>218</sup> Arabic, *aqāma wāhidun*, that is, one gave the *iqāma*, the second call that immediately precedes the prayer. In later usage, it is pronounced by the muezzin inside the mosque, whereas the first call to prayer, the *adhān*, is pronounced from the minaret.

<sup>219</sup> Literally, “Come to *al-falāh*.” The meaning of *al-falāh* in the call to prayer is uncertain. The normal meaning of *falāh* in later Arabic is “prosperity,” and one would then understand it to mean something like “blessing” here. On the other hand, since the word for prayer (*salāh*) is a loan from Syriac *ṣəlōṭā*, there is a strong possibility that *falāh* mirrors Syriac *pulḥānā* (service/worship).

<sup>220</sup> Qur’ān 83.

<sup>221</sup> Qur’ān 2.

Sura of the Spoils.<sup>222</sup> Then came the Sura of the Family of ‘Imrān.<sup>223</sup> Then came The Mustering.<sup>224</sup> Then came the Sura of the Confederates.<sup>225</sup> Then came the Sura of Light.<sup>226</sup> Then came The Woman Tested.<sup>227</sup> Then came, “Surely We have given thee a manifest victory.”<sup>228</sup> Then came the Sura of Women.<sup>229</sup> Then came the Sura of the Pilgrimage.<sup>230</sup> Then came the Sura of Iron.<sup>231</sup> Then came the Sura of Muḥammad.<sup>232</sup> Then came, “Has there come on man ...?”<sup>233</sup> Then came the Sura of Divorce.<sup>234</sup> Then came the sura, “The unbelievers of the People of the Book and the idolaters would never leave off, till the Clear Sign came to them.”<sup>235</sup> Then came the Sura of the Congregation.<sup>236</sup> Then came the revelation of Prostration.<sup>237</sup> Then came The Believer.<sup>238</sup> Then came, “When the hypocrites come to thee ...”<sup>239</sup> Then came The Disputer.<sup>240</sup> Then came The Apartments.<sup>241</sup> Then came The Forbidding.<sup>242</sup> Then came Mutual Fraud.<sup>243</sup> Then came The Ranks.<sup>244</sup> Then came The Table.<sup>245</sup> Then came, “An acquittal.”<sup>246</sup> Then came, “When comes the help of God, and victory.”<sup>247</sup> Then came, “When the Event

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222 Qur'ān 8.

223 Qur'ān 3.

224 Qur'ān 59.

225 Qur'ān 33.

226 Qur'ān 24.

227 Qur'ān 60.

228 Qur'ān 48.

229 Qur'ān 4.

230 Qur'ān 22.

231 Qur'ān 57.

232 Qur'ān 47.

233 Qur'ān 76.

234 Qur'ān 65.

235 Qur'ān 98.

236 Qur'ān 62.

237 Qur'ān 32.

238 Qur'ān 40, listed above as Meccan.

239 Qur'ān 63.

240 Qur'ān 58.

241 Qur'ān 49.

242 Qur'ān 66.

243 Qur'ān 64.

244 Qur'ān 61.

245 Qur'ān 5.

246 Qur'ān 9, usually known as Repentance.

247 Qur'ān 110.

descends.”<sup>248</sup> Then came The Runners.<sup>249</sup> Then came the two suras of taking refuge with God, together.<sup>250</sup> The last revelation was: “Now there has come to you a Messenger from among yourselves; grievous to him is your suffering; anxious is he over you, gentle to the believers, compassionate. So if they turn their backs, say: ‘God is enough for me. There is no god but He. In Him I have put my trust. He is the Lord of the Mighty Throne.’”<sup>251</sup>

<sup>244</sup> Others say that the last revelation was, “Today I have perfected | your religion for you, and I have completed My blessing upon you, and I have approved Islam for your religion.”<sup>252</sup>

Others have said that the last revelation was, “And fear a day wherein you shall be returned to God.”<sup>253</sup>

Ibn ‘Abbās said: “Whenever Gabriel brought the revelation down to the Prophet, he would say to him, ‘Put this verse in such and such a sura in such and such a place.’ When he revealed the verse, ‘And fear a day wherein you shall be returned to God,’ he said, ‘Put it in the Sura of the Cow.’”

Ibn Mas‘ūd said: “The Qur’ān came down bringing commandment and prohibition, warning and glad tidings.”

Ja‘far b. Muhammad said: “The Qur’ān came down revealing the permitted and the forbidden, duties and precepts, stories and reports, abrogating verses and abrogated verses, clear verses and ambiguous verses, admonitions and parables, outward and inward meanings, and particular and general matters.”

The Messenger of God remained, taking his time and preparing for fighting, until God the Mighty and Exalted revealed: “Leave is given to those who fight because they were wronged—surely God is able to help them—who were

<sup>248</sup> Qur’ān 56.

<sup>249</sup> Qur’ān 100.

<sup>250</sup> Arabic *al-Mu‘awwidhatān*: Suras 113 and 114, each of which begins with the formula, “I take refuge with the Lord.”

<sup>251</sup> Qur’ān 9:128–129.

<sup>252</sup> Qur’ān 5:3. At this point, M inserts an editorial comment in the margin. It was incorporated into C (somewhat miscopied) as part of the text and included—in parentheses—by Houtsma in his edition, with a note that “the whole sentence included in the parentheses probably should be deleted as not having been written by the author [al-Ya‘qūbī].” This strongly Shī‘ī comment found in the margin of M can be translated as follows: “This is the sound, firm, and pure tradition. Its revelation took place on the day of the appointment (*naṣṣ*) of the Commander of the Faithful ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib—God’s blessings upon him—at Ghadir Khumm.”

<sup>253</sup> Qur’ān 2:281.

expelled from their habitations without right, except that they say 'Our Lord is God.' Had God not driven back the people, some by the means of others, there had been destroyed cloisters and churches, oratories and mosques, wherein God's Name is much mentioned. Assuredly God will help him who helps Him—surely God is All-strong, All-mighty."<sup>254</sup> And God said: "So do thou fight in the way of God; thou art charged only with thyself. And urge on the believers; haply God will restrain the unbelievers' might; God is stronger in might, more terrible in punishing."<sup>255</sup> One believer was accounted as ten polytheists, until God the Mighty and Exalted revealed: "Now God has lightened it for you, knowing that there is weakness in you. If there be a hundred of you, patient men, they will overcome two hundred; if there be of you a thousand, they will overcome two thousand."<sup>256</sup> God sent down to him from heaven a sword with a scabbard, and Gabriel said to him, "Your Lord commands you to fight your people with this sword until they say, 'There is no god but God,' and that you are the Messenger of God. If they do that, their blood and property are forbidden, save to one who has a valid claim to them; and to God belongs their reckoning."

The first expedition | that went out and the first banner unfurled in Islam belonged to Ḥamza b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib. We have mentioned it and others in this book of ours after finishing with the expeditions that the Messenger of God himself conducted.

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### The Great Battle of Badr

The Battle of Badr took place on Friday, 13 nights remaining in the month of Ramaḍān, eighteen months after the Prophet's arrival.<sup>257</sup> The circumstances were as follows: Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb came from Syria, leading a caravan carrying merchandise and money belonging to the Quraysh, and the Messenger of God

<sup>254</sup> Qur'ān 22:39–40. Al-Ya'qūbī gives no precise dating for the granting of permission to fight. Cf. the parallel accounts in Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 313–314; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 1:1225, 1234–1235. Since the Second Pledge of al-‘Aqaba involved an obligation to fight, the tendency was to date the permission from that time, even if other traditions dated the Qur'ānic verses granting such permission as later.

<sup>255</sup> Qur'ān 4:84.

<sup>256</sup> Qur'ān 8:66.

<sup>257</sup> Taking into account the uncertainty about the calendar at this early date, the date is approximately March 13, 624. Parallels: Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 427–466; Ibn Sa'd, *Tabaqāt*, 11/1, 6–18; al-Ṭabarī, 1:1281–1349; al-Wāqīdī, *Maghāzī*, 19–172. For a summary of the sources, see the article by Khalil Athamina in *ET<sup>3</sup>*, s.v. Badr.

went out to intercept him. The Quraysh in Mecca received a call for help, telling them of the news—the messenger who brought it was Ḍamḍam b. ‘Amr al-Ghfirān. So they went out prepared and ready to fight.

Abū Sufyān took a different route and escaped with the caravan. The Quraysh arrived ready to fight the Messenger of God. They numbered a thousand men—others say nine hundred and fifty. They would slaughter ten or nine camels every day—Abū Jahl b. Hishām slaughtered ten, Umayya b. Khalaf al-Jumāhī nine, Suhayl b. ‘Amr ten, ‘Utba b. Rabī‘a ten, Shayba b. Rabī‘a nine, Munabbih and Nubayh (the sons of al-Ḥajjāj al-Sahmī) ten, Abū l-Bakhtarī al-Āṣ b. Hishām al-Asadī ten, al-Ḥārith b. Āmir b. Nawfal b. ‘Abd Manāf ten, and al-‘Abbās b. ‘Abd al-Muṭtalib ten.

Some say that al-‘Abbās slaughtered meat on the day of the battle, that the cooking-pots were turned upside-down, and that he went out under compulsion like a prisoner. ‘Abdallāh b. al-‘Abbās said, “My father provided food as a prisoner; no prisoner before him had ever provided food.”

Ibn Ishāq relates that Ḥakam b. Ḥizām was one of those who provided food.

2:46 Abū Lahab was sick and could not go out, but he aided them with four thousand dirhams. Others say that Abū Lahab had gambled with al-Āṣ b. Hishām | al-Makhzūmī and had beaten him; so Abū Lahab gave him to them in place of himself.

The Messenger of God went out with three hundred men—some say ninety<sup>258</sup>—eighty-one from the Emigrants and two hundred and thirty-two from the Anṣār. He had two horses with him, one belonging to al-Zubayr b. al-‘Awwām and one belonging to al-Miqdād b. ‘Amr al-Bahrānī—some say a horse belonging to Marthad b. Abī Marthad al-Ghanawī. He had seventy camels with him. The two sides met on Friday, the 10th of Ramaḍān. Fourteen Muslims were killed; of the polytheists, leading men of the Quraysh, seventy were killed and seventy were taken prisoner.

The Messenger of God commanded that two of the prisoners should be beheaded: ‘Uqba b. Abī Mu‘ayt b. Abī ‘Amr b. Umayya and al-Naḍr b. al-Ḥārith b. Kalada b. ‘Abd Manāf b. ‘Abd al-Dār. He took ransom from sixty-eight men. Al-‘Abbās ransomed himself, his two nephews ‘Aqīl b. Abī Ṭālib and Nawfal b. al-Ḥārith, and an ally of theirs from the Banū Fihr. Al-‘Abbās said to the Messenger of God, “I have no money, so let me beg from the people with my palm.” “Where,” he asked, “is the money you gave to Umm al-Faḍl”—he meant

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<sup>258</sup> As Houtsma notes, there seems to be a corruption or lacuna in the text. Al-Tabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:1296–1297, gives the number as 310, noting that “There is a difference of opinion as to how many more than [three hundred and] ten there were.” Perhaps one should simply understand here, “some say [three hundred and] ninety.”

Lubāba bt. al-Ḥārith al-Hilāliyya, his wife—"and you said to her that it would be for provisions?" He replied: "I bear witness that you are the Messenger of God. By God, no one but she and I knew of it." So he ransomed himself with seventy ounces [of gold] and his two nephews with seventy ounces. The Messenger of God said about the night that al-'Abbās spent as a prisoner, "The moaning of my uncle al-'Abbās in bonds kept me awake all night."

Al-'Abbās accepted Islam and left for Mecca, concealing his conversion. Abū Lahab died a few days after the Battle of Badr or nine days after the news came to them. The first person who reached Mecca and brought the news about the Quraysh and who among them had been killed was 'Amr | b. Jahdām al-Fihri.

2:47

God had strengthened His Prophet and had killed those of the Quraysh whom He killed. The Arabs then sent their delegations to the Messenger of God. The [tribes of] Rabī'a waged war against Kisrā<sup>259</sup>—their battle took place at Dhū Qār.<sup>260</sup> They said, "Use the slogan of the man from Tihāma."<sup>261</sup> So they shouted, "O Muḥammad! O Muḥammad!" They defeated the armies of Kisrā and slew them. The Messenger of God said, "Today is the first day on which the Arabs have obtained their due from the Persians, and it was through me that they were given victory." The Day of Dhū Qār took place four or five months after the Battle of Badr.

The Messenger of God sacrificed in Medina.<sup>262</sup> The people went out to al-Muṣallā<sup>263</sup> on their two festivals; he<sup>264</sup> had not gone out before this. The short spear was in front of him,<sup>265</sup> and he sacrificed two sheep at al-Muṣallā by his own hand—some say one sheep. He went by one route and came back by another.

<sup>259</sup> Kisrā (from the Persian proper name Khusraw) is the Arabic generic term for the rulers of Sasanian Iran.

<sup>260</sup> For a discussion of the battle, its date, and a listing of the Arabic sources, see the article by L. Veccia Vaglieri in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Dhū Ḳār*.

<sup>261</sup> Tihāma is the southern part of the Red Sea coast of the Arabian peninsula. Here it is extended to include the Ḥijāz and Medina.

<sup>262</sup> That is, celebrated the Feast of Sacrifice (*Īd al-Adḥā*) on the 10th of Dhū l-Ḥijja.

<sup>263</sup> The name means simply Prayer-Place. It was an open place southwest of the city in the territory of the Banū Salima. See the article by A. J. Wensinck in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Muṣallā*.

<sup>264</sup> Possibly, "they"—the Arabic word is unpointed in M and could be read as *takhrūj* to agree with *al-nās* (the people). Even if one accepts text of ed. Leiden, the word can be read as an impersonal passive (*lam yukhrāj*) "there had been no going out."

<sup>265</sup> Arabic *'anaza*, a short spear planted in the ground and serving as a *sutra* or *qibla*. For a discussion of the origin and significance of the custom, see the articles by G. C. Miles in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *'Anaza*, and by A. J. Wensinck, s.v. *Sutra*.

## The Battle of Uhud

The Battle of Uhud<sup>266</sup> took place in the month of Shawwāl, a year after Badr. The Quraysh gathered and prepared to seek revenge for the Day of Badr. They made use of the money that Abū Sufyān had brought. “Spend nothing of it,” they said, “except in making war on Muḥammad.” Al-‘Abbās b. ‘Abd al-Muṭtalib wrote to inform the Messenger of God about them and sent the letter with a man from the tribe of Juhayna, so the Messenger of God informed his companions about them.

The polytheists, numbering three thousand, set out with Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb as their head. The Messenger of God thought that it was best for him not to leave Medina. This was because of a vision that he had seen in his sleep, that there was a notch in his sword, that some cows<sup>267</sup> belonging to him were being slaughtered, and that he had put his hand into an invulnerable coat of mail. Muḥammad interpreted it to mean that some of his companions would be killed, that a man of his own family would be hit, and that the coat of mail was Medina.<sup>268</sup> The Anṣār advised him to go out; but when he had already put on his battle garments, the Anṣār deferred to his judgment and said, “Let us not go out of Medina.” He replied: “Now that I have put on my breastplate? When a prophet puts on his breastplate, he does not take it off until he fights until God gives him victory.”<sup>269</sup> And so he went out.

The Muslims, numbering a thousand men, went out as far as Uhud. The polytheists came, and the two sides fought fiercely. Ḥamza b. ‘Abd al-Muṭtalib, “the Lion of God and the Lion of His Messenger,” was killed. Wahshī, a slave belonging to Jubayr b. Muṭ‘im, hit him with a javelin and he fell. Hind bt. ‘Utba b. Rabī‘a mutilated him. She split him open to expose his liver, took a piece of it, and ate it; she also cut off his nose. The Messenger of God was sorely grieved by his death, and said, “I shall never be afflicted by the like of your death.” He recited the words, “God is great,” seventy-five times over him.

<sup>266</sup> Uhud is a rocky, plateau-topped mountain about 5km (3 miles) north of Medina. For a summary of the events and a listing of the sources, see the article by C. F. Robinson in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Uhud. Parallels: Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 555–638; Ibn Sa‘d, *Tabaqāt*, II/1, 25–34; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh*, 1:1383–1427; al-Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, 199–334.

<sup>267</sup> Reading with M and Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 558, *baqaran*; ed. Leiden reads *ba‘iran*, a camel.

<sup>268</sup> This sentence, explaining Muḥammad’s hesitation as due to a dream, is written in the margin of the MSS and may not have formed part of al-Ya‘qūbī’s original text.

<sup>269</sup> Reading, with M and C, *aw*, but reading the following verb as subjunctive and understanding *aw* not as ‘or,’ but as equivalent to *hattā* (until). There is no need to amend *aw* to *wa* (and), as in ed. Leiden.

The Muslims were driven back until the Messenger of God remained with only three men: ‘Alī, al-Zubayr, and Ṭalḥa. The hypocrites said, “Muhammad has been killed.” ‘Abdallāh b. Qamī'a<sup>270</sup> shot at him and left a mark on his face. Khālid b. al-Walīd, who was in command of the left wing of the polytheists, rushed into the gap and killed ‘Abdallāh b. Jubayr and a group of Muslims with arrows; the Messenger of God had sent them to that gap.

The army of the Messenger of God came back, bringing with it the defeat that the Muslims had suffered. God said: “When you were going up, not twisting about for anyone, and the Messenger was calling you in your rear.”<sup>271</sup> God reproved the Muslims in verses of His book. Sixty-eight Muslims had been killed, and twenty-two polytheists. Then the polytheists went back, and God dispersed their host.

A Jew came and stood at | the door of the fort where the women were—  
2:49  
 Ḥassān b. Thābit<sup>272</sup> was with them. The Jew shouted, “Today the charm has been broken,” and he started to climb up. Ṣafiyya bt. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib said, “Ḥassān, go down to him!” “May God have mercy on you, daughter of ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib,” he replied. “If I were someone who fights with men of valor, I would have gone out with the Messenger of God to fight.” So Ṣafiyya took the sword—some say she took a stick—and struck the Jew until she killed him. Then she said, “Go down and take his booty.” He replied, “I have no need of his booty.” It has been related that the Messenger of God assigned Ṣafiyya a share [of the booty] on that day.

The morning after the Day of Uhud, the Messenger of God called out, and the men came out despite their weakness and the wounds they had suffered. The Messenger of God went out as far as Ḥamrā’ al-Usd, and then came back to Medina, not having encountered any trickery.<sup>273</sup> They were “those who answered God and His Messenger after the wound had smitten them.”<sup>274</sup>

<sup>270</sup> The reading and vocalization are conjectural. The MSS have no points over the letters.

<sup>271</sup> Qur’ān 3:153.

<sup>272</sup> Ḥassān b. Thābit, of the Khazraj, served as Muhammad’s “poet laureate.”

<sup>273</sup> Located about eight miles from Medina (Yāqūt, *Mu’jam al-buldān*, s.v.), Ḥamrā’ al-Usd was where the Meccan army had encamped. Muhammad’s action was intended to show that the Muslims had not really been defeated.

<sup>274</sup> Qur’ān 3:172.

### The Battle with the Banū l-Naḍīr

Then the battle with the Banū l-Naḍīr took place, four months after Uhud.<sup>275</sup> They were a sub-tribe of the Judhām, except that they had become Jewish and had settled at a mountain called al-Naḍīr; so they were named for it, and similarly the Qurayṣa. After directing someone to kill Ka'b b. al-Ashraf, the Jew who had wanted to use cunning against the Messenger of God, the Messenger of God sent them a message, saying: "Leave your dwellings and your property." 'Abdallāh b. Ubayy b. Salūl and his hypocrite friends sent word to them, saying: "Do not leave, for we will help you." So they did not leave. The Messenger of God marched against them after the mid-afternoon prayer, fought them, and killed a group of them; 'Abdallāh b. Ubayy b. Salūl and his friends abandoned them. When they saw that they had no strength to fight the Messenger of God, 2:50 they sued for peace, and he granted it, | provided that they left their lands; they could take such household utensils as camels could carry; they were not to leave taking gold, silver, or weapons. They set out for Syria. Sallām the son of [the sister of 'Abdallāh b. Sallām and]<sup>276</sup> Yāmīn al-Naḍīrī accepted Islam. The spoils of the Banū l-Naḍīr became the property of the Messenger of God exclusively. He divided them among the emigrants, to the exclusion of the Anṣār, except for two men: Abū Dujāna and Sahl b. Hunayf, who complained of need. During this raid, the Muslims drank date-wine and became intoxicated, so the prohibition on wine was revealed.<sup>277</sup>

### The Battle of the Trench

Then the Battle of the Trench, or the Day of the Confederates, took place in the sixth year, fifty-five months after the arrival of the Messenger of God in Medina.<sup>278</sup> The Quraysh would send to the Jews and other tribes, urging them to fight the Messenger of God. A group of the Quraysh gathered at a place called

<sup>275</sup> On the Banū l-Naḍīr and the parallel sources for these events, see the article by V. Vacca in *EI<sup>2</sup>*, s.v. al-Naḍīr, Banū 'l-.

<sup>276</sup> Houtsma added the bracketed words on the basis of Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-ghāba*, 5:99.

<sup>277</sup> Qur'ān 5:92; for the development of attitudes toward wine in the Qur'ān, from cautious acceptance to complete prohibition, see the article by A. J. Wensinck and J. Sadan in *EI<sup>2</sup>*, s.v. Khamr.

<sup>278</sup> Parallels: Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 669–684; Ibn Sa'd, *Tabaqāt*, 11/1, 47–53; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 1:1463–1485; al-Wāqidi, *Maghāzī*, 440–496; article by W. Montgomery Watt in *EI<sup>2</sup>*, s.v. Khandak.

Sal'. Salmān the Persian advised the Messenger of God to dig a trench. So he dug the trench and assigned each tribal division a point to which they should dig. The Messenger of God dug with them until the digging of the trench was finished. He made gates for it and set guards over the gates, one man from each tribal group. He set al-Zubayr b. al-'Awwām over them and commanded him to fight, if he saw any fighting.<sup>279</sup> The number of the Muslims was seven hundred.

The polytheists arrived and were surprised by the trench. "The Arabs," they said, "have never known about such a thing." They waited five days. On the fifth day, 'Amr b. 'Abd Wudd came out with four men of the polytheists: Nawfal b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Mughīra al-Makhzūmī, 'Ikrima b. Abī Jahl, Dirār b. al-Khaṭṭāb al-Fihri, and Hubayra b. Abī Wahb al-Makhzūmī. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib went out to meet 'Amr b. 'Abd Wudd, challenged him to single combat, | and killed him, and the remaining men were put to flight. Nawfal b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Mughīra was thrown by his horse; 'Alī overtook him and killed him. God the Mighty and Exalted sent a wind and darkness over the polytheists. They went away fleeing, [not turning aside] for anything; Abū Sufyān even mounted his camel while it was still hobbled. When word of this reached the Messenger of God, he said, "The old man has been dealt with quickly!"

2:51

According to what some relate, the fighting went on for three days of shooting without sword-fighting or individual combat; on the third day it went on continuously until the time of the noon prayer, the mid-afternoon prayer, the sunset prayer, and the final night prayer had gone by. The Messenger of God said, "They kept us too busy to pray—God fill their bellies and their graves with fire!" Then he commanded Bilāl to announce prayers, and he prayed the noon prayer, the mid-afternoon prayer, the sunset prayer, and the night prayer. This was before the revelation to him of the verse: "And if you are in fear, then afoot or mounted; but when you are secure, then remember God, as He taught you the things that you knew not."<sup>280</sup>

During this battle, hypocrisy became evident. The hypocrites said: "Muḥammad, you promise the palaces of Kisrā and Caesar, but none of us can even go to the fields to relieve himself. This is nothing but delusion."<sup>281</sup> God the Mighty

<sup>279</sup> Another possible translation: "if he thought it best to fight."

<sup>280</sup> Qur'ān 2:239. This verse and Qur'ān 4:102, along with a number of *hadiths*, provided the legal basis for modifications to the five canonical prayers to render them feasible in times of warfare. The form of prayer used under such conditions came to be called "the prayer of fear," taking its name from this verse. For a detailed discussion, see the article by G. Monnot in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ṣalāt al-Khawf.

<sup>281</sup> Cf. Qur'ān 33:12.

and Exalted therefore revealed the Sura of the Confederates<sup>282</sup> and related in it the things that He related.

Men from the Jews came to the Messenger of God—among them were Ḥuyayy b. Akḥṭab and Sallām b. Abī l-Ḥuqayq—and said to him, “Muḥammad, was *Alif Lām Mīm*<sup>283</sup> revealed?” “Yes,” he said. They asked, “Did Gabriel bring it to you from God?” “Yes,” he said. Ḥuyayy b. Akḥṭab said: “Whenever God sent a prophet, He informed him of the measure of his kingdom. *Alif* stands for one, *lām* for thirty, and *mīm* for forty; so it comes to seventy-one years. Is there anything else?” “Yes,” he said, “*Alif Lām Mīm Ṣād*.<sup>284</sup> “That,” said Ḥuyayy, “is weightier and longer: *alif* stands for one, *lām* for thirty, *mīm* for forty, and *ṣād* for sixty; so it comes to one hundred and thirty-one years. Is there anything else?” “Yes,” he said, “*Alif Lām Rā’*.<sup>285</sup> “That,” said Ḥuyayy, “is weightier and longer: *alif* stands for one, *lām* for thirty, and *rā’* for two hundred; so it comes to two hundred and | thirty-one years. Is there anything else?” “Yes,” he said, “*Alif Lām Mīm Rā’*.<sup>286</sup> “That,” said Ḥuyayy, “is weightier and longer: *alif* stands for one, *lām* for thirty, *mīm* for forty, and *rā’* for two hundred; so it comes to two hundred and seventy-one. Your affair has become unclear to us, Muḥammad; we do not know whether you have been given few years or many. Perhaps you have been given *alif lām mīm*, plus *alif lām mīm ṣād*, plus *alif lām rā’*, plus *alif lām mīm rā’*; which comes to seven hundred and four years.”<sup>287</sup>

At the Day of the Trench, six Muslims were killed, and eight polytheists.

<sup>282</sup> Qur’ān 33.

<sup>283</sup> Apparently referring to Qur’ān 2 (the Sura of the Cow), which begins with the mysterious letters *Alif Lām Mīm*; however, suras 3, 29, 30, 31, and 32 also begin with these letters.

<sup>284</sup> Qur’ān 7 begins with these letters.

<sup>285</sup> Qur’ān 10, 11, 12, 14, and 15 begin with these letters.

<sup>286</sup> Qur’ān 13 begins with these letters.

<sup>287</sup> The MSS read “seven hundred and *sixty*-four years.” Houtsma conjectured that *sixty* was added by someone to make the total correspond to his own computations. Twenty-nine suras of the Qur’ān begin with disconnected letters for which no satisfactory explanation has come down in Islamic tradition. The attempt of the Jews to connect the numerical values of the letters to the presumed duration of Muḥammad’s prophetic dispensation is interesting, but was not accepted by Islamic tradition, especially because the doctrine that Muḥammad is the last prophet cannot be harmonized with the idea that his dispensation would last, at most, seven hundred and four (or sixty-four) years. For a discussion of various theories about these letters, see the article by Keith Massey in *Encyclopaedia of the Qur’ān*, s.v. Mysterious Letters.

### The Battle of the Banū Qurayza

Then the battle of the Banū Qurayza took place.<sup>288</sup> They were a sub-tribe of the Judhām, brothers of the al-Naqīr. They are said to have adopted Judaism in the days of ‘Ādiyā, the father of al-Samaw’al.<sup>289</sup> Then they settled by a mountain called Qurayza and took their name from it. Others say that Qurayza was the name of their ancestor. The battle took place on the heels of the Battle of the Trench. There was a peace agreement between them and the Messenger of God, but they broke it and sided with the Quraysh. He sent Sa’d b. Mu‘ādh, ‘Abdallāh b. Rawāḥa, and Khawwāt b. Jubayr to them; they reminded the Banū Qurayza of the compact, but the Banū Qurayza answered insultingly. After the Quraysh were defeated on the Day of the Trench, the Messenger summoned ‘Alī and said to him, “Advance the banner of the Emigrants to the Banū Qurayza.” He also said, “I have resolved that you shall pray the afternoon prayer only amid the Banū Qurayza.” The Messenger of God mounted a donkey of his, and when he came near them, ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib met him and said, “Messenger of God, don’t come near.” He said, “I think that the men have spoken insultingly.” “Yes, Messenger of God,” replied ‘Alī. He is said to have spoken by means of his hand in a certain way. Then the palm trees parted so that they could see him.<sup>290</sup> The Messenger of God said, “Idol-worshippers! Faces of apes and swine! God do to you—and do!” The Banū Qurayza said, “Abū l-Qāsim,<sup>291</sup> | you have never been one to act immoderately.” So he felt shame and turned back; none of the Emigrants held back from him, and most of the Anṣār turned around; and so he was turned away from the Banū Qurayza.<sup>292</sup> Then they barricaded themselves in their stronghold. The Messenger of God besieged them for some days, until they submitted to the judgment of Sa’d b. Mu‘ādh al-Anṣārī. When

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<sup>288</sup> Parallels: Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 684–697; Ibn Sa’d, *Tabaqāt*, 11/1, 53–56; al-Wāqidi, *Maghāzi*, 496–521; al-Tabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:1485–1498; further details and bibliography in the article by W. Montgomery Watt in *EI<sup>2</sup>*, s.v. *Qurayza*.

<sup>289</sup> Reading with M *abī* (father of), instead of L *ibn* (son of). I.e., the father of the famous Jewish-Arab poet, al-Samaw’al b. ‘Ādiyā, who lived in the middle of the 6th century CE and resided in the castle of al-Ablaq near Taymā’. See the article by Th. Bauer in *EI<sup>2</sup>*, s.v. *al-Samaw’al b. ‘Ādiyā*.

<sup>290</sup> Reading with M *fa-nfaraja l-nakhlu ḥattā ra’awhu*. Ed. Leiden emends unnecessarily to read *fa-nfaraja al-bajalu ḥīna ra’awhu* (The slander ceased when they saw him).

<sup>291</sup> That is, Muhammad, addressing him by his *kunya* or familiar name.

<sup>292</sup> The text is problematic. C and M both have the unpointed word, which Houtsma read as *fa-futila* (so he was turned away). M adds the word *nafar* (group), which would mean, ‘so a group from the Banū Qurayza was turned away’.

Sa'd, who was ill, arrived, they said to him, "Speak, Abū 'Amr, and be gracious." He replied: "The time has come for Sa'd, for the sake of God, not to be influenced by anyone's reproach. Have you accepted my judgment?" "Yes," they replied. He said: "I pass judgment that their fighters shall be killed, their children made captives, and their property given to the emigrants, to the exclusion of the Anṣār." The Messenger of God said, "You have judged with the judgment of God above seven heavens." He had them brought forward ten by ten, and they were beheaded; they numbered seven hundred and fifty. The Messenger of God went back and chose sixteen girls from them; he divided them among the poor of the clan of Hāshim, and he took one of them, named Rayḥāna, for himself. The property and wives of the Banū Qurayza were divided. He made known the share of the horseman and the share of the foot soldier. A horseman would take two shares, and a foot soldier one. It was the first booty in which he made known the share of the horseman. The mounted troops had thirty-eight horses.

### The Battle of the Banū l-Muṣṭaliq

Then the battle of the Banū l-Muṣṭaliq took place.<sup>293</sup> They belonged to the Khuzā'a; the Messenger of God met them at al-Muraysī', defeated them, and took them captive. Among those whom he took captive in his expedition was Juwayriya bt. al-Ḥārith b. Abī Ḥirār—her father, paternal uncle, and husband had been killed. She fell to the lot of Thābit b. Qays b. Shammās al-Khazrajī, who contracted with her to free her in exchange for a certain sum. She thereupon went to the Messenger of God concerning the contract; he paid it for her and married her, making her freedom her bridal dowry. There was not one of the Banū l-Muṣṭaliq whom he captured that he did not free. | They married those among them who were women because of the Messenger of God's marriage to Juwayriya.

During this expedition, the authors of the lie said about 'Ā'iša what they said, but God revealed her innocence.<sup>294</sup> She had lagged behind to attend to some business of hers. Ṣafwān b. al-Mu'atṭal al-Sulamī came, put her on his camel, and led her back; and so certain people spoke the lie about her. The

<sup>293</sup> Parallels: Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 725–731; Ibn Sa'd, *Tabaqāt* 11/2, 45–47; al-Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, 404–426; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 1:1511–1517.

<sup>294</sup> Parallels: Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 731–740; al-Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, 426–440; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 1:1517–1528. See the articles by W. Montgomery Watt in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, and by Denise L. Spellberg in *Encyclopaedia of the Qur'an*, both s.v. *'Ā'iša* bint Abī Bakr. "The lie" (*al-ifk*) was an accusation of unchastity, based on 'Ā'iša's having been alone with a young man.

Messenger of God had Ḥassān b. Thābit, Misṭah b. Uthātha, and ‘Abdallāh b. Ubayy b. Salūl flogged—the latter was the one who “took upon himself the greater part of it”<sup>295</sup>—as well as Ḥamna bt. Jaḥsh, the sister of Zaynab bt. Jaḥsh.

The Banū l-Muṣṭaliq accepted Islam and sent word of their conversion to the Messenger of God. He sent al-Walid b. ‘Uqba b. Abī Mu‘ayt to collect their alms payments,<sup>296</sup> but he returned to the Messenger of God. God the Mighty and Exalted revealed: “O believers, if an ungodly man comes to you with a tiding, make clear, lest you afflict a people unwittingly, and then repent of what you have done.”<sup>297</sup>

### The Expedition of al-Hudaybiya

Then the expedition of al-Hudaybiya took place.<sup>298</sup> The Messenger of God set out in the year 6, intending to make the lesser pilgrimage. He had men with

<sup>295</sup> Qur’ān 24:11, traditionally seen by Sunnī exegetes as referring to this episode. Interestingly, al-Ya‘qūbī, accepts this interpretation of the verse. Later Shī‘ī exegetes applied the verse to Māriya the Copt, leaving the question of ‘Āisha’s innocence or guilt open. See D. A. Spellberg’s article in *Encyclopaedia of the Qur’ān*, s.v. ‘Āisha.

<sup>296</sup> Arabic, *sadaqāt*. Here probably referring to an obligatory payment. See the article by T. H. Weir and A. Zysow in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Şadaka*.

<sup>297</sup> Qur’ān 49: 6. Al-Ya‘qūbī leaves unstated the connection between al-Walid’s mission and the revelation of the verse. The story is given by al-Ṭabarī in his Qur’ānic commentary on the verse on the authority of the Prophet’s wife Umm Salama: “The Messenger of God sent a man to collect the poor-alms of the Banū l-Muṣṭaliq after the battle. The men [of the Banū l-Muṣṭaliq] heard of this and went to meet him in order to glorify the Messenger of God. Satan, however, put it into his mind that they intended to kill him; so he returned to the Messenger of God and said that the Banū l-Muṣṭaliq had refused to pay the poor-alms. The Messenger of God and the Muslims became angry. When the Banū l-Muṣṭaliq learned that the man had returned, they came to the Messenger of God, stood in a line for him when he had prayed the noon prayer, and said: ‘We take refuge in God from the wrath of God and the wrath of His Messenger. You sent a man to collect the poor-alms from us. We were gladdened by it and it found favor in our eyes. Then, however, he went back while he was still some way off, and we feared that it might be because of anger on the part of God and His Messenger.’ They continued addressing him until Bilāl came and gave the call to the afternoon prayer, and the verse was revealed.” (al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmi‘ al-bayān*, ed. Boulaq, 26:78–79).

<sup>298</sup> Parallels: Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 740–755; Ibn Sa‘d, *Tabaqāt*, 11/1, 69–76; al-Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, 571–633; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:1528–1550. Al-Hudaybiya was a small town with a well one stage from Mecca and nine from Medina. It was on the edge of the Meccan *haram* (sacred territory). See the article by W. Montgomery Watt in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Hudaybiya.

him, and he drove seventy head of sacrificial animals. His companions also drove sacrificial animals, and they went out with weapons. When the Quraysh turned him away from the House [of God], he said, “I did not set out intending to fight; I wanted only to visit this house.” The Messenger of God had dreamt that he had entered the House, had shaved his head, and had taken the key.

The Quraysh sent Mikraz b. Ḥafṣ to him, but he refused to speak to him, saying, “This is a dissolute man.” They sent al-Ḥulays b. ‘Alqama to him, one of the Banū l-Ḥārith b. ‘Abd Manāt—he was from people who devoted themselves to piety. When he saw that the sacrificial animals had eaten away their hair,<sup>299</sup> he went back and said, “People of Quraysh, I have seen camels<sup>300</sup> that it is not lawful | to turn away from the House.” So they sent ‘Urwa b. Mas‘ūd al-Thaqafī, and he spoke to the Messenger of God. The Messenger of God said to him, “‘Urwa, is it according to God that these sacrificial animals should be turned away from this house?” ‘Urwa b. Mas‘ūd returned to them and said, “By God, I have never seen the like of Muḥammad for (carrying out) what he has come for.”<sup>301</sup> Then they sent to him Suhayl b. ‘Amr. He spoke to the Messenger of God, was courteous to him, and said, “We will evacuate the city for you next year for three days.” The Messenger of God accepted their proposal, and they wrote up a peace treaty between them for three years. They disputed over the document when he wrote, “In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate, from Muḥammad, the Messenger of God.” Fighting almost broke out between them. Suhayl b. ‘Amr and the polytheists said, “If we had known that you are the Messenger of God, we would not have fought you.” The Muslims said, “Do not erase it.” The Messenger of God commanded them to desist and commanded ‘Alī to write, “In thy name, O God, from Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh.” He said, “My name and the name of my father do not take away my being a prophet.” They stipulated that they would evacuate Mecca for him next year for three days and depart from it, so that he might enter it with the weapons of a rider.<sup>302</sup> The truce between them would be for three years. They would not harm any of the companions of the Messenger of God or prevent him from entering Mecca, and

<sup>299</sup> The parallel in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:1538, adds in explanation, “from being penned up so long.”

<sup>300</sup> Reading with M: *qad ra’aytu mālan lā yaḥillu ṣadduhū*.

<sup>301</sup> Ed. Leiden notes at this point: “Much appears to have fallen out of the text.” However, the text as is, though terse, is idiomatic and makes sense. ‘Urwa is saying that he has never seen anyone with the like of Muḥammad’s determination and ability to carry out his purpose.

<sup>302</sup> The parallel in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:1547, adds in explanation, “with swords in scabbards; you shall not enter with other weapons.”

none of the companions of the Messenger of God would harm any of them. The document was drawn up by Suhayl b. ‘Amr.

The Messenger of God then commanded the Muslims to shave and slaughter their sacrificial animals in the area outside the sacred precinct. They refrained, and doubt came over most of the men. So the Messenger of God shaved and slaughtered, and the Muslims shaved and slaughtered, and the Messenger of God went back to Medina.

He set out the next year—it was the Lesser Pilgrimage of Fulfillment—and entered Mecca on a camel with the weapons of a rider. The Quraysh evacuated the city | for three nights. They left Ḥuwayṭib b. ‘Abd al-‘Uzzā behind in it. The Messenger of God touched the corner [of the Ka‘ba] with his stick—God had spoken truly to His Messenger in the dream. He left the city after three nights and consummated his marriage to Maymūna bt. al-Ḥārith al-Hilāliyya at Sarif.<sup>303</sup> The Quraysh treacherously killed a man from the tribe of Khuzā‘a who had entered under the terms granted to the Messenger of God.

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### The Battle of Khaybar

Then the Battle of Khaybar took place at the beginning of year 7.<sup>304</sup> The Messenger of God conquered their fortresses—there were six of them: al-Sulālim, al-Qamūṣ, al-Natāḥ, al-Quṣāra,<sup>305</sup> al-Shiqq, and al-Marbaṭa, with twenty thousand fighting men in them. He conquered them fortress by fortress. He killed the fighters and took the children captive.

Al-Qamūṣ was one of the strongest and most impregnable of them. It was the fortress where Marḥab b. al-Ḥārith the Jew was. The Prophet said: “I shall give the banner<sup>306</sup> to a man who returns to the fight and does not flee, who loves God and His Messenger, whom God and His Messenger love. He will not return until God grants victory by his hand.” He gave the banner to ‘Alī, who killed Marḥab the Jew. He tore off the door of the fortress—it was a stone four

<sup>303</sup> Sarif is close to Mecca. Yāqūt (*Mujam al-buldān*, 5:70f.) gives the distance as six, seven, nine, or twelve miles.

<sup>304</sup> Parallels: Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 755–776; Ibn Sa‘d, *Tabaqāt*, 11/1, 77–85; al-Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, 633–705; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:575–1591. See also the article by L. Veccia Vaglieri in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Khaybar.

<sup>305</sup> This name and that of al-Marbaṭa occur in no other sources. The letters are written with distinguishing points in M, but the vocalization is conjectural.

<sup>306</sup> C interlines, “tomorrow, God willing”; ed. Leiden incorporates the words into the text.

cubits long, two cubits wide, and a cubit thick. ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib threw it behind him, and entered the fortress, and the Muslims entered it.

Ja‘far b. Abī Ṭālib arrived on that day from the land of Abyssinia. The Messenger of God went to meet him, kissed him between the eyes, and said, “By God, I don’t know what makes me happier: the conquest of Khaybar or the arrival of Ja‘far.”

<sup>257</sup> The Messenger of God selected Ṣafiyya bt. Ḥuyayy b. Akhṭab, freed her, | and married her. He divided their women, their men, and the loads of dates, wheat, and barley among the Banū Hāshim; then he made division among the people as a whole. When he received word about the hardship, need, drought, and famine that the people of Mecca were experiencing, he sent them *sha‘ras* of gold—some say *nawāhs* of gold<sup>307</sup>—with ‘Amr b. Umayya al-Ḍamrī, and he commanded him to deliver it to Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb, Ṣafwān b. Umayya b. Khalaf, and Sahl b. ‘Amr, and to divide it one-third to each. However, Ṣafwān b. Umayya and Sahl b. ‘Amr refused to take it; Abū Sufyān took it all and divided it to the poor of the Quraysh. He said, “May God reward my brother’s son well, for he makes fast the bonds of kinship.”

Zaynab bt. al-Ḥārith, the sister of Marḥab, brought him the poisoned sheep. When he took a bit of it, the foreleg spoke to him, saying, “I am poisoned.” Bishr b. al-Barā’ b. Ma‘rūr was eating with him, and he died.

Al-Ḥajjāj b. ʻIlāt al-Sulamī said to the Messenger of God: “I have become a Muslim. I have property belonging to me in Mecca. Do you give me permission to speak something that will put them at ease, so that perchance I can take my property?” The Prophet gave him permission, and so al-Ḥajjāj set out and arrived in Mecca. The Quraysh came to him and said, “Welcome to you, Ibn ʻIlāt! Have you any news about this cutter [of kinship ties]?” “Yes,” he replied, “if you will conceal my telling it.” They promised that they would conceal the fact until he left. So he said: “Before I came, by God, Muḥammad and his companions were thoroughly defeated; he was even taken prisoner, and they said, ‘We will kill him in return for our chief, Ḥuyayy b. Akhṭab.’” So they rejoiced and drank wine. When al-‘Abbās and the Muslims got word of this, they were deeply grieved. Al-Ḥajjāj took everything that belonged to him and then came to al-‘Abbās and told him of the victory that God had given to His prophet; that God’s arrows had been directed at Khaybar; that Ibn Abī Ḥuqayq had been killed; | and that the Messenger of God had become the husband of the daughter of

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<sup>307</sup> Apparently two standards of weight used by the Quraysh. See the Glossary to de Goeje’s edition of al-Balādhurī, *Kitāb Futūh al-buldān*, 58.

Ḥuyayy b. Akhṭab. Al-Ḥajjāj then left Mecca, and al-‘Abbās became cheerful. Abū Sufyān said to him, “Bear the misfortune patiently, Abū l-Faḍl.”<sup>308</sup> Al-‘Abbās said: “By God, al-Ḥajjāj deceived you until he got his property. He told me that he had become a Muslim and that before he left God granted His prophet victory; he has killed Ibn Abī l-Ḥuqayq, become the husband of the daughter of Ḥuyayy b. Akhṭab, and conquered all the fortresses.” The wife of al-Ḥajjāj wept.<sup>309</sup> The wives of the polytheists joined with her, and the dejection and grief of the polytheists were very great.

### The Conquest of Mecca<sup>310</sup>

The Khuzā‘a were in league with the Messenger of God, and the Kināna were in league with the Quraysh. The Quraysh aided the Kināna, who sent their clients, assaulted the Khuzā‘a, and killed some of them. The Khuzā‘a came to the Messenger of God and complained to him about this. God then gave permission to His Prophet to cut short the period [of truce] between him and the Quraysh, and he decided to attack Mecca. “O God,” he said, “keep the information hidden from them,” meaning the Quraysh. However, Ḥātib b. Abī Balta‘a wrote to the Quraysh via Sāra, the *mawlāh* of Abū Lahab, with information about the Messenger of God and what he had decided. Gabriel descended and told the Messenger of God what Ḥātib had done. So he sent out ‘Alī b. Abī Tālib and al-Zubayr, saying, “Take the letter from her.” They overtook her—she had turned aside from the road—and the letter was found in her hair. (Others say it was found in her vagina.) They took it to the Messenger of God. The latter sent in secret to each tribal leader, telling him what he intended. He commanded each to meet him in a place that he named to him, but to conceal what he had said to him. He secretly told Khuzā‘i b. ‘Abd Nuhm to meet him with the Muzayna at al-Rawḥā’, Abdallāh b. Mālik to meet him with the Ghifār at al-Suqyā, | Qudāma b. Thumāma to meet him with the Banū Sulaym at Qudayd, and al-Ša‘b b. Jaththāma to meet him with the Banū Layth at al-Kadīd. The Messenger of God left on Friday after praying the afternoon prayer on the second day of Ramaḍān of the year 8—others say on the tenth. He left behind

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<sup>308</sup> That is, al-‘Abbās, whose *kunya* was Abū l-Faḍl.

<sup>309</sup> As al-Wāqidī’s account makes clear, she was a pagan.

<sup>310</sup> Parallels: Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 802–832; al-Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, 780–785; Ibn Sa‘d, *Tabaqāt*, 11/1, 96–105; al-Ṭabarī, *Tarīkh*, 1:1618–1647.

Abū Lubāba b. ‘Abd al-Mundhir as his deputy over Medina. The tribes met him at the places he had named for them. He commanded the men to break the fast; those who did not do so were called “the Disobeyers.” He called for water and drank it. Al-‘Abbās b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib met him along the way.

When he reached Marr al-Ζahrān,<sup>311</sup> Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb went to spy out information. With him were Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām and Budayl b. Warqā’. Abū Sufyān asked Ḥakīm, “What are these fires?” He replied, “Khuzā‘a, roused by war.” Abū Sufyān said, “Khuzā‘a is too small and too lowly.” Al-‘Abbās heard his voice and called out to him, “Abū Ḥanżala!”<sup>312</sup> Abū Sufyān replied and said, “Abū l-Faḍl, what is this host?” He said, “This is the Messenger of God,” and he mounted him behind him on his mule. ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb overtook him and said, “Praise be to God, who has delivered you up without treaty or covenant.” However, al-‘Abbās got to the Messenger of God before him, and said, “Messenger of God, this is Abū Sufyān, who has come to accept Islam voluntarily.” So the Messenger of God said to him, “Say, ‘I bear witness that there is no god but God,’ and that I, Muḥammad, am the Messenger of God.” He said, “I bear witness that there is no god but God,” but he began to balk at saying “and that you are the Messenger of God.” Al-‘Abbās shouted at him, and he said it. Then al-‘Abbās asked the Messenger of God to grant Abū Sufyān some honor, saying that he loved honor. So the Messenger of God said, “Whoever enters your house, Abū Sufyān, shall be safe.” Al-‘Abbās detained Abū Sufyān until he had seen God’s army. Abū Sufyān said to him, | “Abū l-Faḍl, your nephew has been granted a great kingdom!” Al-‘Abbās replied, “It is not kingship, but prophethood.”

Abū Sufyān hurried back and, having entered Mecca, told them the news. “It is utter destruction,” he said, “if you do not accept Islam; however, he has granted that whoever enters my house shall be safe.” They jumped on him and said, “Your house isn’t big enough!” So he<sup>313</sup> said, “And anyone who locks his door shall be safe, and anyone who enters the sanctuary<sup>314</sup> shall be safe.”

God granted His Prophet victory and spared him fighting. He and his companions entered Mecca from four places. God made the city profane for him

<sup>311</sup> Marr al-Ζahrān, according to Yāqūt, *Mujam al-buldān*, 4:494, is a valley with many springs, palm trees, and sycamores, one stage from Mecca. Modern maps locate it approximately 25 km northwest of Mecca.

<sup>312</sup> Calling Abū Sufyān by his *kunya*. Abū Sufyān responds with al-‘Abbās’s *kunya*, Abū l-Faḍl.

<sup>313</sup> The MSS add, “may God bless him and grant him peace,” implying that pronoun refers to Muḥammad. Perhaps the word *wa-qāl* (and he said) has dropped out by homeoteleuton. The parallel in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh*, 1:633, assigns the second promise also to Muḥammad.

<sup>314</sup> Arabic *masjid* (mosque), here meaning the area around the Ka’ba.

for one hour of daylight; then the Messenger of God stood up, preached, and declared it sacred.<sup>315</sup>

Umm Hāni' bt. Abī Ṭālib gave sanctuary to two of her relatives by marriage: al-Ḥārith b. Hishām and 'Abdallāh b. Abī Rabī'a.<sup>316</sup> 'Alī wanted to kill them, but the Messenger of God said, “'Alī, we have given sanctuary to those to whom Umm Hāni' has given sanctuary.”

He granted safety to everyone, except for five men whom he ordered to be killed even if they took hold of the curtains of the Ka'ba, and four women. They were: 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā b. Khaṭal of the Banū Taym al-Adram b. Ghālib—the Messenger of God had sent him out with one of the Anṣār, and he had assaulted the Anṣārī and killed him, saying, “No obedience to you or to Muḥammad!”<sup>317</sup>

Also among them was 'Abdallāh b. Sa'd b. Abī Sarḥ al-Āmirī—he had acted as secretary for the Messenger of God, but then he went to Mecca and said: “I say<sup>318</sup> as Muḥammad says. By God, Muḥammad is no prophet! He used to say<sup>319</sup> to me, ‘Write [*God is*] *Mighty, wise*,’ and I would write *Subtle, knowing*. If he were a prophet, he would know.” Uthmān sheltered him—he was his foster-brother<sup>320</sup>—brought him to the Messenger of God, and started talking about him to the Messenger of God, who remained silent. Then the Messenger of God said to his companions, “Why didn't you kill him?” They said, “We were waiting for you to make a sign.” He replied, “Prophets do not kill by making signs.”

<sup>315</sup> Mecca being sacred as a place of sanctuary, and the month, Ramaḍān, being sacred, there were two reasons that would render fighting sacrilegious. God, however, is said to have made a special dispensation in this case, though He also rendered fighting unnecessary. The consequence, though, was that the people of Mecca could legally be considered prisoners of war with the status of slaves. Muḥammad, however, declared them free. See al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:1643.

<sup>316</sup> Umm Hāni', Muḥammad's cousin, was married to Hubayra b. Abī Wahb al-Makhzūmī. There is irony in her giving sanctuary to her in-laws, as her husband Hubayra never accepted Islam. He was reported to have been in Najrān at the time of the conquest, and stayed there until his death. See Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 828; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:1647.

<sup>317</sup> The story of the apostasy of this Muslim is given with more details in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:1640.

<sup>318</sup> Perhaps one should emend the text to read, “I write as Muḥammad says.”

<sup>319</sup> Following the reading of M (*wa-laqad kāna yaqūlu*); ed. Houtsma has *wa-law kāna yaqūlu*, “If he said to me,” but the Arabic syntax then becomes strained and unusual.

<sup>320</sup> That is, the two men as infants had been nursed by the same woman. This was considered to create a bond similar in some ways to a blood relationship. See the article by J. Schacht and J. Burton in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Raḍā'*.

2:61 Also among them was Miqyas | b. Șubāba, one of the Banū Layth b. Kināna. His brother had been killed. He accepted blood-money<sup>321</sup> from the killer, but then attacked and killed him.<sup>322</sup>

Also among them was al-Ḥuwayrith b. Nuqaydh<sup>323</sup> b. Wahb b. ‘Abd Quṣayy.<sup>324</sup> He was someone who used to harass the Messenger of God in Mecca and use vile language against him.

Among the women was Sāra, a *mawlāh* of the Banū ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib. She used to speak insultingly of the Messenger of God.

Also among the women were Hind bt. ‘Utba and two of Ibn Khaṭal’s slave girls: Qarība and Fartanā, who used to sing satirical verses about the Messenger of God.

The Quraysh accepted Islam willingly or reluctantly. The Messenger of God took the key of the Ka’ba from ‘Uthmān b. [Abī] Ṭalḥa. He opened the door and its curtains with his hand, entered the Ka’ba, and prayed two prostrations in it. Then he came out and took hold of the side-posts of the door and said: “There is no god but God alone; He has no partner. He has fulfilled His promise and helped His servant. He alone has overcome the confederates. So to God belong praise and the kingdom; He has no partner.”

Then he said: “What do you think and what do you say?” Suhayl<sup>325</sup> said, “We think well and we say well: a noble brother and the son of a noble uncle; and now you have won.” “I say to you,” he said, “as my brother Joseph<sup>326</sup> said, ‘No reproach shall be on you today.’”<sup>327</sup> Then he said: “Now every [claim of] blood, wealth, and hereditary privilege in the Time of Ignorance is abolished,<sup>328</sup>

<sup>321</sup> Arabic *diya*: a specified amount of money or goods due in cases of homicide or other injuries to physical health unjustly committed upon the person of another. The payment for homicide was normally 100 camels, payable to the aggrieved family. The payment forestalled all further vengeance. See the article by E. Tyan in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Diya*.

<sup>322</sup> Further details about Miqyas in Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 728, 819; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh*, 1:1515–1516, 1640–1641.

<sup>323</sup> Ed. Leiden and M read *b. Hind*; Houtsma emends on the basis of Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 819.

<sup>324</sup> The name is given in Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 819, and al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh*, 1:1640, as “... b. ‘Abd b. Quṣayy.”

<sup>325</sup> That is, Suhayl b. ‘Amr, who had represented the Quraysh in drafting the treaty of al-Ḥudaybiya.

<sup>326</sup> Brother, because a fellow prophet.

<sup>327</sup> Qur’ān 12:92.

<sup>328</sup> The Time of Ignorance (*al-Jāhiliyya*) was the time before Islam brought knowledge of God to the Arabs. The term occurs four times in the Qur’ān, and its exact meaning has been much discussed. See the article in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Djāhiliyya*. The phrase that I have translated

except the custodianship of the Ka'ba and the right of supplying of water to the pilgrims; they are restored to those entitled to them.<sup>329</sup> Behold, Mecca is inviolable, with the inviolability of God; it was not allowed as profane to anyone before me, and will not be allowed as profane to anyone after me. It was allowed to me as profane for only an hour; then it was closed, and shall be inviolable until the day of resurrection. Its fresh herbage shall not be cut; its trees shall not be lopped; its game shall not be frightened; and property found in it is permitted only to one who makes public announcement.<sup>330</sup> For murder with the likeness of intention the blood money shall be made rigorous.<sup>331</sup> The child belongs to [the owner of] the bed,<sup>332</sup> and for the fornicator there shall be stoning." Then he said: | "Truly, what bad neighbors you have been! But go now, for you have been set free."<sup>333</sup>

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He entered Mecca not in a state of consecration.<sup>334</sup> He commanded Bilāl to climb to the top of the Ka'ba and give the call to prayer. The Quraysh were distressed by this. Ikrīma b. Abī Jahl and Khālid b. Asīd said, "Ibn Rabāḥ<sup>335</sup> is braying on the Ka'ba." Some other men spoke along with them. The Messenger of God sent someone to them, and they said, "We did say it, but we ask God's forgiveness." He said: "I don't know what I should say to you. But let him attend

as "is abolished" is more vivid in the Arabic. Literally, the Arabic says, "is [as dust] under these two feet of mine."

- 329 On the custodianship (*sidāna*) of the Ka'ba and the right of supplying water to the pilgrims (*siqāya*), see the article by A. J. Wensinck and J. Jomier in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ka'ba.
- 330 Arabic *wa-lā taḥillu luqṭatuhā illā li-munshidin*. Similar wording occurs in a *ḥadīth* attributed to Ibn 'Abbās; see the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim, Book 7 (Hajj), Chapter 80, no. 3139. That is, if someone finds something, he must not simply take it as his own; but he may pick it up and advertise that he has done so, in hope of locating the owner.
- 331 Arabic *al-diyya mughallaza*: the full payment of 100 camels. Cf. Lane, *Lexicon*, 6:2283.
- 332 That is, the paternity of the child is attributed to the owner of the bed in which it is born.
- 333 Literally, "you are *tulaqā'*." The word (plural of *talīq*) designates "a captive having his bond loosed from him," or "a man freed from slavery, emancipated." See al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, ed. Leiden, *Glossarium*, CCCXLII. The word became a technical term for those of the Quraysh who became Muslims at the time of the conquest of Mecca.
- 334 Arabic *bi-ghayri ihrāmin*. That is, he did not enter the state of ritual consecration required of those intending to perform the greater or lesser pilgrimage. The state is marked by the wearing of a simple two-piece garment and abstention from cutting the hair, shedding blood, sexual relations, and a number of other activities. See the article by A. J. Wensinck and J. Jomier in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Iḥrām*.
- 335 That is, Bilāl, the freed Ethiopian slave who had become the muezzin of the Muslim community.

the prayer. Anyone who prays, that shall be a way of safety. Otherwise, I will have him brought forward and beheaded."

He commanded that every picture in the Ka'ba should be erased and washed away with water. He summoned 'Uthmān b. Ṭalḥa and said: "I saw the two horns of the ram in the Ka'ba.<sup>336</sup> Hide them, for it is not proper for anything to be in the Ka'ba." So they put them in one of the walls.

Some have reported that the Messenger of God divided the money that was in the Ka'ba among the Muslims. Others say that he allowed it to remain.

The crier of the Messenger of God announced: "Whoever has an idol in his house, let him break it." So they broke the idols.

The Messenger of God summoned the women, and he received their allegiance.

The cavalry on the day of the conquest consisted of four hundred horses.

The sura, "When comes the help of God, and victory ..." was revealed to him, whereupon he said, "My own death has been announced to me."<sup>337</sup>

While he was at Mecca, the Messenger of God sent Khālid b. al-Walid to the Banū Jadhīma b. Āmir, who were at al-Ghumayṣā'. In the Time of Ignorance the Banū Jadhīma had attacked the sons of al-Mughīra and had killed 'Awf, the father of 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf.<sup>338</sup> 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf went out with Khālid b. al-Walid, along with some men from the Banū Sulaym. The latter

<sup>336</sup> Legend has it that the horns of the ram that God commanded Abraham to sacrifice in place of his son were preserved in the Ka'ba. See the article by A. J. Wensinck and J. Jomier in *EI<sup>2</sup>*, s.v. Ka'ba.

<sup>337</sup> Qur'ān 110. The sura continues: "... and thou seest men entering God's religion in throngs, then proclaim the praise of thy Lord, and seek His forgiveness; for He turns again unto men." The sura was taken to refer to the conquest of Mecca, and the injunction to "proclaim the praise of thy Lord, and seek His forgiveness" was taken as a veiled reference to the Prophet's imminent death. A tradition recorded by al-Ṭabarī on the authority of the early Qur'ān commentator Mujāhid reads: "The words, 'Proclaim the praise of thy Lord,' mean: Praise Him and exalt Him with praise and thanksgiving for His fulfillment of His promise for you; for then you will join Him and taste the death that His messengers who preceded you tasted." See al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmi' al-bayān*, xxx, 215–217.

<sup>338</sup> 'Awf b. al-Mughīra was the uncle of Khālid b. al-Walid b. al-Mughīra. Hence, a blood feud existed between Khālid and the Banū Jadhīma, although, according to one report, vengeance for 'Awf had already been exacted by Khālid's family. The parallel accounts say that a second uncle, al-Fākih b. al-Mughīra, mentioned below, had been killed. Since no mention of retaliation for his death is mentioned, one can assume that Khālid still nursed a grudge against the Banū Jadhīma. In any case, Muhammad had sent Khālid to preach Islam, not to fight. The parallels in Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 833–839, Ibn Sa'd, *Tabaqāt*, 11/2, 106–108; and al-Ṭabarī, *Tarīkh*, 1:1649–1653, are more detailed. On the ambivalence of

had killed Rabī'a b. Mukaddam in the Time of Ignorance, whereupon Jidhl al-Ṭiān<sup>339</sup> went out and killed Mālik b. al-Sharīd of the Banū Sulaym for Rabi'a's blood. The Banū Jadhīma received word that | Khālid had come and that the Banū Sulaym were with him. Khālid said to them, "Put down your weapons." They said: "We are not taking up arms against God or against His Messenger; we are Muslims. Look to what the Messenger of God has sent you do. If he has sent you to collect the tax levied for the support of the poor, here are our camels and sheep; go to them in the morning."<sup>340</sup> He said, "Put down your weapons." They said, "We are afraid that you will take us because of rancor retained from the Time of Ignorance." So he turned away from them, gave the call to prayer, and the people prayed. At dawn, he turned the horsemen against them, killing the fighters and taking the children captive. When word of this reached the Messenger of God, he said, "O God, I declare to Thee my innocence of what Khālid has done." He sent 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, who paid to them what had been taken from them, down to a camel's hobbling rope or a dog's drinking bowl. With him he sent camels that had arrived from Yemen, and so he paid blood money for those who had been killed. When something remained left over, 'Alī gave it to them so that they would acquit the Messenger of God for what he knew and what he did not know. The Messenger of God said, "Surely, what you did is more pleasing to me than the finest red camels." And on that day he said to 'Alī, "May my father and mother be your ransom!" 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf said, "By God, Khālid killed the men when they were Muslims!" Khālid said, "I killed them only to avenge your father, 'Awf b. 'Abd 'Awf." To which 'Abd al-Rahmān replied, "You did not kill to avenge my father; you killed to avenge your uncle al-Fākih b. al-Mughīra."

### The Battle of Hunayn

Then the battle of Ḫunayn took place.<sup>341</sup> While the Messenger of God was at Mecca, he received word that the Hawāzin had assembled a large host at

the tradition toward the figure of Khālid b. al-Walīd, see the article by P. Crone in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Khālid b. al-Walīd.

<sup>339</sup> The name means, "Post of Contention."

<sup>340</sup> Reading, with M, *fa-ghdu*, instead of ed. Leiden, *fa-'du*, pass over, which makes little sense.

<sup>341</sup> Ḫunayn is a deep valley, about a day's journey from Mecca on one of the roads to al-Ṭā'if. Parallels: Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 840 ff., al-Wāqidi, *Maghāzī*, 885 ff., Ibn Sa'd, *Tabaqāt*, II/1, 108–113; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 1:654 ff. See the article by H. Lammens and Abd al-Hafez Kamal in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ḫunayn.

Ḩunayn. Their head was Mālik b. ‘Awf al-Naṣrī, and with them was Durayd b. al-Ṣimma from the Banū Jusham, an aged leader whose judgment they thought would be advantageous. With the Hawāzin, Mālik brought along their camels and their women.

The Messenger of God went out to meet them amid a large army numbering twelve thousand: ten thousand of his companions | with whom he had conquered Mecca, and two thousand Meccans who had accepted Islam willingly or reluctantly. He obtained a hundred coats of mail from Ṣafwān b. Umayya, saying that they were a guaranteed loan. The Muslims were pleased by the fact that they were many, and some of them said, “We shall not be overpowered on account of small numbers.” The Messenger of God was displeased by their saying this.

The Hawāzin hid in ambush in the valley; then they came out to attack the Muslims, and a battle of great importance took place. The Muslims were driven away from the Messenger of God, until he remained amid ten of the Banū Hāshim—some say nine. They were: ‘Alī b. Abī Tālib, al-‘Abbās b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib, Abū Sufyān b. al-Ḥārith, Nawfal b. al-Ḥārith, Rabī‘a b. al-Ḥārith, Abū Lahab’s two sons ‘Utba and Mu‘attib, al-Fadl b. al-‘Abbās, and ‘Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib—some say Ayman b. [Umm] Ayman.

God the Mighty and Exalted said: “... and on the day of Ḥunayn, when your multitude was pleasing to you, but it availed you naught, and the land for all its breadth was strait for you, and you turned about, retreating. Then God sent down His Presence upon His Messenger and upon the believers, and He sent down legions you did not see.”<sup>342</sup>

Some of the Quraysh expressed what was in their souls. Abū Sufyān said, “Their rout, by God, will not end until they reach the sea.” Kalada b. Hanbal said, “Today sorcery is useless.” Shayba b. Uthmān said, “Today I will kill Muḥammad.” He made for the Messenger of God, to kill him, but the Prophet took the lance from him and stabbed him in the heart.

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<sup>342</sup> Qur’ān 9:25–26. The term translated as Presence (*Sakīna* in Arabic) occurs six times in the Qur’ān. It is cognate to—perhaps directly borrowed from—the Hebrew *shəkhīnā*, conceived as God’s indwelling presence in a place or His presence as manifested in divine aid in battle to those whom God favors. Because the Arabic root *s-k-n* can mean not only *to dwell*, but also *to be still, tranquil, peaceful*, Muslim commentators, moved perhaps by a desire to avoid materialism or anthropomorphism, have often interpreted *sakīna* as “tranquility” (so Rodwell, “His spirit of repose”; Pickthall, “His peace of reassurance”; Yusuf Ali, “His calm”; M. H. Shakir, “His tranquillity”; Ahmad Ali, “a sense of tranquillity”). A. J. Arberry simply uses the Hebrew term *Shekhīna* without explanation. See the article by T. Fahd in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Sakīna*.

The Messenger of God said to al-‘Abbās: “Cry out, ‘Help, Anṣār! Cry out, ‘O people who swore the Pledge of Good Pleasure!’”<sup>343</sup> Cry out, ‘O people of the Sura of the Cow! O comrades of the acacia tree!’”<sup>344</sup>

Then the men dispersed, and God granted victory to His Prophet and strengthened him with troops of angels. ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib advanced on the standard-bearer of the Hawāzin and killed him, and a rout took place. | Many of the Hawāzin were killed and many prisoners taken. Their number came to a thousand horsemen. The booty came to twelve thousand female camels, apart from the spoils. Durayd b. al-Ṣimma was killed, and the people were very distressed by this. The Messenger of God said: “To the Fire—what an evil homecoming! A leader of disbelief! If he did not aid with his hand, he aided with his counsel.” He was killed by one of the Banū Sulaym. Also killed was Dhū l-Khimār Subay‘ b. al-Ḥārith.<sup>345</sup> The Messenger of God said: “God curse him! He hated the Quraysh.” The captives and the cattle became the property of the Muslims. The rout of the polytheists reached al-Ṭā’if; Mālik b. ‘Awf was with them. The total number of those slain as martyrs was four men.

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Al-Shaymā’ bt. Ḥalīma, the Prophet’s foster-sister,<sup>346</sup> came to the Messenger of God. He greeted her,<sup>347</sup> honored her, and spread out his cloak for her. She spoke to him about the female captives, saying, “After all, they are your maternal aunts and your sisters.”<sup>348</sup> He replied, “I grant you whatever has become my

343 The Pledge of [God’s] Good Pleasure (Arabic, *Bay’at al-Ridwān*) received its name from the Qur’ānic verse: “God was well pleased with the believers when they were swearing allegiance to you under the tree.” (Qur’ān 48:18). In 6 A.H. Muḥammad summoned his followers to renew their allegiance to him at al-Ḥudaybiya, on the border of the Meccan sacred territory. Muḥammad had come intending to perform the lesser pilgrimage, but the Meccans made a show of force and blocked his way. Eventually a compromise was reached, known as the Truce of al-Ḥudaybiya, but not before some tense moments. At one point, there were rumors that the Meccans had killed Muḥammad’s messenger, ‘Uthmān b. ‘Affān, and this occasioned Muḥammad’s summons to his followers to renew their allegiance. For details and parallels, see the article by W. Montgomery Watt in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Ḥudaybiya.

344 That is, comrades who swore the Pledge of al-Ridwān under an acacia tree. The reference to the Sura of the Cow (Qur’ān 2) may refer to the narrative in Qur’ān 2:246–251 of the story of Saul, David, and Goliath, when the presence of God’s *sakīna* is said to have enabled a small band to overcome a much larger force.

345 He was chief of part of the Thaqīf.

346 Shaymā’’s mother, Ḥalīma, had nursed Muḥammad as an infant. This created a tie similar to kinship between her daughter and Muḥammad. See footnote 320 above.

347 Reading with M *fa-hayyāhā*; ed. Leiden *fa-ḥabāhā*, ‘he gave her a gift.’

348 That is, sisters and children of your foster mother.

property and that of the Banū Hāshim.” And the Muslims granted whatever female captives were in their hands, as he had done—except for al-Aqra’ b. Ḥābis and ‘Uyayna b. Ḥiṣn. The Messenger of God said, “O God, render their shares notorious.” An old woman of theirs came out and spoke to him about Mālik b. ‘Awf al-Naṣrī, the head and commander of the army of the Hawāzin, and he granted him safe-conduct. Mālik then came and accepted Islam. The Messenger of God sent him to besiege al-Tā’if.

He gave some of the booty from the Hawāzin to “those whose hearts were to be reconciled.”<sup>349</sup> He gave twelve men a hundred camels each. They were Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb, Mu‘āwiya b. Abī Sufyān, Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām, al-Ḥārith b. al-Ḥārith b. Kalada al-‘Abdārī, al-Ḥārith b. Hishām b. al-Mughīra, Suhayl b. ‘Amr, Ṣafwān b. Umayya b. | Khalaf, Ḥuwaytib b. ‘Abd al-‘Uzzā, al-‘Alā’ b. Ḥāritha al-Thaqafī (an ally of the Banū Zuhra), Mālik b. ‘Awf al-Naṣrī, ‘Uyayna b. Ḥiṣn al-Fazārī, and al-Aqra’ b. Ḥābis. He gave the rest less than that.<sup>350</sup> The Anṣār, who felt slighted, questioned him. The Messenger of God replied, “To some men I give in order to reconcile them; you I entrust to your faith.” Some of them spoke, saying, “Muhammad fought by means of us; but when his affair prospered and triumphed, he showed kindness<sup>351</sup> to his own people and left us.” God accordingly cancelled their share, but confirmed to those whose hearts were to be reconciled a share of the poor alms.

The Messenger of God went out to al-Tā’if.<sup>352</sup> He sent ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, who encountered Nāfi’ b. Ghaylān b. Salama b. Mu‘attib with a troop of horsemen from the Thaqafī and killed him; his comrades were routed. The Messenger of God besieged the town for a few more than twenty days. Forty men came down to him. The Messenger of God ordered that the grapevines should be cut down,

<sup>349</sup> Arabic *al-mu’allafatu qulūbuhum*. Cf. Qur’ān 9:60: “The freewill offerings (*sadaqāt*) are for the poor and needy, those who work to collect them, those whose hearts are brought together (*al-mu’allafati qulūbuhum*), the ransoming of slaves, debtors, in God’s way, and the traveller; so God ordains; God is All-knowing, All-wise.” (Arberry translation.) That the occasion of the verse was this incident is unlikely, since division of booty is different from “freewill offerings”—whether one sees these *sadaqāt* as alms or, as is more likely, a compulsory tax. The point is that Muhammad reserved the right to distribute payments to influential new converts to cement their loyalty, whatever the source of these payments.

<sup>350</sup> That is, the rest of the people who fell into the category of “those whose hearts were to be reconciled.” The parallels make it clear that “the rest” refers not to the generality of Muslims, but to people who, while receiving more than ordinary shares of the booty, received less than a hundred camels each.

<sup>351</sup> Reading with M *abarra*; ed. Leiden reads *atā* (he came to).

<sup>352</sup> Parallels: Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 869–876; al-Waqidi, *Maghāzī*, 922–938; Ibn Sa’d, *Tabaqāt* 11/1, 114–115; al-Ṭabarī, *Tarīkh*, 1:670–1674.

but they spoke to him, and so he left them and ordered that they should not be cut. The Messenger of God then went away, leaving Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb in charge of the siege of al-Ṭā'if. He sent ‘Alī to smash the idols, and he did so.

### The Expedition to Mu'ta<sup>353</sup>

He sent Ja‘far b. Abī Ṭālib, Zayd b. Ḥāritha, and ‘Abdallāh b. Rawāḥa with an army to Syria<sup>354</sup> to fight the Romans<sup>355</sup> in year 8. Some relate that he said: “The commander of the army is Zayd b. Ḥāritha; if Zayd b. Ḥāritha is killed, it is Ja‘far b. Abī Ṭālib; if Ja‘far b. Abī Ṭālib is killed, it is ‘Abdallāh b. Rawāḥa; and if ‘Abdallāh b. Rawāḥa is killed, let the Muslims approve whomever they like.” Others have said rather that Ja‘far was put in charge, then Zayd b. [Ḥāritha, then] | ‘Abdallāh b. Rawāḥa. [The army]<sup>356</sup> came to a place called Mu’ta in Syria, in the area called al-Balqā’, part of the territory of Damascus. Zayd took up the banner and fought until he was killed. Then Ja‘far took it up; when his right hand was cut off, he fought with his left hand until it was cut off; then he was struck in the waist. Then ‘Abdallāh b. Rawāḥa took up the banner and was killed.

Every low place was raised up and every high place was lowered for the Messenger of God until he could see where they fell. He said: “I saw that the couch of Ja‘far was placed ahead; so I said, ‘Gabriel, I put Zayd ahead!’ He replied, ‘God has put Ja‘far ahead because of his kinship to you.’”

The Messenger of God announced their deaths and said: “God has caused two emerald-green wings to grow for Ja‘far, by which he can fly anywhere he wishes in paradise.” His grief was intense, and he said, “For Ja‘far let the weeping women weep.”

Khālid b. al-Walid was appointed commander of the army.

Asmā’ bt. ‘Umays al-Khathāmiyya—she was Ja‘far’s wife and the mother of all his children—said: “The Messenger of God came to visit me while I had my

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353 The title is not in M; ed. Leiden supplies it from the margin of C.

354 Arabic *al-Shām*, broadly conceived as the lands northwest of the Arabian peninsula. The modern town of Mu’ta, Jordan, about 10 km south of Karak and 20 km east of the southern end of the Dead Sea, is on the site. Parallels: Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 791–802; al-Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, 755–769; Ibn Sa‘d, *Tabaqāt*, 11/1, 92–94; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:1610–1619; also see the article by F. Buhl in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Mu’ta.

355 Arabic *al-Rūm*: the forces of the Byzantine Empire.

356 The subject of the verb is not clear—apparently the army, or possibly the leader of the army, whoever he was.

hand in some dough. He said, ‘Asmā’, where are your children?’ So I brought him ‘Abdallāh, Muḥammad, and ‘Awn. He sat them all on his lap, embraced them, and stroked their heads. His eyes were shedding tears, so I asked: ‘My father and my mother be your ransom, Messenger of God! Why are you doing to my children what you do<sup>357</sup> for orphans? Has something perhaps reached you about Ja‘far?’ Tears overcame him, and he said, ‘May God have mercy on Ja‘far!’ I cried out, ‘Alas for me! Alas, my husband!’ He said, ‘Hush! Do not cry out “Woe!” or “Grief!”—yet in all you say you are right.’ I cried out, ‘Alas, Ja‘far!’ Fāṭima, the daughter of the Messenger of God, heard my voice and came crying, ‘Alas, my cousin!’ The Messenger of God left dragging his cloak, unable to control his tears, and saying, ‘For Ja‘far let the weeping women weep.’ Then he said, ‘Fāṭima, make some food for Ja‘far’s family, for they are preoccupied.’ So she made them food for three days, and this became a custom among the Banū Hāshim.”

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### The Expeditions in Which No Fighting Took Place

Interspersed with these there were expeditions in which no fighting took place. The Messenger of God would go out, encounter no trickery, and return. We have put those in which there was fighting ahead of those in which there was no fighting so that we might list separately the expeditions in which there was no fighting.

**THE EXPEDITION TO AL-ABWĀ’:** The Messenger of God went out to Waddān and returned, having encountered no trickery.<sup>358</sup>

**THE EXPEDITION TO BUWĀT:** This was like the preceding.<sup>359</sup>

**THE EXPEDITION TO DHŪ AL-‘USHAYRA:**<sup>360</sup> This was part of the Yanbu‘ basin. He made a treaty of friendship there with the Banū Mudlij and allies

357 Reading *taf‘alu*, as in ed. Leiden. M leaves the first letter undotted, and a better reading might be *yuf‘alu*, “as is done” or “as one does.”

358 Al-Abwā’ is on the road between Medina and Mecca. Muḥammad’s mother, Āmina bt. Wahb, is said to be buried there. Waddān is said to be about eight miles from al-Abwā’. See Yāqūt, *Mu‘jam al-Buldān*, s.v. al-Abwā’, Waddān. Parallels: Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 421; al-Wāqidi, *Maghāzī*, 11–12; Ibn Sa‘d, *Tabaqāt*, II/1, 3; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:1266, 1270.

359 Buwāt was a mountain in the direction of Raḍwā (itself a chain of mountains about seven post stages from Medina) in the territory of the tribe of Juhayna. The expedition is said to have taken place in 2 A.H. See Yāqūt, *Mu‘jam al-Buldān*, s.v. Buwāt. Parallels: Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 421; al-Wāqidi, *Maghāzī*, 12; Ibn Sa‘d, *Tabaqāt*, II/1, 3–4; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:1268.

360 Parallels: Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 421; al-Wāqidi, *Maghāzī*, 12; Ibn Sa‘d, *Tabaqāt*, II/1, 4–5; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:1268–1269.

of theirs, the Banū Ḍamra, and wrote a treaty between them. He who did this between them was Makhshī b. ‘Amr al-Ḍamrī.

**THE EXPEDITION OF QARQARAT AL-KUDR:**<sup>361</sup> The Messenger of God went out in pursuit of Mikdar b. Jābir al-Fihri—others say Kurz b. Jābir—when he had raided the cattle pasturing around Medina. [...] This was because Abū Sufyān had stayed as the guest of Sallām b. Mishkam, the chief of the Banū l-Naḍīr, who entertained him and gave him wine to drink. Then he went out under cover of night. He passed through a place called al-‘Urayd, where he found two of the Anṣār in a small garden of palm trees belonging to them. He killed them and returned to Mecca. [...] When the Messenger of God received word of this, he went as far as Qarqarat al-Kudr, but, encountering no trickery, he returned.

**THE EXPEDITION TO ḤAMRĀ’ AL-USD:** The Messenger of God went out the morning after the battle of Uhud. We have mentioned this in the account of Uhud.

**THE SMALLER EXPEDITION TO BADR:** This is known as “Badr of the Rendezvous”<sup>362</sup> on account of a promised meeting with Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb. The Messenger of God went out in Sha'bān of the year 4 and stayed there | for eight nights, waiting for Abū Sufyān. It happened to be the time of the market, which was large, so the Muslims traded at the market and made a good profit. The hypocrites said to the believers when they left for the rendezvous with Abū Sufyān: “They killed you at your own homes; so what will happen if you

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361 This notice combines details from three separate incidents, separated here by inserting [...] between them. Either al-Ya'qūbī has conflated them, or, more likely, the copyist of M, who is noticeably more prone to error in this section, has omitted material separating them. There are references to a cattle raid by Kurz b. Jābir, without mention of a place called Qarqarat al-Kudr, in Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 423; Ibn Sa'd, *Tabaqāt*, 11/1, 4; and al-Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, 12. The incident involving Abū Sufyān and one of the chiefs of the Banū al-Naḍīr is connected with another expedition (al-Sawīq): see Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 543–544; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 1:1364–1367; Ibn Sa'd, *Tabaqāt*, 11/1, 20; al-Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, 181–182. Finally, an expedition to Qarqarat al-Kudr to deal with a reported massing of the tribes of Sulaym and Ghafāfān is mentioned in al-Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, 182–184 and Ibn Sa'd, *Tabaqāt*, 11/1, 21. Specific evidence of text omitted by homeoteleuton can be found in the sentence beginning “This was because ...” (*wa dhālitka anna ...*), which is not logically connected to what precedes. The copyist may have jumped from a sentence giving the reason for the expedition in pursuit of Mikdar b. Jābir to a sentence in the next section giving the reason for the expedition of al-Sawīq, omitting everything between, and something similar seems to have caused the second omission.

362 Arabic *Badr al-Maw'id*. Parallels: Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 666–668; al-Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, 384–391; Ibn Sa'd, *Tabaqāt*, 11/2, 42–43; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 1:1457–1460.

come to them on their own territory, when they have gathered against you? By God, you will never come back!" The believers replied: "God is sufficient for us; an excellent Guardian is He." Concerning this, God revealed: "Those to whom the people said, 'The people have gathered against you, therefore fear them'; but it increased them in faith, and they said, 'God is sufficient for us; an excellent Guardian is He.' So they returned with blessing and bounty from God, untouched by evil; they followed the good pleasure of God; and God is of bounty abounding."<sup>363</sup> The Messenger of God came back, having encountered no trickery. Abū Sufyān broke his promise to them. "This is a year of drought," he said. "People of Quraysh, only a year of abundant vegetation in which you can pasture the camels on shrubs and drink milk is suitable for you. I intend to go back." So they went back after he had reached Marr al-Zahrān.

**THE EXPEDITION TO TABŪK:** The Messenger of God traveled with a large army to Tabūk, which is located in the land of Syria,<sup>364</sup> to avenge the blood of Ja'far b. Abī Tālib. He sent to the chiefs of the tribes and clans, summoning them to war and arousing their interest in *jihād*.<sup>365</sup> The Messenger of God urged [the people of wealth to spend],<sup>366</sup> and they made great expenditures and strengthened those who were weak. The Messenger of God said, "The best kind of charity is the effort<sup>367</sup> of those who have little."

Men who came to be known as "the Weepers" came asking him to provide them with mounts: they were Haramī b. [‘Abdallāh of the Banū]<sup>368</sup> ‘Amr b. ‘Awf, Sālim b. ‘Umayr, ‘Amr<sup>369</sup> b. al-Humām, ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Ka'b, and Ṣakhr b. Salmān.<sup>370</sup> He said, "I cannot find anything | on which to mount you."

<sup>363</sup> Qur’ān 3:173–174.

<sup>364</sup> Located, that is, to the north in the area known to the Arabs as al-Sha'm. Tabūk lies about 550 km/342 mi northwest of Medina, east of the Gulf of Aqaba, from which it is separated by the Ḥismā mountains, and about 125 km/78 mi south of the present border between Jordan and Saudi Arabia. See the article by M. A. al-Bakhit in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Tabūk. Parallels: Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 893–913; al-Wāqidi, *Maghāzī*, 989–1025; Ibn Sa'd, *Tabaqāt*, 11/1, 118–121; al-Ṭabarī, *Tarīkh*, 1:1693–1705.

<sup>365</sup> The term *jihād* (striving, sc. in the way of God) is fraught with controversy. One can begin with the article by E. Tyan in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Djihād*.

<sup>366</sup> The bracketed words are added from the parallel in Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 896.

<sup>367</sup> Arabic *jahd* (effort) is etymologically related to *jihād*.

<sup>368</sup> The bracketed words are based on Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 895–896; there is a lacuna in the mss. Ibn Hishām mentions seven men.

<sup>369</sup> Correcting mss ‘Umayr on the basis of Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 896.

<sup>370</sup> mss Sālim, corrected on the basis of Ibn al-Athīr, *Uṣd al-Ghāba*, s.v.

Some rich men came asking him to excuse them, saying, "Leave us to be with those who stay behind." God the Exalted therefore said, "They were well-pleased to be with those behind."<sup>371</sup> They were al-Jadd b. Qays, Mujammi' b. Jāriya, and Khidām b. Khālid. The Messenger of God gave them permission, but God, the Mighty and Exalted, said to His Prophet:<sup>372</sup> "God pardon you! Why did you give them leave?"<sup>373</sup>

The Messenger of God set out on the first day of Rajab in the year 9.<sup>374</sup> He left 'Alī as his deputy in charge of Medina. He appointed al-Zubayr to be bearer of the standard of the Emigrants, Ṭalḥa to be in charge of the right wing, and 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf to be in charge of the left wing. The women and children came out to bid him farewell at the place where the road crosses the mountain, and so it came to be known<sup>375</sup> as Farewell Pass (*Thaniyyat al-Wadā'*).

While the Messenger of God was traveling, the men suffered great thirst. "Messenger of God," they said, "if you prayed to God, He would give us something to drink." So he prayed to God, and He gave them to drink.

The Messenger of God arrived at Tabūk in Sha'bān.<sup>376</sup> Yuhanna b. Ru'ba, the bishop of Ayla,<sup>377</sup> came to him, made a treaty with him, and paid the poll-tax.<sup>378</sup> He wrote him a written document.

As the Messenger of God was returning, the people of the mountain pass<sup>379</sup> lay wait for him, intending to frighten his camel.<sup>380</sup> So he said to Ḥudhayfa, "Make them go aside, and tell them, 'Either you go aside, or I will call you by your names and the names of your fathers and clans.'" Ḥudhayfa shouted at them.

<sup>371</sup> Qur'ān 9:87 = 93.

<sup>372</sup> The words "to His Prophet" are written interlineally in M; omitted in ed. Leiden.

<sup>373</sup> Qur'ān 9:43.

<sup>374</sup> October 14, 630.

<sup>375</sup> Reading with M *fa-summiyat*, instead of ed. Leiden's conjecture *fa-sammāhā* (so he named it).

<sup>376</sup> Sha'bān is the month following Rajab, that is, sometime after November 13, 630.

<sup>377</sup> Ayla, modern Eilat, is at the head of the Gulf of Aqaba. See the article by H. W. Glidden in *EI<sup>2</sup>*, s.v. Ayla.

<sup>378</sup> Arabic *jizya*: the poll-tax, which, in traditional Islamic law, is levied on non-Muslims in Muslim states. See the article by Cl. Cahen in *EI<sup>2</sup>*, s.v. Djizya.

<sup>379</sup> "The people of the mountain pass" (Arabic *ašhāb al-'aqaba*). The parallel in al-Wāqidī, *Maghāzi*, 1042–1044, makes it clear that *al-'aqaba* has its general meaning here and is not the name of a specific place. The account in al-Wāqidī identifies them as hypocrites (*munāfiqūn*) from Medina who had gone along on the expedition. This explains Muhammad's threat to reveal their identities, exposing them to retaliation. According to one account, they had veiled their faces, but Ḥudhayfa recognized their mounts.

<sup>380</sup> And cause it to throw its rider or fall from the mountain trail.

His departure took place in Rajab, and he returned in Ramaḍān.<sup>381</sup> Ḥudhayfa used to say, “Indeed, I know their names and the names of their fathers and tribes.”

### The Commanders of the Raiding Parties and Armies

The Messenger of God sent out the commanders over the raiding parties and armies and tied banners and standards for them.<sup>382</sup> The first such was Ḥamza b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib, who was in charge of a raiding party to the seacoast.<sup>383</sup> Others say that the first of the commanders was ‘Ubayda b. al-Ḥārith b. al-Muṭṭalib,<sup>384</sup> who was in charge of | a raiding party to Thaniyyat al-Mara<sup>385</sup> with sixty or eighty riders from the Emigrants; none of the Anṣār was among them. He traveled as far as a watering-place in the Ḥijāz at the foot of Thaniyyat al-Mara, where he encountered a large group of the Quraysh. No fighting took place, except that Sa‘d b. Abī Waqqāṣ shot an arrow on that day; it was the first arrow that was shot in Islam. Then the two groups separated. The Muslims had a line of defense. Al-Miqdād b. ‘Amr al-Bahrānī, who was an ally of the Banū Zuhra, and ‘Utba b. Ghazwān b. Jābir al-Ḥārithī, who was an ally of the Banū Nawfal, came [to it].<sup>386</sup> Both were Muslims, but they had gone out in an attempt to reach [the Muslims] by means of the unbelievers.<sup>387</sup> Ikrima b. Abī Jahl was in charge of the enemy force.

[He sent out] Sa‘d b. Abī Waqqāṣ in charge of a raiding party to al-Kharrār, which is a watering-place near al-Juhfa.<sup>388</sup> Sa‘d captured some camels belong-

<sup>381</sup> Ramaḍān of 9 A.H. began on December 12, 630.

<sup>382</sup> Tying a banner to a spear marked the commissioning of a military commander.

<sup>383</sup> Parallels: Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 416–418; al-Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, 9–11; Ibn Sa‘d, *Ṭabaqāt*, 11/1, 2–3; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:1265–1267.

<sup>384</sup> M and ed. Leiden: b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib, corrected in ed. Leiden, *Addenda et emendanda*.

<sup>385</sup> The name means al-Mara Pass. The account in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:1265, adds that it is near al-Juhfa, which Yāqūt places on the road from Mecca to Medina, four stages from Mecca.

<sup>386</sup> That is, al-Mara Pass.

<sup>387</sup> That is, the two men, who were Muslims living in Mecca, accompanied the pagan Meccans only in order to make contact with the Muslims and join the community in Medina. The parallel in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:1267, makes this clear. The translation by W. Montgomery Watt & M. V. McDonald, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, VII, 12—“They were Muslims, but they had gone to try to effect a reconciliation between the unbelievers and the Muslims”—is incorrect. See ed. Leiden of al-Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. The verb *tawaṣṣala* often implies the use of deception or stratagems to arrive at a goal.

<sup>388</sup> Parallels: Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 422; al-Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, 11; Ibn Sa‘d, *Ṭabaqāt*, 11/1, 3; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:1265–1266.

ing to the Banū Damra. The latter sent word to the Messenger of God, who returned the camels because of the pact between them and him.

[He sent out] Ḥamza b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib in charge of a raiding party to the seacoast in the vicinity of al-Īṣ,<sup>389</sup> with thirty riders from the Emigrants; none of the Anṣār was among them. He encountered Abū Jahl b. Hishām, who had three hundred Meccan riders with him. Majdī b. ‘Amr al-Juhanī intervened between them—he was on friendly terms with both sides. The men separated from each other, and there was no fighting.

[He sent out] ‘Abdallāh b. Jaḥsh b. Ri’āb in charge of a raiding party to Nakhla<sup>390</sup> with eight men from the Emigrants; none of the Anṣār was among them. He wrote him a letter and commanded him not to look at it until he had traveled for two days; then he was to look at it | and carry out what he was commanded, but he was not to compel any of his companions. Having traveled for two days, ‘Abdallāh b. Jaḥsh opened the letter to look at it. It read: “When you look at this letter of mine, proceed until you halt at Nakhla, between Mecca and al-Tā’if, to observe the Quraysh there and to find out what they are doing.” So he proceeded, and his companions went with him; none of them stayed behind. When he halted at Nakhla, a caravan belonging to the Quraysh passed by him, carrying raisins, hides, and trade goods; ‘Amr b. al-Ḥadramī was with it. They fought him and took two men prisoner. The two were the first of the polytheists to be taken prisoner. The enemy escaped. [The raiding party] took what they had with them. The Messenger of God set aside a fifth of the camels and distributed the rest of them to his companions. It was the first fifth (*khums*) that was divided in Islam.

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He sent out Marthad b. Abī Marthad, an ally of Ḥamza b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib, in charge of a raiding party to a group of men.<sup>391</sup> This took place as follows. A group of men from al-‘Aḍal and Dīsh—the two are clans of [the tribe of] al-Hūn b. Khuzayma—came to the Prophet and said, “Messenger of God, among us there are some who have accepted Islam, so send some of your companions with us to instruct us and to teach us to recite the Qur’ān.” So he sent with

389 Al-Īṣ is four nights' journey from Medina and two nights' journey from Dhū l-Marwa (a village in Wādī al-Qurā, the long valley extending north from Medina toward Syria). Parallels: Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 419; al-Wāqīdī, *Maghāzī*, 9–10; Ibn Sa’d, *Tabaqāt*, 11/1, 2; al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, 1:1265.

390 Nakhla (Date Palm) is the name of several places near Mecca, but the text identifies it as lying between Mecca and al-Tā’if. Parallels with more details: Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 423–427; al-Wāqīdī, *Maghāzī*, 13–19; Ibn Sa’d, *Tabaqāt*, 11/1, 5; al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, 1:1273–1279.

391 Parallels: Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 638–648; al-Wāqīdī, *Maghāzī*, 354–363; Ibn Sa’d, *Tabaqāt*, 11/2, 39–40; al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, 1:1431–1437.

them Marthad b. Abī Marthad al-Ghanawī, Khālid b. al-Bukayr (an ally of the Banū ‘Adī), ‘Aṣim b. Thābit b. Abī l-Aqlah al-‘Amrī, Zayd b. Dathinna al-Bayādī, ‘Abdallāh b. Ṭāriq al-Zafarī, and Khubayb b. ‘Adī al-‘Amrī. When they were at a watering-place called al-Rajī‘, which belongs to [the tribe of] Hudhayl, a certain man went out, made his way to the Hudhayl, and said: “There are a group of Muḥammad’s companions here. Would you like us to take them, plunder them, and sell them to the Quraysh?” Before the Muslims knew what was happening, there were men with swords in their hands. “Submit as captives,” [they said,] | “and you shall have a pact and covenant. We will not kill you, but we will sell you to the Quraysh.” Marthad, who was the commander of the men, cried out, along with ‘Aṣim and Khālid. They called to the men, drew their swords, and prepared to fight. For their part, Khubayb, ‘Abdallāh, and Zayd yielded and surrendered. Their companions fought fiercely. Marthad and Khālid b. al-Bukayr were killed. ‘Aṣim b. Thābit fought until he was killed.

[He sent out] Zayd b. Ḥāritha al-Kalbī, a client of the Messenger of God, [in charge of a raiding party to Qarada].<sup>392</sup> After the Messenger of God returned from the smaller expedition to Badr, where he had expected a rendezvous with Abū Sufyān, the Quraysh, fearing to follow their route to Syria by way of Badr, abandoned that route and followed the Iraq route. Abū Sufyān and Abū l-Āṣ b. al-Rabī‘ set out for Syria with a Quraysh caravan carrying great wealth. The Messenger of God sent out and intercepted them and the contents of the caravan. The men left fleeing—Abū Sufyān and his companions—and outdistanced them. Zayd brought back the wealth. He took prisoner Mu‘āwiya b. al-Mughīra b. Abī l-Āṣ, the grandfather of ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān. Some say that he brought him back. Abū l-Āṣ b. al-Rabī‘ came, entered Medina, and sought protection with Zaynab, the daughter of the Messenger of God.<sup>393</sup> [When the Messenger of God had prayed] the morning prayer, Zaynab cried out, “Behold, I have granted protection to Abū l-Āṣ b. al-Rabī‘.” The Messenger of God said, as he was leaving, “Have you heard?” “Yes,” they said. He said: “I have granted protection to whomever she grants protection. The least of believers may grant protection against the greatest of them.” He arose and, going into the presence of the two of them, said: “Let him not depart from you. Lodge him generously.” He returned to him what had been taken from him, and he went

<sup>392</sup> The bracketed words were added by the Leiden editor on the basis of the parallel in Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 547–548. Cf. also al-Wāqidi, *Maghāzī*, 197–198; Ibn Sa‘d, *Ṭabaqāt*, 11/1, 63; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:1373–1375.

<sup>393</sup> Zaynab had been married to Abū l-Āṣ, who was the nephew of Muḥammad’s wife Khadija, before Muḥammad began to receive revelations. Abū l-Āṣ remained a pagan. The accounts of his relations with Zaynab vary. Cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:1346–1351.

back to Mecca. He returned to every claimant what was rightfully his. Then Abū l-Āṣ accepted Islam and returned to the Messenger of God, who restored Zaynab to him by virtue of the original marriage. |

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Again [he sent out] Zayd b. Ḥāritha in charge of a raiding party to al-Jahūm or al-Jamūm.<sup>394</sup> He captured a woman from the tribe of Muzayna named Ḥalīma, and she guided them to one of the encampments of the Banū Sulaym, where they captured cattle and prisoners. Among the prisoners was Ḥalīma's husband. When Zayd came back with her, the Messenger of God granted the woman from Muzayna her husband and her life.<sup>395</sup>

Another time, he put Zayd in charge of an army against the [tribe of] Judhām.<sup>396</sup> When [Dihya] b. Khalifa al-Kalbī came back from the court of the Byzantine emperor,<sup>397</sup> he passed through the territory of Judhām, where al-Hunayd b. Ārid<sup>398</sup> al-Judhāmī attacked him and stripped him of everything he had with him. A group of Muslims overtook [al-Hunayd], recovered what he had taken from [Dihya b. Khalifa], and handed it over to Dihya. The Messenger of God sent out Zayd b. Ḥāritha, who took prisoners and killed [men]. He took al-Hunayd and his son and beheaded them.

He sent Zayd out again in charge of an army to Wādī al-Qurā.<sup>399</sup> Umm Qirfa, the daughter of Rabi'a b. Badr<sup>400</sup>—her husband was Mālik b. Ḥudhayfa b. Badr—had sent forty men of her clan to [attack] the Messenger of God and had said, “Enter Medina against him.” The Messenger of God sent out

394 Parallels: al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:1555; al-Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, 5; Ibn Sa’d, *Tabaqāt*, 11/2, 62, all of whom read al-Jamūm.

395 That is, her freedom.

396 Parallels: Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 975–979; Ibn Sa’d, *Tabaqāt*, 11/1, 63–64; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:1555–1556, 1561–1568.

397 The account in al-Ṭabarī identifies Dihya b. Khalifa as a Muslim whom Muḥammad had sent to the court of the emperor Heraclius (r. 610–641 C.E.), who was in Palestine at the time, to deliver a letter inviting Heraclius to accept Islam. The account in Ibn Hishām simply says that Dihya was coming back from “Caesar, king of the Greeks ... with some merchandise.”

398 Variant: al-Hunayd b. ‘Uṣ (note ed. Leiden).

399 Parallels: Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 979–980; al-Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, 564–565; Ibn Sa’d, *Tabaqāt*, 11/1, 65–66; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:1557–1559.

400 Ed. Leiden and M read Zayd rather than Badr (twice), corrected by Houtsma on the basis of the parallel in al-Ṭabarī. Al-Wāqidī reads Zayd rather than Badr for the grandfather of Umm Qirfa; however, the correction of the name of her husband's grandfather (not mentioned by al-Wāqidī) is almost certainly correct, as Ḥudhayfa b. Badr was a well-known chief of the Banū Fazāra. See the article by W. Montgomery Watt in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Fazāra.

Zayd b. Ḥāritha with horsemen. He met them<sup>401</sup> in Wādī al-Qurā, where his companions were driven back; Zayd himself was carried away wounded from among the slain. He vowed that he would not wash or anoint himself until he raided them. He asked the Messenger of God to send him against them, and the latter sent him with a large troop of horsemen. The two sides met in Wādī al-Qurā and fought fiercely. The Banū Fazāra were defeated and slain. Umm Qirfa  
275 was captured on that day, and he killed her | cruelly by splitting her asunder between two young camels. Her daughter fell to the lot of Qays b. al-Muḥassir. The Messenger of God requested her as a gift from him for his maternal uncle Ḥazn b. Abī Wahb b. Ā’idh b. ‘Imrān b. Makhzūm, and she gave birth to ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥazn.

Once [he sent him] in charge of a fifteen-man force [to] al-Ṭaraf against the Banū Tha’labā.<sup>402</sup> The Bedouins fled, fearing that the Messenger of God had set out against them. Zayd took twenty camels from their herds. There was no fighting between them.

[He sent out] al-Mundhir b. ‘Amr al-Anṣārī in charge of a raiding party to Bīr Ma‘ūna.<sup>403</sup> The reason for this is that Asad b. Ma‘ūna came to the Messenger of God bringing a gift from his uncle Abū Barā’ b. Mālik, “the Player with spearheads.” He gave him two mares and some fine camels—he was friendly toward the Prophet. The latter, however, said, “By God, I will not accept the gift of a polytheist.” Labīd b. Rabī'a<sup>404</sup> said, “I never imagined that a man from Muḍar would turn away the gift of Abū Barā’.” So the Prophet said, “If I were to accept a gift from any polytheist, I would accept it from him.” [Asad] said, “He seeks healing from you from an ulcer in his stomach that has overcome him.” The Messenger of God took a lump of clay and passed it over his tongue. [Asad] then mixed it<sup>405</sup> with water and gave it to him to drink, and it was as if he had been loosed from a shackle. Abū Barā’ had asked the Messenger of

<sup>401</sup> That is, the Banū Fazāra, the tribe of Umm Qirfa.

<sup>402</sup> Parallels: al-Wāqidi, *Maghāzi*, 555; Ibn Sa’d, *Tabaqāt*, 11/2, 63; al-Tabarī, *Ta’rikh*, 1:555.

<sup>403</sup> Parallels: Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 648–652; al-Wāqidi, *Maghāzi*, 346–352; Ibn Sa’d, *Tabaqāt*, 11/2, 36–39; al-Tabarī, *Ta’rikh*, 1:1441–1448.

<sup>404</sup> Labid b. Rabī'a was one of the most admired pre-Islamic poets. He is said to have come to Medina as part of his tribe’s delegation in A.H. 9 (some five years after the Bīr Ma‘ūna incident) and to have accepted Islam. See the article by C. Brockelmann in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Labid b. Rabī'a. The words of Labid are cited here for their proverbial content, with no implication that he was present. “A man from Muḍar” might simply mean “an Arab,” Muḍar being the eponymous ancestor of one of the largest groups of northern Arabian tribes; in several *ḥadīths*, however, Muḥammad says, “I am of Muḍar.” See Ibn Sa’d, *Tabaqāt*, 1/1, 2–3, for examples.

<sup>405</sup> Amending the text of ed. Leiden and M (*daffahā*), which makes no sense, to *dāfahā*. The

God to send to him a group of his companions to instruct them in the religion and acquaint them with the laws of Islam. The Messenger of God said, “I fear that the Banū ‘Āmir will kill them.” Abū Barā’ sent word that they would be under his protection, and so the Messenger of God sent to him al-Mundhir b. ‘Amr with twenty-nine of his companions, most of whom were veterans of Badr. They were attacked by ‘Āmir b. al-Ṭufayl,<sup>406</sup> | who was followed by three clans of the Banū Sulaym—Ri‘l, Dhakwān, and ‘Uṣayya—whom the Messenger of God cursed for this reason. ‘Āmir approached Ḥarām b. Milḥān while he was reading out the letter of the Messenger of God and struck him with a spear. Milḥān said, “God is most great! I have won Paradise.” The men fought with each other fiercely. The Banū Sulaym outnumbered them, and they were killed to the last man, except for al-Mundhir b. ‘Amr, who said to them, “Let me pray over my brother Ḥarām b. Milḥān.” They said yes, so he prayed over him; then he took a sword, hastened toward them, and fought them until he was killed. Al-Ḥārith b. al-Ṣimma said: “I am not so desirous of my life as to avoid a path that al-Mundhir took. By God, I will go. If he is victorious, I surely shall be victorious. If he is killed, I shall be killed.” So he went and was killed. ‘Āmir b. al-Ṭufayl freed As‘ad b. Zayd al-Dīnārī<sup>407</sup> in place of [the freeing of] a slave that had been incumbent upon his mother.

2:76

He sent out Ja‘far b. Abi Ṭālib, Zayd b. Ḥāritha, and ‘Abdallāh b. Rawāḥa to al-Balqā’ in the land of Syria. They suffered a disaster at Mu’ta. We have already presented an account of what happened to them.

The Messenger of God sent out Ghālib b. ‘Abdallāh al-Kalbī to the Banū Mudlij, who were allies of his.<sup>408</sup> They are the ones about whom God said:

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confusion seems to have arisen from the fact that al-Ya‘qūbī is paraphrasing the same account that al-Wāqidī gives in detail. Al-Wāqidī has the Prophet, after taking the lump of clay, give instructions in the imperative for its use, “Mix it (*duʃhā*) with water and give it to him to drink.” In converting the imperative to the past tense, al-Ya‘qūbī has made a spelling error of one letter.

- 406 One of the chiefs of the Banū ‘Āmir b. Ṣa‘ṣa‘a. Al-Ya‘qūbī mentions him briefly below (ed. Leiden, 2:86) as later heading his tribe’s delegation (*wafḍ*) to Muḥammad, ostensibly to accept Islam, adding that “he went back without accepting Islam.” According to al-Tabārī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:1745–1747, his real intention on that occasion was to assassinate Muḥammad; for which reason he received the title of “Enemy of God” (Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 939).
- 407 Ibn Hishām, al-Ṭabarī, al-Wāqidī, and Ibn Sa‘d give ‘Amr b. Umayya [al-Ḍamrī] as the name of the prisoner whom ‘Āmir b. al-Ṭufayl freed.
- 408 No parallel accounts of this and the following three incidents have been found. Each ends in an enigmatic saying by Muḥammad referring to a particular tribe, and they seem to form a unit.

2:77

"Or those who come to you with breasts constricted."<sup>409</sup> They said, "We are not against you and we are not for you," and they did not respond to him. So the people said, "Attack them, Messenger of God!" But he said: "They have a well-mannered chief who will only take | what is best in his affair. When they sacrifice, they make blood flow; when they say *labbayka*,<sup>410</sup> they raise their voices. Many a fighter from the Banū Mudlij will be a martyr in the way of God."

He sent out Numayla b. 'Abdallāh al-Laythī to the Banū Ḍamra. He returned to the Messenger of God and said: "Messenger of God, they said, 'We will not make war on him or make peace with him; we neither attest to his truthfulness nor call him a liar.'" So the people said, "Messenger of God, attack them!" But he said: "Leave them, for among them are numbers and nobility. Many a righteous shaykh from the Banū Ḍamra will be a fighter in the way of God."

He sent out 'Amr b. Umayya al-Ḍamrī to the Banū l-Dil. He returned to the Messenger of God and said: "Messenger of God, I overtook them while they were in flight, and I came to them while they were in their dwellings. I summoned them to God and His Messenger, but they refused in the strongest terms." So the people said, "Attack them, Messenger of God!" But the Messenger of God said: "Leave the Banū l-Dil. Beware! Indeed their chief has already prayed and accepted Islam. He will say, 'Accept Islam,' and they will say yes."

The Messenger of God sent out 'Abdallāh b. Suhayl b. 'Amr al-Āmirī with five hundred men to the Banū l-Ma'īṣ, Muḥārib b. Fih̄, and those near them on the seacoast. He encountered them at al-Madtharā.<sup>411</sup> When he fell upon them, he summoned them to Islam. A group came back with him. The Messenger of God said, "Lo,<sup>412</sup> the district of faith is like the trunk of a date-palm: the first of it is sweet, and the last of it is sweet."

<sup>409</sup> Qur'ān 4:90. The verse comes at the end of a passage concerning "hypocrites," not taking them as friends, and fighting them "if they turn their backs," "except those that betake themselves to a people who are joined with you by a compact, or come to you with breasts constricted from fighting with you or fighting their people." (Arberry translation.) No other texts have been located asserting that this passage refers to the Banū Mudlij or giving more details of the incident.

<sup>410</sup> That is, when they come to Mecca as pilgrims and recite the traditional pilgrim's greeting to the Ka'ba, *Labbayka Allāhumma labbayka* (At your service, O God, at your service).

<sup>411</sup> The reading and vocalization are uncertain. The reading used here is that of ed. Leiden (the vocalization is conjectural). Houtsma suggested emending to al-Madrā', which is attested as the name of several places. M omits the dots over the *tha'*, and codex Schaefer puts two dots under the letter, making it a *yā'* (al-Madirā', or perhaps to be read as a diminutive al-Mudayrā', but neither is attested).

<sup>412</sup> The text and its meaning are uncertain. For the *hā'* (*lo*) of ed. Leiden, cod. Schaefer reads *tihāma* (Tihāma, a lowland district along the coast of the Red Sea). M has an undotted

He sent out Abū ‘Ubayda b. al-Jarrāḥ in charge of an army to Dhāt al-Qaṣṣā, where there were men from [the tribes of] Muḥārib, Tha’laba, and Anmār.<sup>413</sup> Abū ‘Ubayda and his companions | set out by night, marching until morning. The enemy fled at the sight of them, leaving their camels behind, and so they plundered their possessions. They took one man and brought him to the Messenger of God. The Messenger of God divided everything into five parts: he took the fifth part and distributed the remainder to the members of the detachment. The man accepted Islam, so he let him go.

2:78

[He sent out] ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb in charge of an army to Zabya,<sup>414</sup> a village near al-Tā’if, but he encountered no intrigue.

[He sent out] ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib in charge of an army to Fadak.<sup>415</sup> Word had reached the Messenger of God that there was a force there that intended to aid the Jews of Khaybar. ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib traveled by night and hid during the day, until he attacked them at dawn and killed them.

[He sent out] Abū<sup>416</sup> l-‘Awjā’ al-Sulamī in charge of an expedition. Everyone in the expedition died as a martyr; not one of them returned.

[He sent out] ‘Ukkāsha b. Miḥṣan b. Ḥurthān al-Asadī (of the tribe Asad b. Khuzayma) in charge of an expedition to al-Ghamr.<sup>417</sup>

[He sent out] Abū Salama b. ‘Abd al-Asad b. Hilāl al-Makhzūmī to Qaṭān.<sup>418</sup>

[He sent out] Muḥammad b. Maslama al-Anṣārī, a member of the Banū Ḥāritha, in charge of an army to al-Quraṭā’, which belonged to the tribe of Hawāzin.<sup>419</sup>

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tooth letter (*b*, *t*, *th*, *n*, or *y*) followed by the letters *hā’* and *alif*, probably to be read *bihā*, in/by it.

413 Parallel in al-Wāqidi, *Maghāzī*, 552; Ibn Sa’d, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/1, 62. Yāqūt so vocalizes the toponym; ed. Leiden vocalizes it as Dhū l-Quṣṣā.

414 The reading is Houtsma’s conjecture. The mss read Zaytha (or Raytha). Houtsma also considered Runniyya a possible reading.

415 Parallels: al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:1556; al-Wāqidi, *Maghāzī*, 562–563; Ibn Sa’d, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/1, 65. See the article by L. Veccia Vaglieri in *EL*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Fadak, on the subsequent history of the place.

416 mss Ibn: corrected by Houtsma on the basis of Ibn al-Athīr, *Uṣd al-Ğāba*, which says that the expedition was against the Banū Sulaym. However, al-Wāqidi, *Maghāzī*, 6, 741, and Ibn Sa’d, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/1, 89, give the name as Ibn Abī l-‘Awjā’ and date the expedition to Dhū l-Hijja of 7 A.H. They also say that although Ibn Abī l-‘Awjā’ was wounded, he managed to return to Medina.

417 Sic mss. Houtsma corrects to al-Ghamra, but the reading al-Ghamr is supported by al-Wāqidi, *Maghāzī*, 4, 550; Ibn Sa’d, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/2, 61.

418 Details in al-Wāqidi, *Maghāzī*, 340–346; Ibn Sa’d, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/1, 35. Qaṭān is a mountain near Fayd in Najd, some 250 km northeast of Medina.

419 Parallels: al-Wāqidi, *Maghāzī*, 534–535; Ibn Sa’d, *Ṭabaqāt*, II/1, 56. In al-Wāqidi the place is vocalized as al-Qurṭā’; in Ibn Sa’d as al-Quraṭā’.

[He sent out] Bashīr b. Sa‘d al-Anṣārī in charge of an expedition to Fadak.<sup>420</sup> All of his companions met with disaster; not one of them returned. Then he sent Ghālib b. ‘Abdallāh al-Mulawwahī<sup>421</sup> to deal with the enemy, and he brought back Mirdās b. Nahīk al-Fadakī. |

2:79 On another occasion [he sent him] to Marūḥān<sup>422</sup> in the territory of Khaybar.

[He sent out] ‘Abdallāh b. Rawāḥa al-Anṣārī in charge of an expedition [to Khaybar]<sup>423</sup> twice. One of the expeditions [was against] the companions of the Jew al-Yusayr b. Rizām and his companions.<sup>424</sup> Al-Yusayr was gathering the tribe of Ghaṭafān to attack the Messenger of God.

[He sent out] ‘Abdallāh b. Unays al-Anṣārī against [Khālid b. Sufyān b.] Nubayḥ, [who was gathering men] to attack the Messenger of God, and he killed him.<sup>425</sup> Some say that it was not an expedition, but that he was alone.

[He sent out] ‘Uyayna b. Ḥiṣn b. Ḥudhayfa b. Badr al-Fazārī in charge of an army to the Bal‘anbar,<sup>426</sup> whom he attacked while the men were away from their encampment. He brought back the female captives and set them apart in the mosque. Their men rode<sup>427</sup> to him; having entered the mosque, they shouted, “Muhammad, come out to us!” Among them were Bassāma b. al-A‘war

<sup>420</sup> Parallels: al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:1592; al-Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, 723–726; Ibn Sa‘d, *Ṭabaqāt*, 11/2, 86.

<sup>421</sup> Thus in the mss. Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 973–975, mentions Ghālib b. ‘Abdallāh al-Kalbī, whom Muḥammad sent on another occasion to raid the Banū l-Mulawwahāt at al-Kadīd, and the error seems to have arisen from confusion on the part of al-Ya‘qūbī.

<sup>422</sup> The reading and vocalization are uncertain. Thus M; ed. Leiden Ṣarūḥān, with note in *Addenda* referring to a reading of Farūḥān in Codex Schefer.

<sup>423</sup> Added from the parallels in Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 980–981; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:1759–1760. Cf. al-Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, 566–568; Ibn Sa‘d, *Ṭabaqāt*, 11/1, 66–67, where the Jew’s name is given as Usayr b. Zārim.

<sup>424</sup> Thus in the mss. The first occurrence of “companions” seems to be a copyist’s error for some other word.

<sup>425</sup> Parallels: Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 981–982; al-Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, 531–533; Ibn Sa‘d, *Ṭabaqāt*, 11/1, 35–36; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:1760–1761. Al-Wāqidī and Ibn Sa‘d give the name as Sufyān b. Khālid b. Nubayḥ.

<sup>426</sup> Parallels: Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 983; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:1762, both of whom use the full form of the tribe’s name: Banū l-Anbar (a subgroup of the Banū Tamīm); also Ibn Sa‘d, *Ṭabaqāt*, 11/1, 119–120.

<sup>427</sup> The mss. read *kataba* (wrote), which Houtsma corrected to *rakiba* (rode). The mss. reading may make sense if one vocalizes *kattaba* (form a squadron). As the glossary to the Leiden edition of al-Ṭabarī, 446, notes, this is sometimes used without an object. One might understand the original reading to mean, “Their men gathered a contingent to go to him (or to attack him),” or possibly, “Their men came in a contingent to him.”

and Samura<sup>428</sup> b. ‘Amr. God, the Mighty and Exalted, has said: “And if they had had patience, until you came out to them, that would have been better for them.”<sup>429</sup> The Messenger of God came out to them, and they questioned him. They asked him to appoint Samura b. ‘Amr as mediator and to give them one-third, defer one-third, and take one-third. We have been told that the Messenger of God said, “Anyone who wishes to free one of the children of Ismā‘il, let him free one of these.”

[He sent out] Ka'b b. ‘Umayr al-Anṣārī in charge of an expedition to Dhāt Atlāḥ<sup>430</sup>—some say Dhāt Abātīḥ.<sup>431</sup> All died as martyrs; no one returned from the expedition. |

2:80

The Messenger of God sent ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ in charge of an army to Dhāt al-Salāsil in the land of Syria, where there were people from the Banū ‘Udhra, Balī, and tribes from Yemen.<sup>432</sup> With him were Abū Bakr, ‘Umar, and Abū ‘Ubayda b. al-Jarrāḥ. He gave ‘Amr money and said, “Seek the assistance of anyone you can get.” When he drew near the enemy, he forbade the men to light a fire; this was burdensome for the Muslims because it was very cold. He said, “The Messenger of God commanded you to listen to me and obey.” They spoke to Abū Bakr about this. Abū Bakr went to ‘Amr, but the latter would not allow him to enter. So Abū Bakr shouted, “You son of a woman seller of cloaks, come out to me!” ‘Amr refused, so Abū Bakr said, “You son of a woman tanner, come out to me!” He refused. When it was daybreak, ‘Amr led the men in an attack, struck the enemy, and was victorious. He said to Abū Bakr, “What do you think of the judgment of the son of a woman seller of cloaks?” ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ led the men in prayer even though he was ritually unclean. When they returned to the Messenger of God, Abū ‘Ubayda b. al-Jarrāḥ told him, whereupon ‘Amr said, “Messenger of God, it was very cold, and if I had washed myself, I should have died.” The Messenger of God laughed.

<sup>428</sup> Ibn Hishām and al-Ṭabarī: Sabra.

<sup>429</sup> Qur’ān 49:5.

<sup>430</sup> M, C al-Ṭalāḥ. Parallel in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:1762, al-Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, 752–753; Ibn Sa‘d, *Tabaqāt*, 11/2, 92, which locate Dhāt Atlāḥ in “Syria,” that is, north of Medina. Yāqūt locates it in Wādī al-Qurā.

<sup>431</sup> Following Cod. Schefer and M. Ed. Leiden originally read Anātīḥ, but corrected this in its *Addenda et emendanda*.

<sup>432</sup> Parallels: Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 984–987; al-Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, 6, 769–774; Ibn Sa‘d, *Tabaqāt*, 11/2, 94–95; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:1604–1605. Ibn Sa‘d locates Dhāt al-Salāsil ten days’ journey north of Medina.

[He sent out] ‘Abdallāh b. Abī Ḥadrād al-Aslāmī in charge of an expedition to Iḍām.<sup>433</sup> He encountered ‘Āmir b. al-Āḍbaṭ al-Ashjā’ī, whom Muḥallim b. Jaththāma b. Qays attacked and speared. ‘Uyayna b. Ḥiṣn brought suit before the Messenger of God against Muḥallim for ‘Āmir’s blood-money. The Messenger of God made half payable immediately and deferred half. Muḥallim b. Qays stood up and said, “Messenger of God, ask forgiveness for me.” The Messenger of God said: “You killed a Muslim. May God curse you.” Muḥallim died just five days later.

[He sent out] ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Awf in charge of an expedition against the Kalb.<sup>434</sup> The Messenger of God put a black turban on him and let it hang down in front and behind. “Turban yourself thus,” he said, “for it is better and neater.” He commanded him that, if God granted him victory, he would marry him to the daughter | of their chief. God did grant him victory, and so he married Tumādīr bt. al-Āṣbagh, who was reconciled for one-fourth of the price, for eighty thousand dinars.<sup>435</sup>

When [the Messenger of God] set out for Tabūk, he commanded ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib ...<sup>436</sup>

433 Parallels: Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 987–991; al-Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, 6, 777–780, 796–797; Ibn Sa’d, *Ṭabaqāt*, 11/2, 96; al-Tabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:1607–1610. Yāqūt lists a number of places with the name. Al-Wāqidī and Ibn Sa’d note that the raiding party to Iḍām was intended to divert attention from Muhammad’s march on Mecca, implying that Iḍām did not lie on the direct route between Medina and Mecca.

434 The expedition was to the oasis of Dūmat al-Jandal. Parallels in Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 991–992; al-Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, 560–562; Ibn Sa’d, *Ṭabaqāt*, 11/1, 64–65 and 8:218–220 (biography of Tumādīr); al-Tabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:1556.

435 The meaning unclear. Possibly, one-fourth of the tribute from Dūmat al-Jandal was reserved for her as a dowry; none of the parallel accounts clarifies the matter.

436 A considerable section of text has fallen out of the mss. Cf. Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 897 (parallel with al-Tabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:1696): “The Messenger of God left ‘Alī behind to look after his family, and ordered him to stay with them. The hypocrites spoke evil of him, saying that he had been left behind because he was a burden to the Messenger of God and he wanted to get rid of him. On hearing this, ‘Alī seized his weapons and caught up with the Messenger of God as he halted in al-Jurf and repeated to him what the hypocrites were saying. He replied: ‘They lie. I left you behind because of what I have left behind, so go back and represent me in my family and yours. Are you not content, ‘Alī, to stand to me as Aaron stood to Moses?—except that there will be no prophet after me.’ So ‘Alī returned to Medina and the Messenger of God went on his way.”

**[Those Whom the Messenger of God Sent Out to Collect the Alms Payments (*Ṣadaqāt*)]<sup>437</sup>**

Al-Muhājir b. Abī Umayya was his commander over Ṣan‘ā’. Ziyād b. Labīb al-Bayāḍī was over Ḥaḍramawt and its alms payments. ‘Adī b. Ḥātim was in charge of the alms payments of Ṭayyī’. Mālik b. Nuwayra al-Yarbū‘ī was in charge of the alms payments of the Ḥanẓala. Al-Zibriqān b. Badr and Qays b. ‘Āsim were in charge of the alms payments of the Banū Sa‘d. [He sent] ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib to the people of Najrān, to gather their alms payments and collect their poll tax. He sent out Khālid b. al-Walīd in charge of an expedition to Dūmat al-Jandal.<sup>438</sup> ‘Attāb b. Asid b. Abī Umayya was in charge of Mecca. Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb was in charge of Najrān. Yazīd b. Abī [Sufyān] was in charge of Taymā’. Khālid b. Sa‘īd b. al-Āṣ b. Umayya was in charge of San‘ā’—the Messenger of God died while he was in charge of it. ‘Amr b. Sa‘īd b. al-Āṣ b. Umayya was in charge of the villages of ‘Arabiyya.<sup>439</sup> Abān b. Sa‘īd b. al-Āṣ b. Umayya was in charge of al-Khaṭṭ in al-Baḥrāyn. Al-Walīd b. ‘Uqba b. Abī Mu‘ayṭ [was sent] to the [Banū] l-Muṣṭaliq, and a lie [about his intentions] was told to them—we have mentioned the report about him in [our account of] the raid on the Banū l-Muṣṭaliq. Al-‘Alā’, an ally of Sa‘īd b. al-Āṣ, was in charge of al-Ghuṭayf in al-Baḥrāyn. Mu‘ayqīb b. Abī Fāṭima al-Dawsī<sup>440</sup> was in charge of the spoils.<sup>441</sup> Abū Ranam<sup>442</sup> al-Ghifārī was his commander in charge of Medina when he attacked Khaybar—some give his name as Abū | Ruhm Kulthūm b. al-Ḥuṣayn al-Ghifārī. Abū Ruhm<sup>443</sup> al-Ghifārī was also in charge of al-Medina during the conquest of Mecca. His commander over the pilgrimage season while the people were still in a state of polytheism was ‘Attāb b. Asid: ‘Attāb stood [at ‘Arafāt] with the Muslims; the polytheists stood by themselves. Abū Bakr was his commander over the

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437 Parallel: al-Ṭabarī, *Taṛīkh*, 1:1750.

438 These two sentences (“[He sent] ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib to the people of Najrān, to gather their alms payments and collect their poll tax. He sent out Khālid b. al-Walīd in charge of an expedition to Dūmat al-Jandal.”) refer to expeditions and interrupt the list of people in charge of collecting the alms of various places. The text may have been disturbed.

439 MSS ‘Araniyya or ‘Azaniyya. Houtsma emends on the basis of Bekrī, *Geogr. Wörterb.* (ed. Wüstenfeld), s.v.

440 M: al-Sadūsī.

441 One would expect the name of a place, but no reference to a place called al-Ghanā’im (Spoils) could be found.

442 As Houtsma mentions in a note, the name Abū Ranam (M could be read as Abū Rīm as the middle letter is undotted) is probably to be interpreted as the otherwise unattested *kunya* of Sibā‘ b. ‘Urfuṭa al-Ghifārī. The reading Abū Ruhm occurs in Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 810.

443 MSS Abū Rīm, amended by Houtsma.

pilgrimage season in the year 9 A.H. Some of the people were still polytheists, so Abū Bakr stood [at ‘Arafāt] with the Muslims; the polytheists stood aside at their places.

In that year, he sent out ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib with the sura “An Acquittal.”<sup>444</sup> He took it from Abū Bakr. So Abū Bakr said, “Messenger of God, has anything been revealed concerning me?” He said, “No, rather Gabriel has said to me, ‘Only you or a person from your family shall convey this [message].’” So [‘Alī] read it to the people of Mecca—some say that he read it at the distribution of water from the well of Zamzam. He proclaimed a safe conduct. Then he announced that whoever had a covenant from the Messenger of God granting him a term of four months would continue to have his covenant; whoever did not have a covenant had been granted a term of fifty nights.

His commander in charge of the prayers of the delegation of the Thaqīf was ‘Uthmān b. Abī al-Āṣ al-Thaqafī. Mu‘ādh b. Jabal was in charge of part of Yemen. In charge of the booty at the Battle of Badr was Maḥmiya b. Jaz’ b. ‘Abd Yaghūth al-Zubaydī, an ally of the Banū Jumāh. Usāma b. Zayd, the *mawlā* of the Messenger of God, was in charge of an army to be sent toward Syria—Abū Bakr | implemented it after the death of the Messenger of God; Abū Bakr and ‘Umar were in the army. Whenever the Messenger of God sent out expeditions or armies, he said: “Attack in the name of God, in the way of God. Fight whoever disbelieves in God. Do not act faithlessly, use treachery, or mutilate; and do not kill a newborn child.”

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<sup>444</sup> Parallels: Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 919; al-Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, 1076–1078; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:1720–1721. Sura 9 of the Qur’ān is usually known as “Repentance” (*Al-Tawba*), but also called “Acquittal” from its first words: “An acquittal (*barā'a*), from God and His Messenger, unto the idolaters with whom you made covenant.” The sura, said to have been revealed in 9 A.H., begins with an abrogation of treaty obligations toward polytheists participating in the pilgrimage, and was interpreted to mean that henceforth only Muslims could participate in the pilgrimage. Al-Ya’qūbī’s account conflates two contradictory traditions: that the sura (or perhaps only the beginning of it) was revealed after Abū Bakr had set out with the pilgrims to Mecca, so that Muḥammad sent ‘Alī to bring the sura to Abū Bakr; or, alternatively, that Abū Bakr had the sura with him, but that ‘Alī was sent to take it from him and proclaim it at the pilgrimage because of a revelation received by Muḥammad that only a member of his own family should read it.

### [The Missions to Foreign Rulers]<sup>445</sup>

The Messenger of God sent to the kings, calling them to Islam. He sent ‘Abdallāh b. Ḥudhāfa al-Sahmī to Kisrā and wrote to him: “In the name of God, the Merciful and Compassionate. From Muḥammad, the Messenger of God, to Kisrā, the ruler of Persia. Peace be upon whoever follows right guidance, believes in God and His Messenger, testifies that there is no god but God alone—no partner has He—and that Muḥammad is His servant and His messenger to all mankind, to warn whoever is alive, and that the word might be fulfilled against the unbelievers.<sup>446</sup> Submit yourself and you shall be safe.<sup>447</sup> If you refuse, the sins of the Magians<sup>448</sup> shall be upon you.”

Kisrā wrote him a letter that he set between two pieces of silk, and he put musk between them. When the messenger handed it to the Prophet, he opened it, took a handful of the musk, smelled it, and gave it to his companions, saying, “We have no need of this silk: it is no part of our clothing.” And he said: “You shall surely enter into my affair, or I will come to you myself and with those who are with me; but God’s command is swifter than that. As for your letter, I know more about it than you. It contains such and such.” He did not open it and did not read it. The messenger returned to Kisrā and informed him. Some say that when Kisrā received the letter—and it was ...<sup>449</sup> ... of leather, he cut it into strips. So the Messenger of God said, “God will utterly tear apart their kingdom.”

He sent Dihya b. Khalīfa al-Kalbī to Caesar,<sup>450</sup> to whom he wrote: “In the name of God, the Merciful and Compassionate. From Muḥammad, the Messenger of God, to Heraclius, the ruler of the Romans. Peace be upon whoever | follows right guidance. To proceed: I call you with the call of Islam. Submit yourself and you shall be safe, and God will give you your reward twice over. ‘Say:

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<sup>445</sup> Parallels: Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 971–972; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:1559–1575; Ibn Sa‘d, *Tabaqāt*, 1/2, 15–86; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 2:161–165. Concerning the historicity of these reports, see Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, 345–347.

<sup>446</sup> Cf. Qur’ān 36:69.

<sup>447</sup> Arabic: *Aslim taslam*: a lapidary utterance involving a play on words. The original meaning of *aslim* is “submit” (sc. yourself to God), but the noun derived from this verb—*islām*—became the designation for the religion that Muḥammad proclaimed. Hence, *aslim* also means “become a Muslim.” A further play on words is involved because *taslam*, “you shall be safe” or “you shall be at peace,” is derived from the same Arabic root.

<sup>448</sup> *Al-Majūs*, the usual Arabic name for Zoroastrians.

<sup>449</sup> There is a lacuna in the MSS. The sense of the first word following the lacuna is unclear.

<sup>450</sup> That is, the Byzantine emperor.

"People of the Book! Come now to a word common between us and you: that we serve none but God, that we associate nothing with Him, and that we do not take each other as Lords, apart from God." And if they turn their backs, say: "Bear witness that we are Muslims."<sup>451</sup> If you turn your back, the sin of the heretics<sup>452</sup> shall be upon you."

Heraclius wrote: "To Ah̄mad, the Messenger of God whom Jesus foretold,<sup>453</sup> from Caesar, the king of the Romans. Your letter has come to me with your messenger. I bear witness that you are the Messenger of God. We find you in the Gospel that we possess. Jesus the son of Mary foretold you to us. I called on the Romans to believe in you, but they refused. Had they obeyed me, it would have been better for them. I wish I were with you, that I might serve you and wash your feet." The Messenger of God said, "Their kingdom will remain as long as my letter remains with them."

<sup>451</sup> Qur'ān 3:64.

<sup>452</sup> M appears to read *al-ris̄iyīn*, though the word lacks dots. C, which ed. Leiden follows, was read by Houtsma as *al-rīfiyyīn* (those of the countryside), but the context calls for the name of a sinful or heretical group, and no group with such a name is known. Al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:165 and Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 2:163, read "the sin of the *Akkārūn*." *Akkārūn*, plural of *akkār*, appears to be a loanword from Syriac *akkārā*, "plowman, husbandman." However, the word does not occur in the Qur'ān, and does not appear to have been borrowed into Arabic until later. (See the article by M. A. J. Beg in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Akkār). Guillaume, in his translation of the *Sīra* (p. 655), speculated that this might be reference to the parable of the wicked husbandmen in Matthew 23–41. The text of this letter is also contained in a *ḥadīth* included by al-Bukhārī, "Jihād," 99, 102, where the reading is *al-Aris̄iyūn*, which the dictionaries (cf. *Lisān al-'Arab*, s.v. 'r-s) gloss as a synonym of *akkārūn*, mentioning an alternative vocalization, *irrīsūn*. On the basis of al-Bukhārī, Houtsma therefore emended his main text to read *al-Aris̄iyīn* (genitive case). Given the parallelism between *al-Aris̄iyīn* and *al-Majūs* in the letter to Kisrā, the word probably refers to a religious sect or heresy. One suggestion is that it is a loan from Syriac *heresis* (from Greek ἡρεσις) and that *al-ris̄iyīn* (or *al-irrīsiyyīn*) are simply "people of heresy, heretics."

<sup>453</sup> The names Ah̄mad and Muḥammad are derived from the same root and both mean "highly praised." Cf. Qur'ān 61:6, where Jesus says to the Jews that he brings "good tidings of a messenger who comes after me, whose name is Ah̄mad." Muslims came to believe that Jesus had foretold Muḥammad's coming and that the refusal of Christians to recognize him was due to blindness or perverseness. Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 149–150, finds a prediction of the coming of Muḥammad in the Gospel of John, 15:23 ff. Al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:141, mentions that one of the pre-Islamic monotheists of Mecca predicted the coming of a prophet named Ah̄mad from the descendants of Ismā'īl. See the article by J. Schacht in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ah̄mad.

He sent ‘Amr b. Umayya al-Ḍamrī to the Negus,<sup>454</sup> Shujā‘ b. Wahb to al-Ḥārith b. Abī Shimr al-Ghassānī,<sup>455</sup> Ḥāṭib b. Abī Balta‘a to al-Muqawqis,<sup>456</sup> the governor of Alexandria; Jarīr b. ‘Abdallāh al-Bajalī to Dhū l-Kalā‘ al-Ḥimyarī,<sup>457</sup> al-‘Alā‘ b. al-Ḥaḍramī to al-Mundhir b. Sāwā of the Banū Tamīm in al-Baḥrayn;<sup>458</sup> ‘Ammār b. Yāsir to al-Ayham b. al-Nu‘mān al-Ghassānī; Salīṭ b. ‘Amr b. ‘Abd Shams al-Āmirī to the two sons of Hawdha b. ‘Alī al-Ḥanafī in al-Yamāma; al-Muhājir b. Abī<sup>459</sup> Umayya to al-Ḥārith b. ‘Abd Kulāl al-Ḥimyarī; Khālid b. al-Walīd to the Banū<sup>460</sup> al-Dayyān and the Banū Qanān; and ‘Amr b. al-Āṣ to Jayfar and ‘Abbād, the sons of al-Julandā, to Oman. He wrote to them all as he had written to Kisrā and Caesar. And [he sent] Salīm b. ‘Amr al-Anṣārī to ḥadramawt.

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He sent men from among his companions to kill certain polytheists. He sent ‘Amr b. Umayya al-Ḍamrī to kill Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb, but he did not kill him.<sup>461</sup> He sent Muḥammad b. Maslama, Abū [Nā’ila]<sup>462</sup> Silkān b. Salāma, ‘Abbād b. Bishr, Abū ‘Abs b. Jabr, and al-Ḥārith b. Aws to kill Ka‘b b. al-Ashraf the Jew, and they killed him among the al-Naḍīr.<sup>463</sup> He sent ‘Abdallāh b. Rawāḥa to al-Yusayr b. Rizām, the Jew of Khaybar, and he killed him.<sup>464</sup> He sent ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Atīk, Abū Qatāda b. Ribī‘, Khuzā‘ī b. al-Aswad, Mas‘ūd b. Sinān—Ibn ‘Atīk

<sup>454</sup> The ruler of Ethiopia. See note 81 above.

<sup>455</sup> That is, to the ruler of the Banū Ghassān, an Arab tribal kingdom in Syria. The Ghassānids were Monophysite Christians and ruled a client state of the Byzantine Empire. See the article by Irfan Shahid in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ghassān.

<sup>456</sup> Al-Muqawqis refers to the Patriarch of Alexandria, Cyrus “of the Caucasus,” who arrived in Egypt in 631. See the article by K. Öhrnberg in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Muḳawķis. The account, which places the mission in 627–628, involves an anachronism.

<sup>457</sup> That is, one of the rulers of Yemen. Dhū l-Kalā‘ was one of the most powerful tribes of Yemen on the eve of Islam, and its chief, Samayfa‘, appears in al-Ṭabarī’s history during the reign of Abū Bakr.

<sup>458</sup> See the article by M. J. Kister in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Mundhir b. Sāwā (Sāwī is a variant), for a summary of what the sources say about the mission. Al-Mundhir, the chief of the tribal division Dārim of Tamīm, had close relations with the Persian empire and controlled the market of Ḥajar (now al-Hasā) and al-Baḥrayn.

<sup>459</sup> Omitted in M.

<sup>460</sup> Supplied from M.

<sup>461</sup> Parallels: Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 992–994; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:1437–1441.

<sup>462</sup> Supplied from Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 551.

<sup>463</sup> That is, they killed him in the part of Medina inhabited by the Jewish tribe of Banū l-Naḍīr. Ka‘b b. al-Ashraf, whose mother was from the Banū l-Naḍīr, composed verses against Muḥammad after the Battle of Badr. Parallel: Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 548–553; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:1368–1373; al-Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, 184–193.

<sup>464</sup> Parallels: Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 980–981; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:1759–1760.

was their commander—to kill Sallām b. Abī al-Huqayq, and they killed him at Khaybar.<sup>465</sup> He sent someone to kill Ibn Abī [Ḥad'a]<sup>466</sup> and said to the person, “If you find him alive, kill him and burn him with fire.” He found him when he had been bitten by a snake, and he died. He sent ‘Abdallāh b. Abī Ḥadrād to kill Rifā'a b. Qays al-Jushamī, and he killed him.<sup>467</sup> He sent ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭalib to kill Mu‘awiya b. al-Mughīra b. Abī al-‘Āṣ b. Umayya, and he killed him.<sup>468</sup>

### The Deputations of the Arabs Who Came to the Messenger of God

Deputations of the Arabs came to him, each tribe having a headman who led the delegation.<sup>469</sup> | The Muzayna came, their head being Khuzā'i b. ‘Abd Nuhm;<sup>470</sup> the Ashja‘, their head being ‘Abdallāh b. Mālik; [the Aslam,] their head being Burayda; the Sulaym, their head being Waqqās b. Qumāma; the Banū Layth, their head being al-Ṣā'b b. Jaththāma; the Fazāra, their head being ‘Uyayna b. Ḥiṣn; the Banū Bakr, their head being ‘Adī b. Sharāḥil; the Ṭayyi‘, their head being ‘Adī b. Ḥātim; the Bajila, their head being Qays b. Ghurba; the Azd, their head being Ṣurad b. ‘Abdallāh; the Khathām, their head being ‘Umays b. ‘Amr; the deputation of a group of the Ṭayyi‘, their head being Zayd b. Muhalhil, who is [known as] Zayd al-Khayl;<sup>471</sup> the Banū Shaybān [...],<sup>472</sup> and [the ‘Abd al-Qays,] their head being al-Ashajj al-‘Aṣarī. Then came the deputation of al-Jārūd b. al-Mu‘allā, and the Messenger of God made him governor of his

<sup>465</sup> Parallels: Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 714–716; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:1375–1383; al-Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, 391–395.

<sup>466</sup> Thus in M and ed. Leiden, written with no diacritical points. The name is unknown.

<sup>467</sup> Parallels: Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 989–991; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:1607–1609; al-Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, 777–780.

<sup>468</sup> The report in Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 590–591, gives three accounts of the death of Mu‘awiya b. al-Mughīra after the Battle of Uhud, none of them involving ‘Alī; similarly, al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:1430–1431, does not mention ‘Alī, nor does al-Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, 332–334.

<sup>469</sup> The histories refer to A.H. 9 as “The Year of Deputations/Delegations (*Wufūd*).” Parallels: Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 933–965; Ibn Sa‘d, *Tabaqāt*, 1/2, 38–86; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:1706 ff. *passim*. For a summary of the various delegations or deputations, see the article by M. Lecker and C. E. Bosworth in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Wufūd*.

<sup>470</sup> Corrected by Houtsma from mss Khuzā'a b. ‘Abdallāh. Houtsma’s note in the apparatus (translated from the Latin) reads: “It should be noted that nearly all the names in this section are corrupt; to which an even worse problem is added: a lacuna that is not indicated.” The translation follows Houtsma’s corrected text.

<sup>471</sup> That is, Zayd of the Horses.

<sup>472</sup> The sense requires a lacuna here, but there is no space in the MSS.

people. The kings of Ḥimyar—al-Ḥārith b. ‘Abd Kulāl, Nu‘aym b. ‘Abd Kulāl, and al-Nu‘mān, the prince of Dhū Ru‘ayn—sent deputations to announce their acceptance of Islam. They wrote to the Messenger of God announcing their acceptance of Islam, and he sent Mu‘ādh b. Jabal to them. The ‘Ukl came, their head being Khuzayma b. ‘Āsim; the Judhām, their head being Farwa b. ‘Amr; the Ḥadramawt, their head being Wā'il b. Hujr al-Ḥadramī; the al-Dibāb, their head being Dhū l-Jawshan; and the Banū Asad, their head being Dirār b. al-Azwar (some say Nuqāda b. al-Āyif). ‘Āmir b. al-Tufayl came with the Banū ‘Āmir, but he went back without accepting Islam; Arbad b. Qays also went back without accepting Islam. The Banū l-Ḥārith b. Ka‘b came, their head being Yazīd b. ‘Abd al-Madān; the Banū Tamīm, | headed by ‘Uṭārid b. Ḥājib, al-Zibriqān b. Badr, Qays b. ‘Āsim, and Mālik b. Nuwayra; the Banū Nahd, headed by Abū Laylā Khālid b. al-Ṣaq‘ab; the Kināna, their heads being Qatan and Anas, the sons of Ḥāritha, of the Banū ‘Ulaym; the Hamdān, their head being Dīmām b. Mālik; the Thumāla and the al-Ḥuddān, a subdivision of the Azd, their head being Maslama b. Hazzān al-Ḥuddānī; the Bāhila, their head being Muṭarrif b. Kāhin al-Bāhili; the Banū Ḥanīfa, with whom came Musaylima b. Ḥabīb al-Ḥanafī;<sup>473</sup> the Murād, their head being Farwa b. Musayk; and the Mahra, their head being Mahrī b. al-Abyad.

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### [The Prophet's Scribes]

He wrote to the heads of the tribes, calling them to Islam. His scribes who wrote down the revelation, letters, and treaties were ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, ‘Uthmān b. ‘Affān, ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ b. Umayya, Mu‘āwiya b. Abī Sufyān, Shurahbil b. Ḫasana, ‘Abdallāh b. Sa‘d b. Abī Sarḥ, al-Mughīra b. Shu‘ba, Mu‘ādh b. Jabal, Zayd b. Thābit, Ḥanżala b. al-Rabi‘, Ubayy b. Ka‘b, Juhaym b. al-Ṣalt, and al-Ḥusayn al-Numayrī.<sup>474</sup>

He wrote to the people of Yemen:<sup>475</sup> “In the name of God, the Merciful and Compassionate. This is a letter from Muḥammad, the Messenger of God, to the people of Yemen. I praise God to you, | apart from whom there is no god. Your

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<sup>473</sup> Musaylima, who later claimed to be a prophet and went down in Islamic history as “Musaylima the Liar,” was killed during the caliphate of Abū Bakr. See the article by W. Montgomery Watt in *ER*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Musaylima.

<sup>474</sup> Parallel: al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:1782.

<sup>475</sup> Parallels: Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 955–957; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:1718–1720; al-Balādhurī, *Futūh*, 68–72.

messenger reached us on our arrival from the land of the Romans and met us in Medina. He conveyed to us the message you sent and informed us of what has taken place among you. He reported to us that you have accepted Islam and that God has guided you aright—if you do well, obeying God, obeying His Messenger, performing the prayer, paying alms (*zakāh*), giving from the spoils God's fifth, the Prophet's share, and the *safī*,<sup>476</sup> and [paying] the poor tax (*ṣadaqa*) that is incumbent upon the faithful—namely, a tenth of [the produce of] whatever is watered without irrigation<sup>477</sup> or that the heavens water, and one-half of a tenth of whatever is watered by buckets; from each camel flock of forty a young female ready to be saddled that has not borne a second foal; in each [flock of] twenty-five, a one-year-old camel; for every thirty camels, a two-year-old camel;<sup>478</sup> for every twenty camels, four ewes; for every forty cattle, one cow; for every thirty cattle, a male yearling or a two-year-old female; for every forty sheep, one ewe—this is God's ordinance that He has made incumbent on believers. If anyone does more in the way of good, it will be to his credit. Whoever gives this, is made to bear witness to his Islam, and backs the believers against the unbelievers is one of the believers: he has God's promise of safety and the promise of safety of His Messenger, Muhammad, the Messenger of God.<sup>479</sup> Any Jew or Christian who accepts Islam is one of the believers: he has the same rights as they and the same obligations. Anyone who holds fast to his Judaism or Christianity shall not be made to change his religion, but shall pay the poll-tax (*jizya*): for every adult male or female, free or slave, a full dinar's worth of Ma'āfirī [cloth] or its substitute.<sup>480</sup> Whoever pays that to the Messenger of God, has God's promise of safety and the promise of safety of

<sup>476</sup> The *safī* is the portion of spoils that the chief chooses for himself before the spoils are divided.

<sup>477</sup> The parallels in Ibn Hishām and al-Ṭabarī read, “whatever is watered by a spring.” The version here reads, “whatever *al-ba'l* waters.” *Ba'l*—ultimately the same word as the Canaanite god of rain, Baal—is a term for any crops not in need of artificial irrigation.

<sup>478</sup> For an explanation of the terms used for “one-year-old camel” (*ibn makhād*) and “two-year-old camel” (*ibn labūn*), see Lane, *Lexicon*, 7:2694, s.v. *makhād*.

<sup>479</sup> Literally, “he has God's *dhimma* and the *dhimma* of God's Messenger.” As used here, *dhimma* means “a promise of safety” and is synonymous with *amān*. Later usage reserved the term *dhimmī* for non-Muslims resident in Muslim lands as protected aliens. Here, however, it refers to new Muslim converts.

<sup>480</sup> The formula appears to mean that the poll-tax was to be paid in Ma'āfirī cloth (a kind of Yemeni cloth named after the tribe that produced it) worth one dinar or its equivalent. The text however, may be corrupt. Al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 1:1719, has: “one full dinar, or its value in Ma'āfirī [cloth], or its substitute in clothes.”

His Messenger; anyone who withholds it is an enemy of God, His Messenger, and the believers. The Messenger of God is the trustee<sup>481</sup> of your rich and your poor. The poor-tax (*ṣadaqa*) is not lawful for Muḥammad or his family; it is an alms (*zakāh*) that you pay to the poor believers for the sake of God. Mālik b. Murāra<sup>482</sup> | has communicated the report and kept what is secret. I command you to treat him well. I have sent to you one of the most righteous of my people, of those who possess the book among them, and those who possess knowledge among them. I command you to treat him well, for he is one who is looked to.<sup>483</sup> Peace!" The messenger who carried the letter was Mu'ādh b. Jabal.

2:89

He wrote to Hamdān:<sup>484</sup> "In the name of God, the Merciful and Compassionate. This is a letter from Muḥammad, the Messenger of God, to 'Umayr Dhū Murrān and to those of Hamdān who have accepted Islam. You are at peace!"<sup>485</sup> I praise God to you—God, apart from whom there is no god. To proceed: I received word of your acceptance of Islam upon our return from the land of the Romans. Rejoice, for God has guided you with His guidance. If you testify that there is no god but God and Muḥammad is God's servant and messenger, perform the prayer, and give alms (*zakāh*), you shall have God's promise of safety and His Messenger's promise of safety for your lives, your property, and the unsown land on which you accepted Islam—its plain, its mountains, its springs, and its water-courses—being neither wronged nor straitened. The poor-tax (*ṣadaqa*) is not lawful for Muḥammad or his family; it is an alms (*zakāh*) that you pay from your property for the poor of the Muslims. Mālik

481 Literally, "the *mawlā* of your rich and your poor." For a discussion of the various meanings of the word (here in the sense of trustee, helper, defender), see the article by A. J. Wensinck and P. Crone in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Mawlā*.

482 So corrected by Houtsma from MSS Murāda. The parallels in Ibn Hishām and al-Ṭabarī refer to Mālik b. Murra.

483 The meaning of the Arabic (*fa-innahū manzūrun ilayhi*) is unclear. Being "looked-to" can be a way of saying that someone or something is of importance. It can also mean that a person will be called to account or is specially favored.

484 A large tribe in Yemen. Parallel in Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 963.

485 The Arabic (*silmun antum*) involves a play on words with implications for the meaning of *Islām* as the designation of Muḥammad's religion. The letter is addressed to "those of Hamdān who have accepted Islam" (*man aslama min Hamdān*). If one interprets *aslama* as "enter into a state of peace," and translates "those of Hamdān who have entered into a state of peace: you are at peace," the progression of ideas becomes clear. *Islām*, the verbal noun of *aslama*, would have the primary meaning of "entering into a state of peace" (sc. with God). The term *silm* is discussed in de Goeje's edition of al-Balādhurī, *Futūh*, Glossary,

b. Murāra al-Rahāwī has kept what is secret and communicated the report. I command you to treat him well, for he is one who is looked to." 'Ali b. Abī Ṭālib wrote the letter.

He wrote to Najrān:<sup>486</sup> "From Muḥammad, the Messenger of God, to the bishops of Najrān. In the name of God, I praise to you the God of Abraham, Ishmael, Isaac, and Jacob. To proceed: I call you to the worship of God from the worship of human beings.<sup>487</sup> I call you to God's guardianship from the guardianship of servants. If you refuse, then it is the poll-tax (*jizya*). If you refuse, I declare war on you. Peace!"

He wrote to the people of Hajar:<sup>488</sup> "In the name of God, the Merciful and Compassionate. From Muḥammad, the Messenger | of God, to the people of Hajar. You are at peace! I praise God to you, apart from whom there is no god. To proceed: I urge you by God and your souls that you not go astray hereafter, when you have been guided, and that you not be misled hereafter, when you have been on the right way. To proceed: Your deputation came to me, and I did to them only what gave them joy. If I had exerted my full right among you, I would have expelled you from Hajar; but I accepted the intercession of those of you who were present and bestowed favor on those of you who were absent. Remember God's grace to you. To proceed: I have received word of what you have done. Whoever of you acts well, I<sup>489</sup> will not hold him responsible for the guilt of the wrongdoer. When your commanders come to you, obey them and help them to do God's command and in His way. Any of you who does a good deed, it will not be lost for him with God or with me. To proceed: Mundhir b. Sāwā, my messenger has praised you to me, and I will reward you for your deed, God willing."

<sup>486</sup> A city in northern Yemen with a large Christian community. See the article by Irfan Shahid in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Nadjrān. The translation follows the corrected text in the margin of M.

<sup>487</sup> Literally, "from the worship of servants [of God]." Addressed to Christians, this is a summons to cease worshipping Christ, whom Muslims hold to have the nature of a servant, like all human beings. The letter echoes Qur'ān 19:30, where Christ says, "Lo, I am God's servant." This is followed by verse 35: "It is not for God to take a son unto Him," and by a strongly anti-Christian passage in verses 88–93, where the Christian claim that God has "taken" to Himself a "son" (*walad'an*) is contrasted with the doctrine that everything "in the heavens and earth shall come to the All-merciful as a servant ('abd'an')."

<sup>488</sup> The largest town at the time in the eastern part of Arabia, now known as al-Hasā. See the article by F. S. Vidal in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Hasā. Parallel: al-Balādhurī, *Futūh*, 79–80.

<sup>489</sup> Reading with M *ahmilu* (first person) instead of ed. Leiden *yuhmalu*, "he will not be held responsible ..."

The people of Najrān came to him.<sup>490</sup> Their head was Abū Ḥāritha, the bishop, and with him were al-Āqib, al-Sayyid, ‘Abd al-Masīḥ, Kūz, and Qays b. al-Ayham.<sup>491</sup> They came to the Messenger of God. When they entered, they displayed brocade and crosses and entered in such guise as no one had ever entered. The Messenger of God said, “Let them.” So they met the Messenger of God. They consulted with him all day and asked him all sorts of questions. Abū Ḥāritha asked, “Muhammad, what do you say about Christ?” He replied, “He is God’s servant and messenger.” Abū Ḥāritha said: “May God be exalted above what you have said, Abū Qāsim. He is such and such.”<sup>492</sup> | Concerning them, the following was revealed:<sup>493</sup> “Truly, the likeness of Jesus, in God’s sight, is as Adam’s likeness; He created him of dust, then said He unto him, ‘Be,’ and he was. The truth is of God; be not of the doubters. And whoso disputes with thee concerning him, after the knowledge that has come to thee, say: ‘Come now, let us call our sons and your sons, our wives and your wives, ourselves and yourselves, then let us humbly pray and so lay God’s curse upon the ones who lie.’” So they agreed to such a contest.<sup>494</sup> The next morning Abū Ḥāritha said, “See who comes with him.” The Messenger of God came early that morning, holding the hand of al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn, followed by Fāṭima, and with ‘Ali b. Abī Ṭālib before him. Al-Āqib and al-Sayyid came with two of their sons wearing pearls and jewels, and they stood around Abū Ḥāritha. Abū Ḥāritha said, “Who are these who are with him?” They said, “This is his cousin, this is his daughter, and these two are their<sup>495</sup> sons.” The Messenger of God knelt on

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<sup>490</sup> Parallels: Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 401–411; Ibn Sa’d, *Tabaqāt*, 1/2, 84–85; al-Balādhurī, *Futūh*, 63–68; al-Ṭabarī, *Tarīkh*, 1:1740; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 2:223–224.

<sup>491</sup> The note in ed. Leiden calls the text badly corrupted. Al-Āqib and al-Sayyid are titles, not given names. The parallel in Ibn Hishām reads: “A deputation from the Christians of Najrān came to the Messenger of God. There were sixty riders, fourteen of them from their nobles of whom three were in control of affairs, namely (a) the Āqib, the leader of the people, a man of affairs, and their chief adviser whose opinion governed their policy, ‘Abd al-Masīḥ by name; (b) the Sayyid, their administrator who saw to transport and general arrangements, whose name was al-Ayham; and (c) their bishop, scholar, and religious leader who controlled their schools, Abū Ḥāritha b. ‘Alqama, one of the Banū Bakr b. Wā’il.” Ibn Hishām identifies Kūz as the brother of Abū Ḥāritha and also mentions Qays.

<sup>492</sup> The Arabic formula *kadhā wa-kadhā* (such and such) is a way of saying that he spoke at length.

<sup>493</sup> Qur’ān 3:59–61.

<sup>494</sup> Literally, they agreed to *mubāhala*. The original meaning of the word is “mutual imprecation, mutual cursing” (that is, “May God’s curse be over the one of us who is wrong or lies”). The article by W. Schmucker in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Mubāhala*, discusses the episode.

<sup>495</sup> Reading *ibnāhumā* with M; ed. Leiden has *ibnāhā*, “her two sons.”

his knees and then bowed down. Abū Ḥāritha said, “By God, he knelt as the prophets kneel for calling down a curse.” Al-Sayyid said to him, “Approach, Abū Ḥāritha, for the mutual calling down of curses.” However, Abū Ḥāritha said: “I see a man adept at calling down curses. I fear that he may have spoken the truth; and if he has spoken the truth, before the year is out there will be not one Christian in the world eating food.” Then Abū Ḥāritha said, “Abū Qāsim, we will not engage in a contest of curses with you; we will pay you the poll-tax.” So the Messenger of God made peace with them on the basis of two thousand suits of clothing worth an *uqiyya*, the value of each suit being forty dirhams, with anything that exceeded or fell short being taken into account.<sup>496</sup>

The Messenger of God wrote a letter to them: “In the name of God, the Merciful and Compassionate. This is a letter from the Prophet Muḥammad, the Messenger of God, to Najrān and its dependencies. Concerning everything white, yellow,<sup>497</sup> fruit, and slave: he has bestowed it all on them, save two thousand suits of clothing worth an *uqiyya*, the value of each | suit being forty dirhams, with whatever exceeds or falls short to be taken into account: one thousand in Ṣafar and one thousand in Rajab. They shall be liable for thirty dīnārs to lodge my messengers [for a month] and whatever is above that.<sup>498</sup> In addition, in each war that may take place in Yemen they shall also be liable for coats of mail as a guaranteed loan. In return for this they shall have God’s protection and Muḥammad’s promise of security. Any of them who shall engage in usury after this year, my promise of security to them is withdrawn.”

Al-Āqib said, “Messenger of God, we fear that you will hold us responsible for the offenses of others.” So he wrote: “No one shall be held responsible for the offense of another.” Witnesses to this were ‘Amr b. al-Āṣ and al-Mughīra b. Shu‘ba. ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib acted as scribe. When they arrived in Najrān, al-Ayham accepted Islam and returned [to Medina] as a Muslim.<sup>499</sup>

<sup>496</sup> Either the MSS of al-Ya‘qūbī are defective at this point, or al-Ya‘qūbī himself condensed the report he had before him, as a comparison with the fuller text in al-Balādhurī, *Futūh*, pp. 64–65, shows: “He made peace with the two men (viz. al-Sayyid and al-Āqib) who represented the people of Najrān on the basis of two thousand suits of clothing—one thousand suits in the month of Ṣafar and one thousand suits in Rajab—the value of each suit to be one *uqiyya* (an *uqiyya* is the weight of forty dirhams). If they paid with a suit worth more than an *uqiyya*, the excess would be credited to them; if they paid with something worth less than an *uqiyya*, the shortfall would be subtracted from them.” An *uqiyya*, therefore, is a monetary unit worth forty dirhams.

<sup>497</sup> Apparently meaning silver and gold.

<sup>498</sup> Al-Balādhurī, *Futūh*, 65: “It is binding on Najrān to provide board and lodging for my messengers for one month or less, and never to detain them for more than a month.”

<sup>499</sup> Arabic *wa-aqbala musliman*. In Ibn Sa‘d’s version, *two* members of the delegation, al-

## The Wives of the Messenger of God

He married twenty-one women—some say twenty-three.<sup>500</sup> He consummated his marriage with some of them, some he divorced, and with some he did not consummate his marriage.

Of those with whom he consummated his marriage, the first was Khadija bt. Khuwaylid b. Asad b. ‘Abd al-‘Uzzā b. Quṣayy. She bore all his children, except Ibrāhīm. He married no other besides her until she died.

Then he married Sawda bt. Zam‘a b. Qays [b. ‘Abd Shams] b. ‘Abd Wudd b. Naṣr b. Mālik b. Ḥisl b. ‘Āmir b. Lu’ayy. He married her in Mecca.

Then he married ‘Āisha bt. Abī Bakr b. Abī Quḥāfa. He married her in Mecca and consummated the marriage in Medina.

Then he married Ghaziyya bt. Dūdān b. ‘Awf b. Jābir b. Ḏabāb of the Banū ‘Āmir b. Lu’ayy.<sup>501</sup> She was Umm Sharīk, who gave herself | to the Prophet.

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Then he married Ḥafṣa bt. ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb and [grand]daughter of Nufayl b. ‘Abd al-‘Uzzā al-‘Adawī.<sup>502</sup>

Then he married Zaynab bt. Khuzayma b. al-Ḥārith from the Banū ‘Āmir b. Sa‘ṣāa. She was called Umm al-Masākīn.<sup>503</sup> Of his wives, none but she and Khadija died while married to him.

Then he married Umm Ḥabība bt. Abī Sufyān b. Ḥarb b. Umayya b. ‘Abd Shams b. ‘Abd Manāf.

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Sayyid (that is, al-Ayham) and al-‘Āqib, return to Medina as Muslims. Another possible meaning is that he turned in the direction that Muslims turn in prayer, that is, toward Mecca, signaling his conversion to Islam. In Ibn Sa‘d’s account, when the delegation from Najrān arrives in Medina, they pray in the Prophet’s mosque facing east, which elicits the Prophet’s remark, “Let them.” Al-Yāqūbī includes the remark, while neglecting to indicate its cause.

<sup>500</sup> Parallels: Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 1000–1005; Ibn Sa‘d, *Ṭabaqāt*, 8:7–11, 35–160; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, 1:396–467; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:1766–1778; Ibn al-Athir, *al-Kāmil*, 2:233–236.

<sup>501</sup> “The genealogy at this point, as quite frequently with our author, differs from the one handed down by others. In emending, I have acted only to correct the errors of scribes as much as was possible through the manuscript.” (Houtsma’s note *ad locum*.) Cf. the accounts of her in Ibn Sa‘d, *Ṭabaqāt*, 8:110–112; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:1774–1775. “Gave herself to the Prophet,” (Arabic: *wahabat nafsahā lil-nabī*) is a legal expression meaning that she offered herself directly to Muḥammad “without the participation of a *wali* (guardian) to negotiate a marriage contract, and without expectation of a dower.” See Stowasser, *Women in the Qur'an, Traditions, and Interpretation*, 87.

<sup>502</sup> Following the reading of M; ed. Leiden reads al-‘Abdawī; M has al-‘Adawī, though with a dot under the letter *dāl*.

<sup>503</sup> Umm al-Masākīn means the Mother of the Poor.

Then he married Zaynab bt. Jahsh b. Ri'āb b. Qays b. Ya'mur b. Ṣabra from the Banū Asad b. Khuzayma.

Then he married Umm Salama bt. Abī Umayya b. al-Mughīra b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr b. Makhzūm.

Then he married Juwayriya—her name was Barra<sup>504</sup> bt. al-Ḥārith b. Abī Dirār al-Muṣṭaliqiyya from the Khuzā'a.

Then he married Ṣafiyah bt. Ḥuyayy b. Akhṭab of the Banū l-Najjār, of the tribe of the prophet Aaron.

Then he married Maymūna bt. al-Ḥārith b. Ḥazn b. Bujayr al-Hilālī.

Then he married Māriyah, the mother of Ibrāhīm.

These are the women with whom he consummated his marriage. Of them, he divorced Umm Sharik. Of them, he deferred Sawda, Ṣafiyah, Juwayriya, Umm Ḥabība, and Maymūna, and he lodged 'Ā'isha, Ḥafṣah, Zaynab, and Umm Salima.<sup>505</sup>

The women with whom he did not consummate his marriage were: Khawla bt. al-Hudhayl b. Hubayrah al-Tha'labiyyah. She died on the road before reaching him.

Also, Shirāf, the sister of Dihyah b. Khalīfa al-Kalbī. She was carried to him, but died before reaching him.

<sup>2:94</sup> Also, Sanā bt. al-Ṣalt b. Ḥabīb b. Ḥārithah al-Sulamī. | She died before reaching him.<sup>506</sup>

Also, Rayḥānah bt. Sham'un al-Qurayzīyyah. The Prophet offered her Islam, but she insisted on maintaining her Judaism, so he put her away. Later she accepted Islam, and he proposed marriage to her, and she accepted. When the veil was

<sup>504</sup> That is, her name before marriage to Muḥammad. She was among the captives taken in the raid against the Banū Muṣṭaliq, and Muḥammad gave her a new name when he chose her to be his wife.

<sup>505</sup> The language refers to Qur'ān 33:51: "You [viz. Muḥammad] may defer whom you will of them, and whom you will you may lodge; and if you seek any you have set aside there is no fault in you." Normally, Muslim husbands are limited to four wives at any one time, but this restriction was lifted for Muḥammad in his capacity as prophet. Furthermore, Muslim husbands are required to treat each wife equally in terms of conjugal rights, but Muḥammad was exempted from this provision, too. Sawda, Ṣafiyah, Juwayriya, Umm Ḥabība, and Maymūna had their turns for conjugal relations deferred, although they were not divorced, while 'Ā'isha, Ḥafṣah, Zaynab, and Umm Salima lived in Muḥammad's household, sharing his bed and board on equal terms.

<sup>506</sup> Reading with M *qabla an taṣila ilayhi*; ed. Leiden reads *qabla an yaṣila ilayhā* (before he reached her).

imposed, she said, "Rather leave me in your possession, Messenger of God." So she remained in his possession until he died.<sup>507</sup>

Also, Asmā' bt. al-Nu'mān al-Kindī of the Banū Ākil al-Murār. She was one of his most beautiful and perfect wives. They—his wives—said to her, "If you wish to find favor with him, take refuge with God when you come into his presence." When he came in and lowered the curtain, she said, "I take refuge in God from you." He turned his face away from her and said: "One who takes refuge in God has become safe. Go join your people." Al-Muhājir b. Umayya al-Makhzūmī was the next husband of Asmā' bt. al-Nu'mān al-Kindī; after al-Muhājir, Qays b. Makshūh al-Murādī followed as her next husband.

Also, Qutayla bt. Qays b. Ma'dikarib, who was the sister of al-Ash'ath b. Qays b. Fulān.<sup>508</sup> The Messenger of God died before she left to come to him from Yemen. Afterward, 'Ikrima b. Abī Jahl became her husband.

Also, 'Amra bt. Yazīd b. 'Ubayd b. Ru'ās al-Kilābī. He received word that she had leprosy,<sup>509</sup> so he divorced her and did not consummate the marriage.

Also, al-'Āliya bt. Ẓabyān b. 'Amr al-Kilābī, whom he divorced.

Also, al-Jawniyya, a woman from the Kinda, different from Asmā'. Abū Usayd al-Sā'idi brought her to him, and 'Āisha and Ḥafṣa took charge of combing her hair and making her beautiful. One of them said to her, "The Messenger of God likes it in a woman if, when he comes to her and reaches out his hand to her, she says, 'I take refuge in God from you.'" So she did it; whereupon he put his hand on his face, shielding himself with it. She said,<sup>510</sup> "I have taken refuge." So he took refuge three | times; then he went out and commanded [Abū] Usayd al-Sā'idi to compensate her with two linen cloths<sup>511</sup> and take her back to her family. People have alleged that she died of grief.

Also, Laylā bt. al-Ḥaṭīm al-Awsī. She came to him while he was unaware and slapped his shoulder. "Who is this?" he said, "may lions eat him!" She said: "I

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<sup>507</sup> That is, she remained his slave, and thus did not have to wear the veil.

<sup>508</sup> Literally, "the son of so-and-so (*fulān*)."  
This is strange, since his sister's name includes that of their common grandfather. It might be derogatory, as some Shi'ite tradition was hostile to al-Ash'ath because of his role at Ṣiffīn. See the articles by H. Reckendorf in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Ash'ath, and by Khalid Yahya Blankenbach in *EI*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. al-Ash'ath b. Qays.

<sup>509</sup> Arabic, "she had *bayād'*"—literally, "whiteness." Al-Ṭabarī, *Tarīkh*, 1:1775, uses the same expression, albeit in reference to Asmā' bt. al-Nu'mān. Although this could refer to leprosy, the dictionaries do not give this meaning explicitly, and the term frequently refers to eye diseases, such as cataracts, although a qualifying phrase "in the eye" is usually added in such cases.

<sup>510</sup> Reading with M *wa-qālat*. Ed. Leiden: "He said, 'I have taken refuge.' So she took refuge [Houtsma's correction of MSS 'he took refuge'] three times; then he went out ..."

<sup>511</sup> The word is written without any dots in the MSS. The reading *rāzīqiyatayn* is conjectural.

am the daughter of al-Ḥaṭīm. My father is called, ‘He who feeds the birds.’<sup>512</sup> I have come to offer myself to you.” “I accept you,” he said. When she went back to her womenfolk, they said to her: “What a bad thing you have done! You are a jealous woman, and the Messenger of God has many co-wives. We fear that you will become jealous, and then he will call down a curse on you and you will perish. So ask him to annul the marriage.” So she went to him and asked him for an annulment, and he gave it to her. She went into one of Medina’s palm-tree gardens and lions ate her.

Also, Ṣafiyya bt. Bashshāma al-‘Anbāriyya. He offered her the choice of staying with him or being returned to her people.<sup>513</sup> She chose her people, and so he returned her.

Also, Ḍubā'a bt. ‘Āmir al-Qaysiyya. She had been married to ‘Abdallāh b. Judān. He divorced her, and then Hishām b. al-Mughīra married her and begat Salama of her. The Messenger of God asked her hand from Salama. He said, “I will consult her.” She said: “Concerning the Messenger of God?—I agree.” However, he found out that she was old, so he abstained from her.

### The Birth of Ibrāhīm, the Son of the Messenger of God

Ibrāhīm, the son of the Messenger of God—his mother was Māriya the Copt—was born in Dhū l-Hijja of year 8.<sup>514</sup> When he was born, Gabriel came down to the Messenger of God and said, “Peace be upon you, [Abū] Ibrāhīm.” The women of the Anṣār competed with each other to nurse him. The Messenger of God gave him to Umm Burda bt. al-Mundhir b. Zayd of the Banū l-Najjār. | The Messenger of God slaughtered a sheep.<sup>515</sup> The midwife who delivered the child was Salmā, a freed bondmaid of the Messenger of God, the wife of Abū Rāfi‘. It was Abū Rāfi‘ who came to the Messenger of God and told him the news, and so the Messenger of God gave him a slave. The wives of the Messenger of God became very jealous because he had been granted a son from her.

<sup>512</sup> Arabic *Muṭ‘im al-Tayr*.

<sup>513</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:1777, notes that she had been taken captive in a raid.

<sup>514</sup> That is, in March or April of 630. Parallels: Ibn Sa‘d, *Tabaqāt*, 1/1, 86–93; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:1686.

<sup>515</sup> An ‘aqīqa; cf. Lane, *Lexicon*, 5:2097: “The sheep, or goat, [generally the latter,] that is slaughtered as a sacrifice for the recently-born infant on the occasion of the shaving of the infant’s hair on the seventh day after his birth, and of which the limbs are divided, and cooked with water and salt, and given as food to the poor.”

Al-Zuhrī related from ‘Urwa, who related that ‘Ā’isha said: “The Messenger of God came into my room carrying his son Ibrāhīm. ‘Look at how he resembles me!’ he said.—‘I see how he resembles *her*!’—‘Don’t you see how white he is and how plump?’—‘He for whose sole provision the milch-camels are appropriated turns white and fat.’”

Ibrāhīm died in the year 10 at the age of one year and ten months. The sun was eclipsed for two hours of the day. The people said that it had been eclipsed because of the Ibrāhīm’s death, but the Messenger of God said: “The sun and the moon are two of God’s signs. They are not eclipsed for anyone’s death. When you see that, betake yourselves to your mosques.” He also said: “The eye sheds tears and the heart sinks. Truly we are sad because of you, Ibrāhīm, but we will not say anything that would anger the Lord.”

### [The Slaves Whom the Messenger of God Freed]

He freed a number of male and female slaves.<sup>516</sup> Among them were Zayd b. Ḥāritha b. Sharāḥīl; Usāma b. Zayd; Abū Rāfi‘, a Copt who was given to him by al-Muqawqis; Anasa, who was an Abyssinian; Abū Kabsha, who was a Persian; Abū Lubāba; Abū Laqīt; Abū Ayman; Abū Hind; Rāfi‘; Safina; Thawbān; Ṣāliḥ, who is Shuqrān; Umm Ayman, an Abyssinian woman whom Abū Ṭālib left to him (her name was Baraka; some say it was Khudra), or, as some say, whom he inherited from his father.

### [Other Notices]<sup>517</sup>

He used to give a name to everything he owned. His banner was The Eagle; it was black, worked like a *taylasān*.<sup>518</sup> He had a sword called al-Mikhdham, one called al-Rasūb, and his sword | that was always with him, Dhū l-Faqār.<sup>519</sup>

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<sup>516</sup> Parallels: Ibn Sa‘d, *Tabaqāt*, 1/2, 179–180; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:1778–1782.

<sup>517</sup> Similar accounts of Muhammad’s character and personal effects may be found in Ibn Sa‘d, *Tabaqāt*, 1/2, 87–186; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, 1:507 ff.; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:1782–1793.

<sup>518</sup> That is, The Eagle (*al-Uqāb*) was its name; cf. Ibn Sa‘d, *Tabaqāt*, 1/2, 151: “The banner of the Messenger of God was black; it was called *al-Uqāb* (The Eagle).” A *taylasān* is a kind of scarf or shawl.

<sup>519</sup> The sword Dhū l-Faqār (having notches or grooves) passed into ‘Ali’s possession after Muhammad’s death and then into the possession of the ‘Abbāsid caliphs. See the article

According to one account, Gabriel brought it down from heaven. It was seven spans long and one span wide, and in the middle of it was something like ...<sup>520</sup> It had a silver pommel and a silver shoe [to its scabbard]. It had two silver rings. His spear was al-Muthwī. His lance was al-'Anaza; at the feasts he would walk with it before him, saying, "Like this are the character traits of the prophets."<sup>521</sup> His bow was al-Katūm, his quiver was al-Kāfūr, and his arrows were al-Muttaṣila. His shield was al-Zalūq, and his mail headcloth (*mighfar*) was al-Sabū'. His coat of mail was Dhāt al-Fuḍūl, which had two extra pieces of mail.<sup>522</sup> His horse was al-Sakb; another horse was al-Murtajiz, another was al-Sajl, and another was al-Baḥr—he raced the horses and his horse came in first; so he knelt on his knees and said, "It is really *al-Baḥr*, the Sea!" He used to say, "There is blessing in the forelocks of horses."<sup>523</sup> He had a female camel called al-Qaṣwā, a female camel called al-'Aḍbā', and a female camel called al-Jadhā'. He held a camel race and his camel al-'Aḍbā' came in first, ridden by Usāma b. Zayd. The people said, "The Messenger of God has come in first," but he said, "Usāma has come in first." His mule al-Shahbā' used to be called al-Duldul—al-Muqawqis gave her to him. He had another mule, long and high, called al-Ubliyya.<sup>524</sup> His donkey was al-Ya'fir. He had a ewe called Ghaytha whose milk he used to drink. He had a cup called al-Rayyān and one called al-'Ayr. He had a stick called al-Mamshūq, a tunic<sup>525</sup> called al-Kinn, and a black

by E. Mittwoch in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Dhu'l-Faḳār*. Other accounts of Muḥammad's swords in Ibn Sa'd, *Tabaqāt*, 1/2, 171–172; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:1786–1787.

<sup>520</sup> M has a blank space about one word long.

<sup>521</sup> Reading with M *al-nabiyyīn*; ed. Leiden reads *al-sunan* (the precedents, plural of *sunna*) or *al-sanan* (the way, road).

<sup>522</sup> "Which had two extra pieces of mail" (Arabic *zardatāni zā'iḍatāni*). The words almost certainly are corrupt due to misreading of a rare word (possibly a Persian loan word) for a kind of ring (*zurfiṇ*, pl. *zarāfiṇ*) that seems to be correctly given by Ibn Sa'd, *Tabaqāt*, 1/2, 173: The mail of the Messenger of God was "Yemeni, fine in texture, having rings (*zarāfiṇ*) such that when it was attached to its rings it did not touch the ground, but when it was allowed to hang loose it touched the ground." Other accounts of Muḥammad's armor in Ibn Sa'd, *Tabaqāt*, 1/2, 172–173; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:1787–1788.

<sup>523</sup> The *hadīth* is usually interpreted as encouraging the raising of horses for jihād. Additional material on Muḥammad's horses, mules, camels, etc. in Ibn Sa'd, *Tabaqāt*, 1/2, 174–178; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:1782–1786.

<sup>524</sup> The vocalization of the name is unknown. Ublā is attested in Yāqūt as a mountain. It might also be al-Ubliyya, from the town al-Ubulla, near al-Baṣra in Iraq, or al-Ibiliyya. In M the word is undotted.

<sup>525</sup> Reading *jubba* with ed. Leiden; M reads *khibā'*['], a kind of tent, which does not fit the context, or possibly *hibā'*['], a kind of turban.

turban called al-Sahāb. Abū l-Bakhtarī mentions that he had a leather belt with a buckle and three silver rings like the sphere of the sky. He used to wear cloaks of striped cloth, | white waist-wrappers or upper garments, a cap (*qalansuwa*) of striped cloth, and a tunic (*jubba*) of green silk brocade.<sup>526</sup> He is not someone who [turned aside]<sup>527</sup> from wearing these two things. He did not wear wool until God took him to Himself. He had a pallet of leather. He used to wear a wrap (*milhafa*) dyed with saffron and *wars*.<sup>528</sup> He would wear a single wrap (*izār*) that he tied between his shoulders. He used to perfume himself until the perfume would stain his cloak from the place of his head, until the shine of musk could be seen from the part in his hair, and until his coming could be known from afar from the sweetness of his odor, before he could be seen. He used to say that the sweetest perfume was musk. Whenever a perfume was offered to him, he would perfume himself with it. Whenever he wanted to go out of his house, he would comb his hair, arrange it, and put it in order. He used to say, "God likes his servant to have a fine appearance." It is related that he used to wear the *burnus*<sup>529</sup> and the *shamla*.<sup>530</sup> He had two garments of the type called *thawb*.<sup>531</sup> He used to wear a signet-ring and turn the silver of its bezel toward the palm. He wore it on the right hand and on the left hand; he would put it on his middle finger at the joint and would turn it on the fingers of his hand.<sup>532</sup>

### The Messenger of God's Sermons, Exhortations, and Moral Instructions

He was in the habit of delivering sermons to his companions, exhorting them and teaching them good morals and noble deeds.

The Messenger of God delivered a sermon in which he said: People! Surely you have guideposts; so head toward your guideposts! Surely you have an end;

<sup>526</sup> An introduction to the subject of clothing in early Islam can be found in the article by Y. K. Stillman in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Libās.

<sup>527</sup> A word appears to have dropped out of the text. Houtsma conjectured that it was 'anna, omitted by haplography because the following word is 'an (from).

<sup>528</sup> *Wars* was a yellow dye from a plant cultivated in Yemen. See the article by Penelope C. Johnstone in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Wars.

<sup>529</sup> The *burnus*, which later came to mean a large hooded cape for men, at this time may simply have been a high cap or hood, although it may also have been a cloak with a hood.

<sup>530</sup> The *shamla* was a kind of outer mantle.

<sup>531</sup> *Thawb* is a generic word for a gown.

<sup>532</sup> Other descriptions of Muḥammad's rings in Ibn Sa'd, *Tabaqāt*, 1/2, 160–166.

so head toward your end! The believer stands between two dreaded things: a period of time that has passed without his knowing what God has done in it, and a period of time which remains without his knowing what God has ordained for it. Therefore let each person provide for himself from himself, and prepare for his life in the hereafter from his earthly life: in youth before old age, and in life before death. For, by Him in whose hand is Muḥammad's soul, there is no favor to be requested after death, and no abode after the earthly life other than paradise or the fire.

One day he delivered a sermon in which he said: Between God and any person there is no tie that would cause Him to show favor to that person; neither is there any claim because of which He would divert evil from him, except for that person's obedience to Him and following His pleasure and avoiding His wrath. Surely God—may He be blessed and exalted—follows His own will, though the creatures be averse to it.<sup>533</sup> What God wills, is; and what He does not will, is not. Assist one another in reverence and piety, and do not cooperate in sin and enmity. Fear God, for truly God's retribution is mighty.

The Messenger of God delivered a sermon in which he said: Blessed is the man whose earnings are pure, whose disposition is good, and whose inmost thought is righteous; who expends his excess wealth, but desists from excess in his speech; who holds back his wickedness from people and treats them fairly of his own accord. Whoever knows God, fears God; and whoever fears God, his soul will be vehemently inclined away from this world.<sup>534</sup>

He delivered a sermon one day in which he said: Be mindful of death, for indeed it will seize you by the forelock. If you flee from it, it will overtake you, and if you stand fast, it will seize you ... [It is a \_\_\_\_] following which there is no good, and a separation following which there is no intimacy. Truly, a person shall no sooner set his feet down on the Day of Resurrection than he shall be asked about his life and how he spent it, about his youth and how he wore it out, about his wealth—whence he acquired it and whereon he spent it—and about his *imām* and who he is. God—may He be glorified and exalted—has said, *A day on which We shall summon all people by their imām, and whoever are given their record in their right hand, they shall read their record, and they shall not be wronged (by the breadth of) one date-thread.*<sup>536</sup>

533 Cf. Qur'ān 9:33 and *passim*.

534 Arabic *shaḥhat naṣṣuhu 'ani l-dunyā*: "His soul will be niggardly/miserly away from this world," that is, will so vehemently desire the things of the next world that it will turn away from the things of this world.

535 The Leiden editor assumed a lacuna, but M shows no gap or break.

536 Qur'ān 17:71.

He said: Whoever looks to the one who is superior to him in religion, so as to follow his example, and looks to the one who is below him in the earthly life, so as to praise God for that by which He made him superior—God has recorded him as grateful and long-suffering. But whoever looks in his religion to the one who is inferior to him, and looks in his earthly life | to the one who is superior to him, so as to feel sorry about the degree to which God favored the other—God will not record him as grateful or as long-suffering.

2:100

He said: Whoever is given a grateful heart, a tongue that mentions (God), an abstinent body, and a virtuous wife has been given this world and the next.

He said: Desire for this world begets care and sadness, but renunciation of it soothes the heart and the body.

He said: Happiness is (found) in two things: obedience (to God) and piety.

He said: God—may He be glorified and exalted—says: “Sufficient in My eyes is the believer in whose heart is true faith and whose intention is sincere godliness: I make his very sleep to be a (good) work, and his silence to be a mentioning (of God).”<sup>537</sup>

He said: Whoever does to people what they like, but challenges God with what He dislikes, shall meet God while He is angry with him and sorrowful.

He said: God is pleased with three things from you, and finds three things hateful: He is pleased that you worship Him and do not associate anything with Him, that you all hold fast to His rope and do not become disunited, and that you remain loyal to those to whom He has entrusted your governance. He finds hateful in you gossiping, begging, and the squandering of wealth.

He said: A man says, “My property! My property!” But the only part of your property that is truly yours is that which you have eaten and consumed, or worn and worn out, or given away and spent.

He said: This world is sweet and verdant, and God has asked you to work in it, so pay attention to how you behave.

He said: The dearest of you to me, and those of you who will be seated nearest to me on the Day of Resurrection, are the best of you in morals, who are friendly, sociable, and sought out by others; and the most loathsome of you to me, and those of you who will be seated farthest from me on the Day of Resurrection, are the garrulous and long-winded.

A man said to him, “Counsel me, Messenger of God.” He replied: Remember death often and it will ease you from the world; be grateful and you will be

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537 A *ḥadīth qudsī*, or saying attributed by Muḥammad to God but not part of Qur’ān. On this phenomenon see William A. Graham, *Divine Word and Prophetic Word in Early Islam*.

increased in grace; appeal to God often, for you do not know when (your prayers) will be granted to you; beware of injustice, for God—may He be glorified and exalted—has decreed that | He will help whoever is treated unjustly; and beware of double-dealing, for God has decreed that double-dealing will only bring evil on those who practice it.

He was asked, “Which works are the best?” He replied: Avoiding forbidden things, and keeping your tongue continually moist from mentioning God—may He be glorified and exalted. He was asked, “Which companions are the best?” He replied: The one who reminds you when you forget and who helps you when you call. He was asked, “Which people are the worst?” He replied: Scholars, when they are corrupt.

He said: When the sinful person of a tribe is their chief, and the leader of a people is the basest of them, and the man who is most honored is the one who is feared for his evil, expect misfortune.

He said: Whoever defends his brother’s flesh in his absence deserves to have God—may He be glorified and exalted—make his flesh immune to the fire.

He said: God—may He be blessed and exalted—said: “Son of Adam, through My will you used to will for yourself what you wanted, through My desire you used to desire for yourself what you desired, through My power you performed My ordinances, and through My grace you were capable of disobeying Me; so I am more worthy of your good deeds than you are, and you are more deserving of your misdeeds than I am for that reason. Surely I shall not be questioned about what I do; it is they who will be questioned.”<sup>538</sup>

He said: God has required the rich to give what suffices the poor; therefore, if the poor go hungry, God is entitled to call the rich to account and to throw them headlong into the fire of hell.

He said: God—may He be glorified and exalted—says: Verily I did not enrich the wealthy person because of any honor he has with Me, but rather it is something by which I have tested the rich; were it not for the poor, the rich would not be worthy of paradise.<sup>539</sup>

He said: There are four things that ensure paradise to whoever comes before God with any one of them: whoever gives a thirsty head something to drink, or feeds a hungry belly,<sup>540</sup> or clothes a naked piece of skin, or manumits a captive slave.<sup>541</sup>

538 A *hadīth qudsī*.

539 A *hadīth qudsī*.

540 Literally, “liver.”

541 Literally, “neck.”

He said: Every eye shall be sleepless on the Day of Resurrection except three: the eye that was sleepless in God's way, the eye that was averted from the things God has forbidden, and the eye that overflowed with tears from fear of God.

He said: | God—may He be glorified and exalted—says: "My servant, when you pray what I have required of you, you are the most worshipful of people; and when you are satisfied with what I have provided for you, you are the richest of people."<sup>542</sup>

He gathered the Banū 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib and said: Banū 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, spread peace and treat your kinsmen kindly, keep prayer vigils at night while people are asleep, nourish people with food, and be sweet in speech, and you will enter paradise in peace.

He said: Four things are among the treasures of piety: keeping one's needs secret, keeping one's alms secret, keeping one's pain secret, and keeping one's misfortune secret.

He said: Those of you who shall stand closest to me on the morrow<sup>543</sup> are those of you who are truest in speech, those of you who are best disposed to carry out what is entrusted to them, those of you who are most loyal in their commitments, those of you who are best in morals, and those of you who are closest to the people.

He said: Keeping a (good) deed secret is harder than the deed itself; a man may do a (good) deed in secret, but Satan keeps at him until he talks about it or makes it known, so that it becomes publicly praised; and then it is recorded (with God) as eye service.<sup>544</sup>

He said: The hallmarks of hypocrisy are lack of tears, hard-heartedness, persistence in sinful behavior, and covetous desire for the earthly life.

He said: The generous person is close to God, close to mankind, close to paradise, and far from the fire. The miser is far from God, far from mankind, far from paradise, and close to the fire.

He said: When the innermost thoughts of a servant (of God) and that which he does in public are on the same level, God says: "This is truly My servant."

He said: The believer is he who mixes his forbearance<sup>545</sup> with his knowledge, who speaks in order to be understood, who sits down in order to learn, and

<sup>542</sup> A *ḥadīth qudsī* not found in Graham, *Divine Word*, but cf. no. 22.

<sup>543</sup> Arabic, *ghadan fī l-mawqif*, a reference to Judgment Day, when the souls of the dead will be reawakened and gathered before God at the "standing" (*mawqif*) in anticipation of judgment.

<sup>544</sup> Arabic, *al-riyā'*, that is, something done for worldly fame rather than purely to please God; cf. Qur'ān 107:5.

<sup>545</sup> Arabic, *hilm*, a term for a complex of virtues "ranging from serene justice and moderation

who keeps silent in order to remain blameless. He speaks of his faithfulness to friends, but conceals his bearing witness before enemies, and does no true duty out of a desire to be seen, nor leaves it undone out of embarrassment, to the point that when he acts righteously he fears what they will say and asks forgiveness for that which they do not know. The hypocrite is not troubled by the saying of the one who forbids, nor does he avoid (the forbidden), and he commands that which he does not do. | When he gets up to pray, [...];<sup>546</sup> when he kneels (in prayer), he lies down; when he prostrates himself, he makes a sound;<sup>547</sup> and when he sits (at the end of prayer) he is happy.<sup>548</sup> In the evening he is concerned about food, though he has not fasted; and in the morning he is concerned about sleep, even though he has not stayed up at night (praying). If he speaks to you, he lies to you; if he makes you a promise, he goes back on his word; if you trust him, he betrays you; and if he becomes your ally, he slanders you (behind your back).

He said: Whoever exerts himself for his earthly life harms his life in the hereafter; but God protects from anxiety whoever exerts himself for his life in the hereafter.

He said: Whoever considers how his words stand in relation to his deeds speaks little, except about matters that truly concern him.

He said: Beware of debating with someone seduced<sup>549</sup> (by the world), for the argument of such a person has a respite (only) until the completion of his term, and when that is completed, his seduction<sup>550</sup> will burn him in the fire.

He said: Cursing a Muslim is outrage, fighting against him is unbelief, defaming<sup>551</sup> him is disobedience to God—may He be glorified and exalted—and his property is as inviolable as his blood.

He said: Shyness is part of belief, and belief leads to paradise; but foul speech is part of coarseness, and coarseness leads to hellfire. God—may He be glorified

to forbearance and leniency, with self-mastery and dignity of bearing standing between these extremes." (Ch. Pellat in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Ḥilm*).

546 The Leiden editor assumed a lacuna; M shows no gap, but appears to have a marginal note referring to this place in the text.

547 Reading with M, *naqara* (to make a sound by snapping the fingers, or by smacking the tongue across the palate). This was also the emendation to C's *nafaza* (he leaps up) suggested by the Leiden editor.

548 Reading *su'ida* as in ed. Leiden; M has *sha'ara* (perceives), which would yield *saj'* (assonance) with the reading *naqara*.

549 Reading *māftūn* with M, for ed. Leiden *muftīn* (those who deliver legal rulings).

550 Arabic, *fitna* (seduction) also means temptation, error, etc.; it also refers to burning in fire, or melting metals in fire in order to test their purity.

551 Arabic *akl lahmihī*: literally, "eating his flesh."

and exalted—loves the person who is shy, mild-tempered, modest, and decent; but God hates the person who is obscene, demanding, and pushy. The virtue that is most quickly rewarded is piety, and the evil that is most quickly punished is conceitedness.<sup>552</sup>

He said: Shall I not tell you who the worst of you are? They replied, "Yes indeed, Messenger of God." He said: The ones who spread slander, who come between loved ones, who seek to disgrace the innocent. But whoever refrains from (harming) peoples' honor, God Himself will pardon him; [and] whoever restrains his anger at people, God will restrain his punishment from him on the Day of Resurrection.

He said: How evil is the man with two faces and two tongues, who praises his brother to his face but tears into him when apart from him! If his brother is given something, he envies him; and if his brother is afflicted, he forsakes him.

He said: God has declared heaven forbidden to the envious, the calumniator, and | the one addicted to wine.

2:104

He said to 'Alī b. Abī Tālib: Cling to truthfulness, and never let a lie come out of your mouth; to piety, and never dare to commit treachery; to the fear of God, as if you saw Him; and to weeping from dread of God, and He will build you a house in paradise for every tear; and to following my example.<sup>553</sup>

He said: The fortunate person is whoever was (already) fortunate in his mother's womb, but the unfortunate one is whoever serves as a warning to others. The shrewdest of shrewd things is godliness, and the stupidest of all follies is debauchery. The most evil of sayings is the lie, and the most evil of matters are innovations.<sup>554</sup> The worst blindness is blindness of heart, and the worst regret is (regret on) the Day of Resurrection. The greatest sin in God's eyes is a lying tongue, and the worst consumption is devouring the property of orphans unjustly. The comeliest decoration of a man is good conduct accompanied by belief, and the most secure thing in his hands is what he says and what he seals.<sup>555</sup> Whoever pursues a reputation (by his deeds), God will make him known by it.<sup>556</sup> Whoever is set on the earthly life, it shall be denied him; but whoever knows God will be brought to Him. Do not anger God in order to please anyone, and do not rush to any creature by means of what distances from God.

<sup>552</sup> Arabic *baghy*, a word that has a wide semantic range, any aspect of which might be intended here: conceit, envy, insolence, pride, tyranny, oppression, and fornication.

<sup>553</sup> Arabic *al-akhḍh bi-sunnatī* (holding to my sunna).

<sup>554</sup> Arabic *muḥdathāt*.

<sup>555</sup> This apparently means the thing over which he has fullest control.

<sup>556</sup> Arabic *man yataba'i l-sum'ata yusammi 'Allāhu bīhi*.

He said: Do not make light of the least good deed, for that which is beneficial on the Day of Resurrection is not insignificant. Fear God in secret, so that you give the half of yourselves, and hasten to obey God. Speak truthfully and be trustworthy, for that is to your advantage. Do not act oppressively or interfere in matters that are not permitted to you, for that is to your detriment.

He said: When usury is frequent, sudden death will be frequent; and when people give short measure, God will shorten their years and punish them with want. When they withhold alms, the earth will withhold its alms.<sup>557</sup> When they pass judgment unfairly, engage in conspiracy, or betray their commitments, their enemies will be put | in power over them. When they break with their relatives, (their) property will fall into the hands of evil people; and when they do not enjoin what is customary, forbid what is reprehensible, and follow the good people, God will place their evil people in authority over them, and will not respond when their good people appeal to Him.

He said: The essence of a man is his heart, his nobility is his character, and his magnanimity is his piety. All people in Adam are on the same level.

He said: God has distinguished His saints with noble morals; therefore examine yourselves, and if they are in you, praise God; and if not, petition Him for them. He was asked: "And what are they?" He replied: Certainty, contentment, patience, gratefulness, intelligence, manly virtue, forbearance, generosity, and courage.

He said: There are three things whose perpetrator will not die before seeing what he loathes: oppression, breaking with relatives, and a false oath by which he defies God. Truly, the obedience that is most quickly rewarded is kindness to one's relatives: a people may be evildoers, but they bond together, and their wealth grows and they become prosperous. Truly, false oaths and breaking with relatives leave homes as wastelands and interrupt communication. The actions of whoever has a truthful tongue will be righteous: God will increase the sustenance of whoever has good intentions, and God will lengthen the life of whoever reveres the members of his family.

He said: There are three things wherein God has granted concessions to no one: reverence for one's parents, whether they be pious or sinful; keeping one's oath, whether it be to a pious person or to a sinner; and carrying out what one is entrusted with, whether by the pious person or the sinner. Whoever believes in God and the Last Day, let him treat his neighbor well and honor his guest; let him speak good things and be grateful.

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557 That is, they will not be granted life's bounties.

He said: The believer is the brother of the believer; he neither forsakes him, nor saddens him, nor slanders him, nor envies him, nor oppresses him. Verily Iblis says to his legions: "Sow among them oppression and envy, for it is the equal of polytheism<sup>558</sup> in God's eyes."

He said: Part of the excellence of one's Islam is leaving aside | what does not concern one. Beware of that for which you would have to apologize; for the believer does not do evil, yet he apologizes, whereas the hypocrite does evil every day, but does not apologize. Truly, slander is quicker in its effects on a Muslim's religion than a canker to his innards. Truly, the people of the earth will receive mercy as long as they love one another, show trustworthiness, and act in truthfulness.

He said: God—may He be glorified and exalted—says: "Son of Adam, I am the Living One, the Undying; obey Me and I will make you alive and undying—I am powerful over all things. Son of Adam, treat your kinfolk with kindness and I will relieve you of your troubles and pave the way for your prosperity."<sup>559</sup>

He said: Whoever wakes up in the morning grieving over earthly life wakes up angry with God, and whoever complains of an affliction that has befallen him complains only about his Lord. Whoever comes to a wealthy person and humbles himself before him to secure some of this world, two-thirds of his religion are gone; but whoever desires something that is pleasing to God will not leave this life until he has been granted it.

He said: God—may He be glorified and exalted—says: "Son of Adam, devote yourself to worshipping Me, and I will fill your heart with riches. I will not make you dependent on your own search for your livelihood; it will be my responsibility to meet your needs and to fill your heart with fear of Me. But if you do not devote yourself to worshipping Me, I will fill your heart with preoccupation with the earthly life, and then I will bar it from you and make you dependent on your search for it."<sup>560</sup>

He said: Favors should be bestowed only on those of high virtue or piety. Therefore, give to whoever asks you in God's name, and grant protection to whoever asks you for protection in God's name. Respond to whoever appeals to you, and repay whoever does you a kindness; or, if you cannot repay him, thank him.

He said: Among the duties that God's glory imposes on His worshippers are showing honor to the just *imām*, to the elders in Islam, and to the one who

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<sup>558</sup> Arabic *shirk*.

<sup>559</sup> A *ḥadīth qudsī*.

<sup>560</sup> A *ḥadīth qudsī*: Graham, *Divine Word*, 210, saying 86, is a simpler version.

knows the Qurān by heart, except the one who does so too strictly or does it crudely. Whoever does four things has left Islam: whoever raises | a banner of error; whoever aids a tyrant, marches with him, or walks with him while knowing that he is a tyrant; and whoever is unfaithful to a compact.<sup>561</sup> There are two men who will not be reached by my intercession on Judgment Day: an oppressive governor,<sup>562</sup> and a man who goes beyond due measure in religion<sup>563</sup> and strays from (the proper course in) it. But the prayers of the just governor are not turned away.

He said: Do not let the pursuit of your earthly life distract you from your pursuit of religion, for the seeker of worldly life may attain (what he seeks), but then perish by what he has attained; or it may elude him, and then he will perish by what has eluded him. Those who have most in the earthly life will have least in the hereafter, except those who say, “Here! here!” and give it away bit by bit with their own hands. Whenever someone is given anything of worldly life, it diminishes his share in the hereafter—even Solomon son of David, for he was the last of the prophets to enter paradise on account of<sup>564</sup> what he was given of worldly life. The beginning of every sin is love of this world.

He said: Death has brought that wherein there is rest and a blessed return to a sublime garden for people worthy of the abode of eternity, who strove for it and desired it. Death has brought that wherein there is misery, regret, and a losing return to a glowing fire for people worthy of the abode of delusion, who strove for it and desired it.

He said: The best means employed by those who seek (God's) favor are belief in God, striving in the way of God, and faithful speech, for this is what is natural;<sup>565</sup> the perfect (performance) of prayer, for it is the creed;<sup>566</sup> giving alms, for it is an increase in wealth and a postponement of the appointed

<sup>561</sup> Reading with M, *wa man khatara bi-dhimmatin*. Despite the opening of the sentence, only three things are listed.

<sup>562</sup> Arabic *amīr*, possibly also meaning “commander.”

<sup>563</sup> Arabic *rajulun ghālin fī l-dīn*; at issue is not the degree of the person's zeal for Islam, but the making of excessive and heretical theological claims. The word *ghulāt* (exaggerators) from this root becomes the normal term of opprobrium for Muslims who assert semi-divine status for the Prophet, ‘Ali, or the Imams.

<sup>564</sup> Ed. Leiden (apparently following C) has *li-mā*, “for that which, on account of”; M has blank space.

<sup>565</sup> Arabic *al-fitra* (natural condition, or innate character). Islamic theology teaches that humans are born as believers in God's oneness, that is, as Muslims, and become something else only because their parents or society lead them away from their “natural” faith.

<sup>566</sup> Arabic *al-milla*.

time (of death); secret charity, for it atones for sin and quenches the anger of the Lord; and deeds of kindness, for they ward off an evil death<sup>567</sup> and give shelter from blows of humiliation. Above all be truthful, for he who is truthful is on the brink of salvation and honor, whereas the liar is on the brink of disgrace and annihilation. Say good things and you will become known for it; do them and you will be among their people. Deal in a trustworthy way | with whoever deposits something with you for safekeeping. Show kindness to kinfolk who break off friendship with you, and repay with kindness whoever behaves boorishly toward you.

2:108

He said: Whoever seeks the favor of an unjust ruler and suffers tribulation for his effort will receive no recompense for his tribulation and will not be granted the patience to endure it. It is sufficient consolation for the believer, when he sees an abominable thing, that God knows that he loathes it from his heart.

He said: God has servants among His creatures whom He favors with His bounties. He confirms them in those bounties as long as they give them freely (to others), but when they withhold them (from others), He removes them from them and transfers them to someone else.

He said: God's favor does not become great upon a person without [the burden of (other) people becoming great upon him also. Whoever does not take upon himself that]<sup>568</sup> burden has exposed that favor to the risk of vanishing.

He said to the Banū Salama: Who is your chief now, Banū Salama? They replied, "Al-Jadd b. Qays, Messenger of God." He asked: And what is his standing among you? They answered, "He a man whom we accuse of miserliness." He said: What disease is more sickly than miserliness? There is no chieftaincy to misers; rather, your chief is the curly white[-haired] 'Amr b. al-Jamūh.<sup>569</sup> Or he said: Qays b. al-Barā'.<sup>570</sup>

He said to someone who had just arrived to see him and from whom he had detected a lie: But for the looseness of your tongue while God was with you, it would have been sweetened with the milk (of welcome) of the new arrival.<sup>571</sup>

<sup>567</sup> Following ed. Leiden (*mītat al-sū'*); M has *maniyyat al-sū'*, which is virtually synonymous.

<sup>568</sup> Addition in ed. Leiden on the basis of the longer form of the ḥadīth cited in Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. *'arrada*.

<sup>569</sup> 'Amr b. al-Jamūh was a chief and notable of the Banū Salima, a tribe the Medinese Anṣār, who joined Muḥammad's movement relatively late. On him see Ibn Ḥajar al-Asqalānī, *al-Īshābā fi tamyīz al-sahāba* (ed. Beirut), 4:506–508 (no. 5814).

<sup>570</sup> Qays b. al-Barā' is not listed in the biographical sources; possibly to be emended to Bishr b. al-Barā', a well-known early companion of the Prophet from the Medinese clan of Aws who died before the *hijra* when he ate poisoned meat intended for the Prophet.

<sup>571</sup> As the Leiden editor notes, "The meaning is obscure." The translation follows M: *lawlā*

He said: Two characteristics do not come together in a believer: miserliness and a bad nature.

He said: Avoid the slips of the spendthrift, for verily God—may He be glorified and exalted—seizes his forelock whenever he stumbles.

He said: Paradise is the abode of the generous.

He said: A generous foolish<sup>572</sup> youth is more beloved to God than a stingy pious old man.

He said: Verily, God is generous; He loves generosity and noble traits of character, and He hates mean traits of character.

2:109 He said: Verily God has worshippers | whom He created for the needs of the people; the people take refuge with them, and they are among<sup>573</sup> those who shall be secure on the Day of Resurrection.

He said: Be expert in clinging to God's bounties. Do not weary of them or shun them, for rarely do they return to a people after having passed away from them.

He said: God satisfies needs, but the means to satisfy them is through people. So ask for their satisfaction from God through those people; whoever gives you the things you need, accept them from God with thanks, and whoever deprives you of them, endure it from God with patience.

He said: You cannot encompass all people with your property; so let a joyful face and good morals from you encompass them.

He said: The pinnacle of insight, after faith,<sup>574</sup> is to be good-natured with people. If a misfortune occurs, proffer your wealth before your life or your faith; if the misfortune exceeds all bounds, proffer your wealth and your life before your faith. Know that the one who is truly destitute is the person who is despoiled of his faith.

He said: Every thing has its nobility. The most noble of stations is the one directed toward the *qibla*;<sup>575</sup> whoever wishes to be the mightiest of people, let him trust in God; whoever wishes to be the richest of people, let him trust what is in God's hand more than what is in his own hand; and whoever wishes to be the strongest of people, let him rely on God. Then he said: Shall I not make known to you the worst of people? He who eats alone, who withholds

*sakhā fika la-shurriba bi-laban wāfid.* For this meaning of *shurriba* (render sweet), see Lane, *Lexicon*, 4:1526.

572 Reading with M, *al-rāhiq*.

573 Reading with M, *min al-āminīn*.

574 Arabic *īmān*; but later in the translation of this saying, "faith" is used to render *dīn*.

575 The *qibla* is the direction toward Mecca, which Muslims face in prayer.

his assistance, and who beats his servant. Shall I not make known to you something worse than that? He whose charity is not hoped for and from whose evil no one is safe. Shall I not tell you something worse than that? Someone who hates people and they hate him.

Someone asked him, "What is the best thing that can be given to a person?" He replied: An intelligent nature that is born with him. They asked, "And failing that?" He replied: Then let him learn intelligence. They asked: "And failing that?" He replied: Then let him take a companion in God, one who is not envious. They asked, "And failing that?" | He replied: Let him be silent. They asked, "And failing that?" He replied: A decisive death.

2:110

He asked a man of Thaqīf: What is manliness<sup>576</sup> among you? The man replied, "Righteousness in religion, improving one's means of living, generosity of spirit, and good morals." And he replied: So it is among us.

He said: The tongue<sup>577</sup> of one who fears his Lord becomes tired, yet he does not vent his anger. Truly, God is by the tongue of every speaker; so let a speaker be mindful of what he says.

He said: Gabriel never came to me without cautioning me. The last thing he said was, "Beware of treating people with suspicion, for it exposes (your) deficiencies and diminishes (your) dignity."

A man begged from him, but he said, "I have nothing." So the man said, "Promise me something." Whereupon he said: I do not<sup>578</sup> employ a man when another is more watchful<sup>579</sup> of eye, stronger at going on foot, and more cunning. But I do give<sup>580</sup> to a man when another is dearer to me<sup>581</sup> than he—I give in order to win him over.

He said: Whoever does not praise justice and condemn injustice has stood forth to do open battle with God.

He said: The most noble works are three: being mindful of God—may He be glorified and exalted—in every circumstance, treating others impartially in spite of your own interest, and giving charity to your brethren.

He said: The death of daughters is a gift of grace.<sup>582</sup>

<sup>576</sup> Arabic *al-muruwwa*; on the semantics of this term see the article by B. Farès in EI<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Murū'a*.

<sup>577</sup> Arabic *lisān*; M has the interlinear alternative *kaffuhu* (his palm, that is, the palm of his hand).

<sup>578</sup> Reading *lā asta'milu* ... with M, C; ed. Leiden emends to *la-asta'milu* (I do employ).

<sup>579</sup> Reading *ayqaz* with M, instead of ed. Leiden *anfad*.

<sup>580</sup> Reading *la-u'tī* with M, instead of ed. Leiden *lā u'tī* (I do not give).

<sup>581</sup> Reading *aḥabbu ilayya* with ed. Leiden, instead of M's *'j-b ilayya*.

<sup>582</sup> Arabic *min al-makrūmāt*; perhaps to be read *min al-takrīmāt*.

He said: Patience before God is the antidote to jealousy, but no one masters it completely. With great trials come great rewards; when God loves a person, He tests him.

He said: The believer who is most complete in faith is the one who has the best morals.

He said: Every act of kindness is an alms, and that whereby the tongue is warded off is an alms. Muḥammad b. al-Munkadir<sup>583</sup> was asked, “And what is that?” He replied, “Giving to the poet and to the powerful person.”<sup>584</sup>

And he said: [There is no sin but that for it in God’s eyes there is]<sup>585</sup> repentance, [except] bad character; for whenever it emerges from something it falls into something worse.

<sup>2:111</sup> He said: Beware of your ease, [for the person of ease] has slain his brother, | himself, and his ruler.<sup>586</sup>

A man came to him, and he said: Have you any money? The man replied, “Yes, quite a lot.” So he said: Then God has bestowed his grace on you, so let it show!<sup>587</sup>

He said: No one who has so much as a mote’s weight of pride in his heart shall enter paradise. Whereupon a man said, “Messenger of God, I do like my mount to be lively and my clothes to be fine”—and he even mentioned the laces of his shoes and the strap of his whip. He therefore said: God is beautiful and loves beauty; pride is only withholding the rightful claim<sup>588</sup> and closing one’s eyes to falsehood.

Someone came begging from the Messenger of God. So he said:<sup>589</sup> There is only a *ṣā’*<sup>590</sup> of food left in the house of the family of Muḥammad, but they are people of nine houses: how then can they spare it? He never used to turn away a petitioner.

<sup>583</sup> A traditionist of the generation following the Prophet. See Ibn Sa’d, *Tabaqāt*, 8:186, and VII/2, 206.

<sup>584</sup> Reading *dhi l-sha’n* with M, rather than ed. Leiden *dhī lisān*.

<sup>585</sup> Lacuna in M; in ed. Leiden the bracketed text is an addition credited to ‘Azīzī, III, 248.

<sup>586</sup> Arabic, *sultānahu*.

<sup>587</sup> Reading with M, *fa-l-tabīn ‘alayka*, making this a reprimand for the man’s slovenly dress. L (apparently following C) *fa-l-yuthanni ‘alayka* (let Him do it again for you) or perhaps to be read *fa-l-yuthni ‘alayka* (let Him praise you, sc. for your good use of it).

<sup>588</sup> Arabic *al-haqq*; possibly “the truth.”

<sup>589</sup> Something may have dropped from the text here. M has “So he—peace be upon him—said,” indicating that it is Muḥammad who is the speaker; presumably this was followed by the Prophet’s responding to the petitioner’s request, after which the petitioner may have made the observation about a measure of food, etc.

<sup>590</sup> The *ṣā’* was a small measure of capacity; it consisted of 4 *mudds*, each of about 1 liter.

Once when he was dealing with some sticks made of stripped palm branches, a man passed by and said, "I will take care of it for you, Messenger of God." So he said, As you wish. When the man had finished, the Prophet asked him: Do you need anything? The man replied, "Yes; guarantee me paradise with God!" The Prophet bowed his head for a long time; then he raised his head to him and said: You shall have it! But when the man turned to go, the Prophet called to him: Servant of God! I mean through long prostration in prayer!

He gave a sermon from his she-camel, saying: People, it seems to us that death has been decreed for others, rather than for us; that the truth is incumbent on others, rather than on us; and that the dead who have been escorted to their graves are travelers who will soon return to us—we lodge them in their graves and consume their legacies as if we were immortal after them, forgetting every warning and feeling safe from every catastrophe. Blessed is he who is distracted from others' failings by his own failings, who has spent wealth that he has earned without sin, who has shown mercy to the lowly and miserable and kept company with them, and who has associated with people of discernment and wisdom. Blessed is he who has humbled himself, whose disposition is good, whose inmost thoughts | are righteous, who keeps his wickedness away from people, and for whom the customary practice (*sunna*) is sufficient and who does not distort it into innovation (*bid'a*). 2:112

He said: Gabriel warned me, saying to me, "Love whomever you wish, and yet you will die; and do whatever you wish, and yet you will meet Him."<sup>591</sup>

He said: Whoever seeks his daily bread from sources lawful to him, let him distribute it lavishly for God.

He said: Consult the intelligent man and you will not go astray; do not disobey him, lest you regret it.

He said: There shall be no divorce except after marriage, no manumission except after bondage, no silence from morning until night,<sup>592</sup> no intercourse during fasting, no suckling after weaning, no orphanhood after puberty, no oath for a woman with her husband, no oath for a child with his father, no oath for a

<sup>591</sup> That is, God. However, the text is corrupt. As the Leiden editor notes, there is a correction in the margin of C (also present in M): "The statement is as follows: Love whomever you like, and yet you will separate from him; do whatever you wish, and yet you will be recompensed for it; and live as long as you will, and yet you will die."

<sup>592</sup> Ed. Leiden has *wa-lā ṣamta illā min ghudwatin ilā l-layli* (no silence except from morning to night) but cf. Lane, *Lexicon*, 4:1725, s.v. *ṣamata*, where the tradition is cited as *lā ṣamta yawman ilā l-layli* (no silence during daytime until night), so that the *illā* (except) in ed. Leiden and M seems to be superfluous. According to Lane, the commentators explain this as a prohibition on imitating a Christian form of asceticism.

slave with his master, no reversion to nomadism<sup>593</sup> after *hijra*, no oath that cuts ties of kinship, and no vow in disobedience.<sup>594</sup> Even if a Bedouin has performed the pilgrimage ten times and then has made *hijra*, the duty of Islam<sup>595</sup> is still incumbent upon him, if he is capable of it; and even if a slave has performed the pilgrimage ten times and then has been manumitted, the duty of Islam is incumbent upon him, if he is capable of it.<sup>596</sup>

He said: The greatest of sins in God's eyes are the least of them in the eyes of God's servants, and the least of sins in God's eyes are the greatest of them in the eyes of God's servants.

He said: The believer is not stung from the same hole twice. People are alike, like the teeth of a comb. A man is many through his brother. There is no good for you in the companionship of one who does not recognize the same rights for you as you do for him. The upper hand is better than the lower hand. The blood of (all) Muslims is equal, and they are united against | whoever is not one of them. The counselor is to be trusted.<sup>597</sup> The man who knows his own measure will not perish. God has mercy on a servant who says good things and benefits, or who remains silent and remains safe.

He mentioned horses, saying: Good is tied to their forelocks; their bellies are a treasure, and their backs are a refuge. Once he raced some horses, and when a black horse of his came in first, he fell to his knees and said: This one runs like the wind!<sup>598</sup>

He said: This knowledge is borne in every confederation by its trustworthy members, who purge it of the corruptions of those who exaggerate,<sup>599</sup> the falsifications of prattlers, and the forced interpretations of the ignorant.

He said: God—may He be glorified and exalted—says: “Woe to those who exploit religion to pursue earthly life; woe to those who kill the people who

<sup>593</sup> Arabic *ta'arrub*. The contrast between the two terms suggests that *hijra* here means “sedentarization.” See Fred M. Donner, *The Early Islamic Conquests*, 79–81, 263–267; C. E. Bosworth, “A Note on *Ta'arrub* in Early Islam.”

<sup>594</sup> That is, to God.

<sup>595</sup> That is, to perform the pilgrimage to Mecca.

<sup>596</sup> That is, the duty to perform pilgrimage must be accomplished as a free, settled Muslim, not as a slave or as a nomad; a pilgrimage performed by someone while still a slave or by a nomad before he adopts sedentary life does not count.

<sup>597</sup> Arabic *mu'taman*; perhaps an error for *musta'man*, “given security,” i.e., to be inviolable even if one disagrees with his advice?

<sup>598</sup> Literally: “It is nothing but the sea,” that is, it flows like the sea or a great river with wave after wave; see Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. *bahr*.

<sup>599</sup> Arabic *al-ghālin*; or “of the ignorant,” following interlinear *al-jāhilīn* in M. C has interlinear *al-'āmilīn* (tax-collectors).

command fairness; and woe to those among whom the believers must go about in dissimulation, whether they mean to deceive Me or boldly defy Me; for I have sworn to appoint for them such a trial (*fitna*) as shall leave the mild-tempered among them dismayed.”<sup>600</sup>

It was related from him that he said: Under the wall that God—may He be glorified and exalted—has mentioned in His book, there was a treasure belonging to the two of them.<sup>601</sup> The treasure was a tablet of gold on which was written: “In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful: How amazing it is that whoever knows of death as a certainty can rejoice! How amazing it is that whoever knows of (God’s) decree as a certainty can be sad! How amazing it is that whoever knows of the Fire as a certainty can laugh! How amazing it is that anyone who considers the world and its fickleness to its people can trust in it! There is no god but God, and Muḥammad is the Messenger of God.”

He said: The person who eats heartily and gives thanks has the same reward as the person who goes hungry and is patient. That one of you should be restored to health and be thankful is better for him than that he spend the night keeping vigil and reach the morning fasting and proud (of what he has done).

He said: It is not permissible for a believer to humiliate his soul. He was asked, “Messenger of God, how is it humiliated?” He said: By exposing it to a trial that it cannot bear.

He said: Beware the perceptiveness of the believer, | for he sees with the light of God.

2:114

In a book belonging to Asmā’ bt. ‘Umays<sup>602</sup> there was found among the words of the Messenger of God: Things that in the short term are unprofitable but in their wake bring an enduring right course are better than things that in the short term are beneficial but in their wake bring enduring error.<sup>603</sup> The Muslim abstains from oppression and from that which is forbidden. How evil the man whose passions lead him astray! How evil the man who is petitioned obsequiously! How evil the man who is tyrannical, commits iniquities, and prefers the earthly life.

<sup>600</sup> A *ḥadīth qudsī*.

<sup>601</sup> Qur’ān 18:81, relates the story of the treasure of two orphans that was buried under a wall.

<sup>602</sup> A female Companion of the Prophet, married to Ja’far b. Abī Ṭālib, with whom she emigrated to Abyssinia; after his death she was married to Abū Bakr, and after his death to ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib; see Ibn Sa’d, *Tabaqāt*, 8:305–309.

<sup>603</sup> Reading with M: *al-ājilātu l-khā’ibātu l-mu’qibātu rushdan bāqīyan khayrun min al-‘ājilāti al-fā’idāti l-mu’qibāti ghayyan bāqīyan*.

He said: Four things are catastrophic:<sup>604</sup> an *imām* whom you obey and who misleads you; a wife whom you trust and who betrays you; a bad neighbor who, if he comes to know something bad broadcasts it, but if he comes to know something good, keeps it secret; and poverty whose victim, when it is alleviated (by a gift), is not generous.<sup>605</sup>

He said: There is no person whose knowledge or discernment are not deficient. Do you not see that his sustenance comes in abundance, and so he remains happy and delighted; but each day and night comes to diminish his lifespan, yet this does not sadden him, neither does he [care]<sup>606</sup> about it? He is surely astray! What good to him is sustenance that is increasing along with a lifespan that is decreasing?

He said: The Children of Israel banished the fear of God from their hearts: their bodies were present, but their hearts were absent. Truly, God does not accept (the prayers of) a person whose heart is not present as much as his body.

He said: Whoever increases in knowledge but does not increase in abstinence (*zuhd*) only increases in distance from God. Whoever helps a tyrannical imam and does not point out his error, his own foot will not part from the imam's foot before God, until he orders him ...<sup>607</sup>

<sup>2:115</sup> A man from the Banū Qushayr named Qurra b. Hubayra came to him | and said, "Messenger of God, we used to have gods and goddesses, but God has guided us through you."

He said: Most of the people of paradise are the simple-minded; but the people of the highest heavens are the possessors of intellect.

He said: The imams are from Quraysh. You have a claim on them, and they have a claim on you as long as they rule justly, are forgiving when asked for forgiveness, and fulfill what they promise.

He stopped at a house where there were a group of Quraysh and said: You will be entrusted with this affair.<sup>608</sup> Whoever of you takes charge of it and is asked for mercy but does not show it, or who rules unjustly, or who makes promises but does not keep them, God's curse be upon him.

He said: Religion is consultation, religion is consultation. Someone asked, "With whom, Messenger of God?" He replied: With God, and His book, and His prophet, and the true imams.

<sup>604</sup> Arabic *qawāsim al-żahr*, literally, "breakers of the (camel's) back."

<sup>605</sup> Reading (based on M) *wa-faqrun idhā nuḥīla lam yajud ṣāḥibuhu*.

<sup>606</sup> The Leiden editor has supplied the word *yahtafilu*; there is a visible lacuna in both MSS.

<sup>607</sup> Lacuna in both MSS. The Leiden editor conjectured that the words *ilā l-nār* (into the fire) were to be supplied.

<sup>608</sup> Arabic *hādhā l-amr*, that is, the governance of the Islamic community.

He said at al-Khayf of Minā: May God brighten the face of a man who has heard my address and remembered it in order to convey it to whoever did not hear it. Many a person has borne knowledge to someone more knowledgeable than he. There are three things such that if the heart of the believer adheres to them it will not be invaded by rancor:<sup>609</sup> sincerity in one's works, being truly God-fearing, and sound advice to those who rule.

He said: The Muslim owes six courtesies to his Muslim brother: to greet him when he meets him, to act in good faith toward him when he is absent from him, to visit him when he falls ill, to accompany his funeral procession when he dies, to answer him when he calls for him, and to give him to drink when he thirsts.<sup>610</sup>

He said: Help your brother<sup>611</sup> when he is acting wrongly or when he is being wronged. They asked, "Messenger of God, how should we help him when he is acting wrongly?" He replied: By restraining him from wrongdoing.

He said: When a person dies, his works are cut off from him, except three: alms (he has given) that are in circulation, knowledge from which benefit is being derived, or a righteous child who is praying for him.

He said: There are three persons whose call is not to be refused: the oppressed, a just imam, and someone fasting until he breaks fast.

He said: There are three things that follow a person after his death: a worthy practice (*sunna*) that he established among Muslims and in accordance with which he acted—he shall have a reward for it and a reward for those who act in accordance with it, though their rewards shall in no way be diminished; alms which he gave, of wealth or in kind—as long as those alms circulate, | they shall be to his benefit; and offspring a man has left who pray for him.

He said in his sermon: The worst things are the most recent; every innovation is an error. Everything has its bane; the bane of this (kind of) opinion is caprice.<sup>612</sup>

2:116

<sup>609</sup> Following the more common vocalization of the verb (*yaghillu*) as given in the discussion of the ḥadīth in Lane, *Lexicon*, 6:2227. Ed. Leiden prints the less common vocalization, *yughillu*—the MSS lack vowels—meaning, "... it will not act unfaithfully."

<sup>610</sup> Following M *wa-yasqīhi idhā 'atīsha*; L, apparently following C, reads, *wa-yushammituhu idhā 'aṭasa* (and utter a prayer for him when he sneezes).

<sup>611</sup> That is, your fellow Muslim.

<sup>612</sup> Text is obscure; *wa-li-kulli shay'in āṣafutun, wa-āṣafatu hādhā al-ra'yī l-hawā*. Perhaps intended is that the weak point of newly-coined jurisprudential opinions (*ra'y*) is their potentially capricious character.

He said: Guarantee me six things, and I will guarantee you paradise: When you converse,<sup>613</sup> do not lie; when you are given a trust, do not betray it; when you make a promise, do not break it; restrain your tongues; lower your glances;<sup>614</sup> and safeguard your private parts.<sup>615</sup>

He said: God—may He be glorified and exalted—says, “My servant continues to tell the truth until he is recorded as veracious; and my servant continues to tell lies until he is recorded as a liar.”<sup>616</sup>

He said: Woe to him who tells lies to make people laugh. Woe to him, woe to him!

It is related that he said: Practice truthfulness, even if you think that in it lies destruction, for indeed its result is salvation; and beware of lying, even if you think that in it lies salvation, for indeed its result is destruction.

He said: Whoever wrongfully succeeds to his brother’s property, let him take his seat in the fire. A man asked, “Even if it be a trifling amount, Messenger of God?” To which he replied: Even if it be only a twig of *arāk*;<sup>617</sup> whoever appropriates to himself the rightful share of a Muslim man with his right hand,<sup>618</sup> God has imposed the fire on him and forbidden paradise to him.

He was the most generous of people in giving charity, and especially generous in the month of Ramaḍān. He said: By the One in whose hand is my soul, if I had as many cattle as there are trees in Tihāma, I would divide them among you; and you would not find me to be a liar, a coward, or a miser.

A man said to him, “Messenger of God, give me your cloak,” so he threw it to him. Then the man said, “I don’t want it.” Whereupon he said: May God fight you! You wanted to impute miserliness to me, but God did not make me a miser.

He said: The best of you are those whose charity is hoped for and whose evil people do not need to ward off. The worst of you are those whose evil people need to ward off and whose charity is not hoped for. God has honored you with Islam; do you therefore adorn it with generosity and good morals.

He said: Blessing is faster to (reach) a household that offers dinner, than a blade is to (slice) the hump of a camel.

2:117

He said: Beware of stinginess. Only stinginess brought perdition to those who were before you. It commanded them to break relations, and they did; it commanded them to be unjust, and they were; it commanded them to

<sup>613</sup> Arabic *haddathum*; possibly “report [things],” or “say [things].”

<sup>614</sup> That is, out of modesty.

<sup>615</sup> That is, be chaste.

<sup>616</sup> A *ḥadīth qudsī*.

<sup>617</sup> The *arāk* is small tree (*Salvadora persica*) whose twigs are used as a kind of toothbrush.

<sup>618</sup> Arabic, *bi-yamīnihi*; perhaps, “with his oath.”

live licentiously, and they did. Miserliness<sup>619</sup> is disbelief, and disbelief leads to hellfire. God—may He be glorified and exalted—has said, “Whoever is safeguarded against his own stinginess, those are the fortunate ones.”<sup>620</sup>

He said: The pinnacle of intellect, after faith, is behaving pleasantly towards people. The people of kindly behavior in this world will be the people of kindly behavior in the next world; and the people of reprehensible behavior in this world will be the people of reprehensible behavior in the next. Truly, the first people to enter paradise will be the people of kindly behavior.

He said: Do not disdain any kindly behavior, even if it is only to give away the end of a rope or the toe-thong of a sandal; even if it is only to pour from your bucket into the vessel of someone asking for a drink; even if it is only to push something out of the way of people who might be annoyed by it; even if it is only to meet your brother with a greeting; even if it is only to meet him with a cheerful face. Do not revile a man who reviles you because of something he knows about you, even when you know something similar about him; the reward for it shall be yours, and the burden of it on him.<sup>621</sup>

He said: God has created among his creatures persons outstanding in kindly behavior, whom He made to love kindly behavior and to love performing it; and He directed seekers of kindly behavior to them and made demonstrating it easy for them, just as He makes it easy for rain to reach the parched earth, to revive it and its inhabitants. God also has created among his creatures enemies of kindly behavior, whom He made to consider kindly behavior hateful and its performance hateful. And He forbade seekers of kindly behavior from seeking it (with them), and barred them from displaying it, just as he forbids rain from the parched earth, to destroy it and to destroy its inhabitants with it—unless<sup>622</sup> God forgives most of them.

He said: All creatures are God's dependents. Therefore, the most beloved to | 2:118  
God of creatures is the person who is best to his dependents.

A man questioned him, saying, “What kind of person is dearest to God?” He replied: The person who does the most to benefit other people. The man asked, “And what kind of works are dearest to God?” He answered: Bringing joy to a Muslim, feeding him when hungry, clothing him when naked, and paying his debts.

<sup>619</sup> Reading *lu'm*; see *WKAS*, s.v.

<sup>620</sup> Qur'ān 59:9 (= 64:16).

<sup>621</sup> The translation follows ed. Leiden, with its emendation on the basis of Azîzî, I, 115.

<sup>622</sup> Arabic *aw ya'fiwa Allāhu aktharahu*, which could also mean, “until God forgives most of them.”

He said: God—may He be glorified and exalted—will set up a banner on the Day of Resurrection for the person who has been treacherous. And people will say, “Truly, this is the banner of so-and-so.”

Someone said [to him],<sup>623</sup> “Tell us the characteristics by which the hypocrite can be recognized.” He replied: Whoever swears an oath and denies it, or makes a promise and goes back on it, or enters into a dispute and lies,<sup>624</sup> or is entrusted with something and betrays his trust, or makes an agreement and acts treacherously.

He said: God will question a man on the Day of Resurrection, until finally He asks him, “What prevented you when you saw something abominable from censuring it?” Then, when God has inspired<sup>625</sup> in his servant His proof, he will say, “Lord, I trusted in You, but I was afraid of the people.”

He said: Whoever has been given a gift and finds (something to give in return), let him repay (the giver); and if he does not repay him, let him praise him openly. For whoever gives praise for it has thanked him, but whoever conceals it has been ungrateful to him.

A group of Emigrants said to him, “Messenger of God, our brothers among the Helpers have been extraordinarily generous to us, and we fear that they will take away all the reward (in paradise).” So he said: Except (the reward for) your having praised them for it and having prayed to God for them!

He said: By Him in whose hand my soul is, no one will take something that is not his, without meeting God with the burden of it on the Day of Resurrection.

He said: Gifts remove resentment, renew brotherly feelings, and strengthen affection.

He said: Even if a sheep's trotter were given to me, I would accept it; and if I were invited to partake of it, I would accept.

He said: When a person excels in giving alms, he excels in the succession to his inheritance.<sup>626</sup> The alms of the believer are his protection, and his protection comes from his alms.

It is related from him that he said: Among deeds there are none dearer to me than three: sating the hunger of a Muslim, | paying his debts, and banishing his cares. Whoever banishes the cares of a Muslim, God will banish for him the

<sup>623</sup> Adding *lahu* (to him) with ed. Leiden.

<sup>624</sup> Reading *wa-khāṣama fa-fajara* with ed. Leiden, from Azīzī, 1, 165; C evidently has *wa-hāfa fa-‘ajaza*.

<sup>625</sup> M here has a marginal note suggesting that something may have dropped out of the text.

<sup>626</sup> The translation omits the added “God” found in ed. Leiden, which reads: ... *aḥsana [Allāhu] al-khilāfa ‘alā tarikatihī* (God makes good the succession to his estate).

cares of the Day of Resurrection. God aids his servant so long as the servant aids his brother.

He said: Begging is only permissible to three people: the person in grinding poverty, the person in horrible distress, and the person seeking vengeance for an agonizing murder.

He said: Whoever begs while he has an ounce—the ounce is (the weight of) 40 dirhams—has begged from people importunately.

Two men begged from him while he was dividing the booty of Khaybar, so he said: No share to a wealthy person or to an able-bodied person capable of earning!

He said: It is not permissible to give alms to the wealthy person or to the strong, unimpaired person.

He said: Whoever begs while having enough to make it unnecessary is only asking for more red-hot coals in hell. He was asked, "Messenger of God, how much is enough to make begging unnecessary?" He replied: Enough for one's dinner or one's supper.

He was asked, "Messenger of God, what is wealth?" He replied: A dinner and a supper.

He said: Whoever begs despite having what is sufficient, will appear on the Day of Resurrection with scratches on his face by which he shall be known. They asked, "Messenger of God, what is sufficient?" He replied: Nourishment for a night or nourishment for a day.

Hakīm b. Ḥizām<sup>627</sup> begged from him, and he gave him something, but he said: This property is pleasing and sweet; it will be a blessing for whoever takes it with moderate pleasure,<sup>628</sup> but whoever takes it with immoderate greediness will not be blessed by it and will be like someone who eats without being sated.

The Helpers petitioned him; whenever they begged anything from him, he gave to them, until they had used up what he had. Then he said: Now then, company of Helpers: whatever good we have I will not hold back from you. But whoever makes do with what he has, God will enrich him; whoever abstains, God will make him abstinent; and whoever is patient, God will make him patient. A person can be given nothing better or more abundant than patience.

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<sup>627</sup> A notable of Quraysh, friend and companion of the Prophet from before his mission, and nephew of the Prophet's first wife Khadija. See Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Īṣāba fi tamyīz al-ṣahāba* (ed. Beirut), 2:97, no. 1805, s.n.

<sup>628</sup> Reading with M, *bi-ṭībi nafṣin yasīrīn*; ed. Leiden, *bi-ṭībi nafṣin bashīrīn* (with goodly pleasure).

He said: Whoever will guarantee me one habit, I will guarantee him paradise. He was asked, "What is it, Messenger of God?" He replied: That you beg nothing from anybody.

2:120 He said to Abū Dharr:<sup>629</sup> Abū Dharr, what if a great hunger afflicted the people, so that you could not rise from your bed to your place of prayer—what would you do? I<sup>630</sup> said, "God and His Messenger know best!" The Prophet said: You would be abstinent.

He said: Whenever a man opens for himself the gate of begging, God opens for him the gate of poverty.

He said: There are three kinds of hand: the hand of God, which is the highest; the hand of the donor, which comes next to it; and the hand of the beggar, which is the lowest until the Day of Resurrection. Therefore abstain from begging as much as you can.

He said to someone: Whatever you have received of this wealth while you were not begging and not over-eager for it, take it and lay it aside, or give it as charity.

He said: No charity (is required) except from that of which you have no need. Begin with those whom you support, and you will not be blamed for having enough to live on.

He said: Begging will be a blemish<sup>631</sup> on the face of a man on the Day of Resurrection, unless he begs from his ruler or from someone who has no need of it.

He was asked, "What is the best charity?" He replied: That you give charity while you are healthy, fearing poverty, and hoping for wealth. Do not delay so long that you say on your deathbed, "This goes to so-and-so, and that to so-and-so, and that has already gone to so-and-so."

He said: Whoever spends on his wife, his children, and the members of his household—that will count as charity for him. Whoever would be gladdened by a delay in his appointed time<sup>632</sup> and by an increase of his sustenance—let him be kind to his relatives.

<sup>629</sup> Abū Dharr was an early Companion of the Prophet known for his piety. See the article by Asma Afsaruddin in *EI*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī.

<sup>630</sup> That is, Abū Dharr.

<sup>631</sup> Reading with ed. Leiden *khurūj*; C has *ḥurūj*, which is meaningless; in M the word has extra dots making it possible to read either *khurūj* or *jurūh* (wounds). The usual word for blemish or pimple is *khurāj*, which may have been the original reading here.

<sup>632</sup> That is, by long life.

He said: No sin more deserves that God hasten its punishment in this world, along with that which He has stored up for it in the next world, than injustice<sup>633</sup> and mistreatment of kinfolk.

A man came to him saying, “To whom should I show respect?” He replied: Your mother, and your father, your brother and your sister—the nearest to you, then the next.

He said: God—may He be blessed and exalted—says, “Whoever honors his father, I will lengthen his days; and whoever honors his mother, shall see his sons’ sons.”

He said: Shall I not inform you of the greatest of great sins? It is associating something with God, disobeying your parents, and speaking falsehood.

He said: Whoever hides the nakedness of his Muslim brother, God will cover his nakedness on the Day of Resurrection.

He said: Four things | are among the practices<sup>634</sup> of those who have been sent as messengers (by God): shyness, marriage, forbearance, and cleaning the teeth with the tooth-stick (*siwāk*). 2:121

He said: [God]—may he be praised and exalted—has said, “You shall command the good and forbid the reprehensible, or I will put the worst of you in charge over you; I will put your property in the hands of your misers, and withhold the rain of heaven from you. The best among you will appeal to Me, but I will not respond to them; they will ask Me for mercy, but I will show them no mercy; and they will beg Me for rain, but I will not give them anything to drink.”<sup>635</sup>

He said: The Islam of whoever has four things in him is perfect, even if he is sinful from head to foot: commanding the good, shyness, gratitude, and good morals. God will build a house in paradise for anyone who has four things in him: sheltering the orphan, mercy ...,<sup>636</sup> kindness to his slave, and solicitude towards his parents.

He said: Showing affection to people is half of the faith, and kindness is half of life. No man has ever become poor whose moderation is as it should be.<sup>637</sup>

<sup>633</sup> Arabic *baghy*. The word has a wide semantic range, including injustice, tyranny, corruption, excess, pride, insolence, conceit, fornication, and prostitution.

<sup>634</sup> Arabic *sunan* (plural of *sunna*).

<sup>635</sup> A *ḥadīth qudsī*.

<sup>636</sup> Lacuna in ed. Leiden (apparently following C, but not explicitly noted in the apparatus) and M.

<sup>637</sup> Thus ed. Leiden, *wa-mā ‘āla mru‘un wafā qtisāduhu*. In M the reading seems to be, *wa-mā ‘āla mru‘un fī qtisādihi*, “no man has ever become poor in his moderation,” that is, while living within his means. A similar ḥadīth is cited by Lane, *Lexicon*, 5:2200, s.v. *‘āla*

## The Farewell Pilgrimage<sup>638</sup>

The Messenger of God made the farewell pilgrimage in the year 10; it was the pilgrimage of Islam.<sup>639</sup> The Messenger of God left Medina, and when he reached Dhū l-Hulayfa,<sup>640</sup> he put on two Ṣuhārī garments: a loin cloth (*izār*) and a cloak (*ridā'*).<sup>641</sup> Others have said that he left Medina having already donned the two garments. He entered the mosque in Dhū l-Hulayfa and prayed two prostrations, and all his womenfolk were with him. Then he left the mosque and marked his animals to be sacrificed on the right side<sup>642</sup> and then mounted his ear-marked she-camel; when she reached the desert, he uttered the formula "There is no god but God" of the pilgrimage.

Al-Wāqidī said, on the authority of al-Zuhrī, on the authority of Sālim, on the authority of his father; and from al-Zuhrī, in another of his chains of transmission, from Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ—both of whom said: The Messenger of God uttered the formula "There is no god but God," conjoining the lesser pilgrimage to the greater pilgrimage. Some authorities say that he did it for the greater pilgrimage by itself; whereas others say that he did it for a greater and a lesser pilgrimage. He entered | Mecca by day from Kadā'<sup>643</sup> which is the mountain pass of the Medinese, on his riding camel, until he reached the House.<sup>644</sup> When he saw the House, he raised his hands above the reins of his she-camel, and he began the circumambulation before the prayer.

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in the wording, *lā ya'ūlu 'alā l-qasdi ahadun* (No one will become poor, or in want, while following the right course).

<sup>638</sup> Main parallels: Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 966–970 (trans. Guillaume, 649–652); al-Tabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 1:1751–1756 (trans. Poonawala, *The History of al-Tabarī*, IX, 109–115); al-Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, 3:1088–1115; Ibn Sa'd, *Tabaqāt*, 11/i, 124–136; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, 1:368–371. See also the article by Devin J. Stewart in *Encyclopaedia of the Qur'an*, s.v. Farewell Pilgrimage.

<sup>639</sup> So called because during the pilgrimage he established many precedents to be followed by later Muslims and because the pilgrimage now had been purified of any pagan elements.

<sup>640</sup> A place six or seven stages from Mecca (Yāqūt, s.v.). According to al-Tabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 1:1751, Muhammad set out from Medina on 25 Dhū l-Qa'da 10 (February 22, 632).

<sup>641</sup> Ṣuhārī refers to a kind of garment made in Ṣuhār, a town in Yemen. According to al-Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, 3:1089–1090, he donned these two garments when he entered the pilgrim's state of consecration (*ihrām*).

<sup>642</sup> Camels intended for sacrifice during the greater pilgrimage are marked by making a cut on the right side of their humps sufficient to make blood flow.

<sup>643</sup> A place in upper Mecca (Yāqūt, s.v.).

<sup>644</sup> Arabic, *al-bayt*, that is, the Ka'ba.

He delivered a sermon a day before the Day of Watering<sup>645</sup> in the afternoon and on the day of 'Arafa<sup>646</sup> when the sun began to decline, mounted upon his riding-camel, before the prayer on the morrow, the day of Minā.<sup>647</sup> He said in his sermon:

"May God brighten the countenance of the servant who hears what I say, who heeds it and keeps it in mind, and who conveys it to whoever has not heard it; for many an unlearned person has carried knowledge (to others), and many a person has carried knowledge to those more learned than he. There are three things such that if the heart of any Muslim adheres to them it will not be invaded by rancor: sincere devotion to God in one's works, giving sound advice to the imams of truth, and cleaving to the community (*jamā'a*) of believers, for their prayer is a bulwark to those behind them."<sup>648</sup>

He called for the animals to be sacrificed, and they were lined up before him—there were one hundred of them. He slaughtered sixty of them of them with a javelin<sup>649</sup>—some say sixty-four—and he gave the rest of them to 'Alī, who slaughtered them. He took a piece of meat from each she-camel; these were put together into one pot and cooked with water and salt. Then he and 'Alī ate and sipped some of the broth. He stoned the Jamrat al-'Aqaba<sup>650</sup> while on his she-camel. He stopped at Zamzam and ordered Rabī'a b. Umayya b. Khalaf<sup>651</sup> to stand beneath the chest of his mount—he was just a boy—and said: "Rabī'a, say: 'People! The Messenger of God says: "You may never meet me again as I am now and while you are dressed as you are now."<sup>652</sup> Do you realize what city this is? Do you realize what month this is? Do you realize what day

645 That is, on 7 Dhū l-Hijja, as 8 Dhū l-Hijja is called "the day of watering" (*yawm al-tarwiya*). See the article by A. J. Wensinck and J. Jomier in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Hadjdj.

646 That is, 9 Dhū l-Hijja.

647 That is, 10 Dhū l-Hijja.

648 Either to those who lined up behind them in prayer, or to succeeding generations. Cf. the shorter version of this ḥadīth given earlier, ed. Leiden, 2:115. On the term *jamā'a*, see the article by L. Gardet in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Djamā'a.

649 Reading with M *bi-l-hirba* (as in al-Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, 3:108); L has *bi-yadihi*, "with his hand."

650 The stone pillars symbolizing the devil, which are stoned by pilgrims during the greater pilgrimage. For a description, see the article by F. Buhl and J. Jomier in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Djamra.

651 Cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 1:1755 and Ibn al-Athīr, *Uṣd al-ghāba*, 2:166, for other renditions of this episode. Rabī'a b. Umayya b. Khalaf is reported to have been expelled to Khaybar by 'Umar because he drank alcohol; he later apostatized and joined the Byzantines; cf. Ibn Sa'd, *Tabaqāt*, III/i, 202.

652 That is, dressed in pilgrim garb (*ihrām*).

this is?”” The people said, “Yes! This is the holy city, the holy month, and the holy day.” He said, “God has declared your blood and your property as inviolable as the holiness of this city of yours, this month of yours, and this day of yours. 2:123 Have I conveyed the message?” “Yes,” they replied. “Bear witness, O God!” he said.

“Fear God. *Do not diminish unto people their things, and do not act wickedly in the land, working corruption.*<sup>653</sup> Whoever has something entrusted to him, let him carry it out.” Then he said, “People are equal in Islam. People are of the same measure as Adam and Eve; the Arab has no superiority over the non-Arab,<sup>654</sup> or the non-Arab over the Arab, except in fear of God. Have I conveyed the message?” “Yes,” they replied. “Bear witness, O God!” he said.

Then he said: “Do not bring me your lineages; bring me your deeds, that I may say, ‘The people have done such and such, and you have done such and such.’ Have I conveyed the message?” “Yes,” they replied. “Bear witness, O God!” he said.

Then he said: “Every (claim of vengeance for) blood that was (shed) in the days before Islam (*jāhiliyya*) I set aside;<sup>655</sup> and the first (claim of vengeance for) blood that I set aside is (the claim of vengeance for) the blood of Ādām b. Rabī'a b. al-Ḥārith b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib.”—A wet-nurse had been sought for Ādām b. Rabī'a among the Hudhayl, and the Banū Sa'd b. Bakr<sup>656</sup> killed him. Others have said that he was among the Banū Layth, and the Hudhayl killed him.—“Have I conveyed the message?” “Yes,” they replied. “Bear witness, O God!” he said.

He said: “And every (case of) usury that took place in the days before Islam (*jāhiliyya*) I set aside; and the first usury I set aside is the usury of al-‘Abbās b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib. Have I conveyed the message?” “Yes,” they replied. “Bear witness, O God!” he said.

He said: “People, *Verily the month postponed*<sup>657</sup> *is an increase of unbelief whereby the unbelievers go astray; they make it profane one year and hallow it*

653 Qur'ān 11:85 (= 26:183). The context makes it clear that “diminishing” refers to defrauding in commercial transactions: “O my people, fill up the measure and the balance justly, and do not diminish the goods of the people, and do not mischievous in the land, working corruption.” (Arberry translation).

654 Reading with M ... *lā faḍla li-‘arabiyyin ‘alā ‘ajamiyyin wa lā li-‘ajamiyyin ‘alā ‘arabiyyin.*

655 Arabic *mawdū'un taḥta qadamayya* (literally, “is put under my feet”).

656 A small tribe of Hawāzin who lived northeast of Mecca. See W. Caskel, *Ǧamharat annasab*, 2:493.

657 Arabic *al-nasī'*, referring originally to an intercalated month added periodically to the lunar calendar in pre-Islamic Mecca in order to keep the months aligned with the seasons

*another, in order to agree with the number of that which God has hallowed.*<sup>658</sup> Time has come round to a configuration like the one it had on the day God created the heavens and the earth. [*Indeed, the number of months with God is]*<sup>659</sup> *twelve months in the book of God,*<sup>660</sup> among which four are sacred: Rajab, which is between Jumādā and Sha'bān, which they call (the month of) Muḍar,<sup>661</sup> and three consecutive months: Dhū l-Qa'da, Dhū l-Hijja, and al-Muḥarram. Have I conveyed the message?" "Yes," they replied. "Bear witness, O God!" he said.

He said: "I enjoin you to care well for (your) women; for they are subservient to you and control nothing for themselves. You have taken them only in accordance with a trust from God and have deemed | their sexual organs permissible to you only in accordance with God's book. You have a claim on them, and they have a claim on you for their clothing and their sustenance according to custom. Your due from them is that they not let anyone tread your bed and not allow anyone into your house, except with your knowledge and permission. If they do any such thing, *renounce them in their beds and beat them*<sup>662</sup> with a beating that is not severe. Have I conveyed the message?" "Yes," they replied. "Bear witness, O God!" he said.

2:124

"I enjoin you concerning your slaves, that you feed them from what you eat, and clothe them from what you wear; but if they transgress, entrust their punishment to the worst among you. Have I conveyed the message?" "Yes," they replied. "Bear witness, O God!" he said.

He said: "The Muslim is brother to the Muslim; he does not deceive him, or betray him, or slander him, neither is his blood or any of his property lawful to him, except with his consent. Have I conveyed the message?" "Yes," they replied. "Bear witness, O God!" he said.

Then he said: "Satan has despaired of being worshipped after today, but he is obeyed in such other works of yours as you deem trivial, and he is pleased

of the year. However, the Qur'ānic verse apparently refers to a different practice, that of declaring one of the Arabian calendar's four sacred months profane during a given year and transferring its sanctity to another month (the commentators give a variety of reasons for doing this), so as to maintain the number of four sacred months in a given year. For a discussion of the various interpretations of the verse, see the article by A. Moberg in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Nasi'*.

658 Qur'ān 9:37.

659 Insertion in ed. Leiden, from Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 998.

660 Qur'ān 9:36.

661 Apparently because the Muḍar tribes held it in special esteem. See Lane, *Lexicon*, 3:1034, s.v. Rajab.

662 Qur'ān 4:34.

with them. Have I conveyed the message?" "Yes," they replied. "Bear witness, O God!" he said.

Then he said: "God's worst enemies are he who kills someone who has not killed him,<sup>663</sup> he who strikes someone who has not struck him, he who is ungrateful for the bounty of his masters, for he has disbelieved in what God sent down upon Muḥammad, and he who claims descent from someone other than his (true) father—upon him be the curse of God and the angels and of all people. Have I conveyed the message?" "Yes," they replied. "Bear witness, O God!" he said.

Then he said: "I have been commanded to fight against people only until they say, 'There is no god but God,' and that I am the Messenger of God. When they say that, they have safeguarded their lives and their property from me, except by right, and their reckoning is up to God. Have I conveyed the message?" "Yes," they replied. "Bear witness, O God!" he said.

"Do not revert after my death to being unbelievers led astray, with some of you owning others of you as slaves. I have left among you something which, if you hold fast to it, you will not go astray: God's book and my family, the people of my house. Have I conveyed the message?" "Yes," they replied. | "Bear witness, O God!" he said.

Then he said: "You will be held responsible; therefore let those of you who are present inform those who are absent."

He did not stay in Mecca (during the farewell pilgrimage). People asked him about it: "Why don't you stay in one of your houses (in Mecca), Messenger of God?" He replied, "I will not stay in a town from which I was expelled."

When it was the day of returning from Minā,<sup>664</sup> he entered the House and said farewell. It was revealed to him: *Today I have perfected your religion for you, and I have completed My blessing upon you, and I have approved Islam for your religion.*<sup>665</sup>

He left by night, heading back to Medina. On 18 Dhū l-Hijja,<sup>666</sup> he came to a place in the lowland<sup>667</sup> of al-Juhfa called Ghadīr Khumm.<sup>668</sup> He stood to

663 That is, either a person who kills someone who has not killed one of his kin or someone who has not assaulted him with intent to kill.

664 Arabic *yawm al-nafr*.

665 Qur'ān 5:3, traditionally seen as the last verse of the Qur'ān revealed to Muḥammad.

666 March 16, 632.

667 Reading with M, *bi-l-ghawthi*; ed. Leiden, *bi-l-qurbi* (in the vicinity of).

668 Shi'ites see this episode as a formal bestowal of the imamate on 'Alī; see the articles by L. Veccia Vaglieri in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ghadir Khumm, and by M. A. Amir-Moezzi in *EI*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. Ghadir Khumm.

deliver an address, took the hand of ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, and said, “Am I not closer to the believers than they to themselves?” They said, “Yes, that is so, Messenger of God!” He said, “To whomever I am protector,<sup>669</sup> ‘Alī is protector. O God, be the friend of whoever helps him, and be the enemy of whoever treats him as an enemy.” Then he said, “People, I shall arrive at the water before you; you will come to me at the pool,<sup>670</sup> and I shall ask you, when you come to me, about the two weighty things; be mindful therefore of how you succeed me regarding the two of them.” They said, “What are the two weighty things, Messenger of God?” He replied, “The weightier of the two is the Book of God, a rope one end of which is in God’s hand and one end of which is in your hands. Hold fast to it and do not stray from it or alter it. (The other) is my family, the people of my house.”

### The Death (of the Prophet)<sup>671</sup>

When he arrived in Medina, he remained several days. He put Usāma b. Zayd b. Ḥāritha in charge of the chiefs of the Emigrants and Helpers and ordered him to head to where his father had been killed in the land of Syria.<sup>672</sup> Usāma is related to have said: “The Messenger of God ordered me to raid Yubnā<sup>673</sup> in the land of Palestine. That was in the morning; then he came down with a fever.” Others have related that | the Messenger of God ordered him to make the horses tread the land of al-Balqā’.<sup>674</sup> Abū Bakr and ‘Umar were also in the army. People began to talk, saying, “Someone so young in years—only seventeen years old!” Whereupon (the Prophet) said, “If you find fault with him, before him you found fault with his father, though both of them were born for command.”

2:126

The Messenger of God became ill before the army set out for its destination—Usāma was still at al-Jurf.<sup>675</sup> When his illness grew more severe, he said, “Dispatch the army of Usāma!” and he said this repeatedly. He was sick for

<sup>669</sup> Arabic *mawlā*, also in the sense of “patron.”

<sup>670</sup> Arabic *al-ḥawd*; a reference to the pool of paradise.

<sup>671</sup> Main parallels: Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 999–1013 (trans. Guillaume, 679–683); al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:1794–1820 (trans. Poonawala, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, IX, 162–189); Ibn Sa’d, *Tabaqāt*, II/ii, 1–100; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, 1:543–579.

<sup>672</sup> Usāma’s father, Zayd b. Ḥāritha, had been killed at the battle of Mu’ta in 8/629; see above, ed. Leiden, 2:66–67.

<sup>673</sup> Sic. ed. Leiden; probably to be read as Ubnā, a town near Mu’ta, not the coastal town of Yubnā (Yavneh, ancient Iamnia); see Yāqūt, s.v. Ubnā.

<sup>674</sup> Al-Balqā’ (the Piebald) is the hill district around Amman in modern Jordan.

<sup>675</sup> A place three miles from Medina on the Syria road. See Yāqūt, s.v.

fourteen days and died on Monday, 2 Rabi‘ I, corresponding to the non-Arab month of Ādhār (March).<sup>676</sup> It was at the conjunction (of Jupiter and Saturn) in Scorpio.<sup>677</sup>

The astrologer Māshā‘allāh said: “The ascendant of the year in which the Messenger of God died, which was the fourth conjunction since his birth, was Capricorn, 18°. Venus was in [Pisces],<sup>678</sup> 17°; the Sun in Aries, 1'; the Moon in Aries, 2° 30'; Mercury [in Aries], 11° 13'; Jupiter in Libra, 23° 4', retrograde; Mars in Capricorn, 5'; [Saturn in Virgo, 4° 30']; and the Ascending Node in Pisces, 1°].”

Al-Khwārazmī said: “On the day the Messenger of God died, the Sun was in Gemini, 6°; the Moon in Gemini, 23[°]; Saturn in Sagittarius, 29°; Mars in Pisces, 11°; Venus in Cancer, 18°; Mercury in Gemini, 28°; and the Ascending Node in Capricorn, 25°.”

His age was 63 years. ‘Alī b. Abī Tālib washed his body, while al-Faḍl b. al-‘Abbās b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib and Usāma b. Zayd provided the water. They heard a voice from the house,<sup>679</sup> hearing the voice but not seeing the person; it said: “Peace and the mercy of God and His blessings | be upon you, people of

<sup>676</sup> The date 2 Rabi‘ I of A.H. 9 corresponds to May 28, 632; other authorities give a date of 13 Rabi‘ I of that year (June 8, 632). Al-Ya‘qūbī’s comment that this corresponds to the non-Arab month of Ādhār (March) is strange. In unpointed Arabic script, the spelling of the name of the Julian month of May (Ayyār) is very similar to Ādhār, and so a miscopying may have taken place.

<sup>677</sup> Al-Ya‘qūbī is referring to the framework into which Māshā‘allāh (mentioned in the next paragraph) attempted to fit world history, based on linking events to a series of conjunctions of the two planets farthest from the Earth in ancient astronomy—Saturn and Jupiter. Such conjunctions (*qirān*) take place at intervals of approximately 20 years. See E. S. Kennedy and David Pingree, *The Astrological History of Māshā‘allāh*, 69 ff. and index s.v. *qirān*. On the Jewish astrologer Māshā‘allāh of Basra (d. c. 194/810), see Kennedy and Pingree, *Astrological History*, and the article by J. Samsó in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Māshā‘ Allāh b. Athāri.

<sup>678</sup> Here and later in the sentence, there are visible lacunae in M and C (the basis of ed. Leiden). The reconstructed text is based on Kennedy and Pingree, *Astrological History*, 102–103.

<sup>679</sup> The Arabic, *sawtan min al-bayt*, is ambiguous and could mean “from the house/room (in which Muhammad had died)” or “from (the direction of) the Ka‘ba” (that is, from the *qibla*). The parallel in Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 1019 (*thumma kallamahum sawtun min nāhiyati l-bayti lā yadrūna man huwa*, “Then a voice spoke to them from the direction of the house, they not knowing who it was”) suggests the latter interpretation, although it, too, is ambiguous. The following Qur‘ānic verse, with its reference to “people of the House,” originally addressed by God’s messengers to Abraham’s wife Sara, announcing birth of a son in her old age, supports the latter interpretation, given the traditional association of Abraham with the Ka‘ba.

*the House! Surely He is praiseworthy and glorious.<sup>680</sup> God only desires to keep disgrace away from you, people of the House, and to purify you completely.<sup>681</sup> Every soul shall taste death. You shall receive your wages in full on the Day of Resurrection. Whoever is removed from the fire and made to enter the garden shall have succeeded. The life of this world is nothing but the joy of deception. You will surely be tested in your possessions and your souls. You will surely hear much insult from those to whom the Book was sent before you and from those who have associated [other beings with God]. But if you persevere and are God-fearing, surely that will decide the matter.<sup>682</sup>* In God there is a replacement for everything that perishes, and a consolation for every injury. God has magnified your rewards. Peace and the mercy of God!" (Later) Ja'far b. Muḥammad was asked, "Who did you think it was?" He replied, "Gabriel."

He was shrouded in two Ṣuhārī garments and a striped cloak. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib and al-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib went down into his grave—some have said that al-Fadl b. al-'Abbās and Shuqrān, the client of the Messenger of God, (went down, too).<sup>683</sup> The Helpers called out, "Let us have a share in the Messenger of God in his death, as we had in his life!" Whereupon 'Alī said, "Let one of your men come down (into the grave)." They therefore sent Aws b. Khawalī down, one of the Banū l-Hublā. Abū Ṭalḥa b. Sahl al-Anṣārī had dug his grave; there was no one in Medina who used to dig (graves) but he and Abū 'Ubayda b. al-Jarrāḥ. Abū 'Ubayda b. al-Jarrāḥ would break ground and dig halfway, and Abū Ṭalḥa would dig out the niche.<sup>684</sup> Some have said that the two competed to dig and that Abū Ṭalḥa was the first to dig. Prayers were said over the body for several days, with the people coming and praying in groups. He was buried on the eve of Wednesday, partway through the night, and a piece of his camel saddle was spread under him; it was of red cloth (*urjuwān*). His grave was made square, but it was not mounded up.

When he died, the people said, "We | thought that the Messenger of God would not die until he had conquered the world!" 'Umar came out and said, "By God, the Messenger of God has not died and will not die; he has only gone away, just as Moses b. Imrān went away for forty nights. Then he will return; and, by God, he will cut off the hands and feet of certain people!" But Abū Bakr said, "Nay, God has announced his death to us, saying, *Indeed you are mortal,*

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680 Qur'ān 11:73. The words "Peace and" are not in the canonical text.

681 Qur'ān 33:33.

682 Qur'ān 3:185–186.

683 The practice of going into the grave before burial to bid the deceased farewell was an Arabian custom in pre-Islamic times.

684 Arabic *laḥd*, the lateral opening in the side of the grave to receive the corpse.

*and they are mortal.”<sup>685</sup>* Whereupon ‘Umar said, “By God, it is as though I never recited it.” Then he said:

By my life, I was certain indeed that you were mortal;  
it was only my distress that made me utter what I said.<sup>686</sup>

He left no children except Fātima, and she died forty nights after him—some have said seventy nights, others thirty nights, and others six months. She charged ‘Alī, her husband, with responsibility for washing her body, and he did so. Asmā’ bt. ‘Umays assisted him; she had served her and had cared for her. Fātima had said, “Do you not see what I have come to? Shall I be borne away on an open bed, exposed?” (Asmā’) replied, “No, by my life, daughter of the Messenger of God! I shall fashion for you something like what I saw made in Ethiopia.” [Fātima] said, “Show it to me!” Asmā’ therefore sent for some tender palm-boughs and cut them; then she fashioned them on the bed into a bier; and this was the first time there were biers (in Islam). At this Fātima smiled—she was never seen smiling except on that day. She was buried by night and no one attended her burial except Salmān (al-Fārisī) and Abū Dharr (al-Ghifārī)—others have said ‘Ammār [b. Yāsir].

Some of the wives of the Messenger of God came to Fātima during her illness and said, “Daughter of the Messenger of God! Allow us to participate in being present at the washing of your body!” She replied, “Do you wish to say about me what you said about my mother?<sup>687</sup> I have no need for your presence.”

During her illness the wives of the Messenger of God and other women of Quraysh came to her and said, “How are you?” She said, “By God, I find myself disliking this world of yours, and happy to be leaving you. I shall meet God and His Messenger with griefs caused by you: my right was not maintained, the obligation to me was not respected, | the testament was not accepted, and my inviolability was not recognized.”<sup>688</sup> Her age was 23 years.

2:129 685 Qur’ān 39:30.

686 The words form a line of verse (*meter tawīl*), although they are not written as such in M or printed as such in ed. Leiden.

687 Fātima’s mother was the Prophet’s first wife, Khadija, who died when the Prophet was still in Mecca, but it is not clear what gossip is referred to here.

688 Presumably these phrases refer, among other things, to Fātima’s claim that the Prophet had bequeathed to her the oasis of Fadak.

### Description of the Messenger of God<sup>689</sup>

The Messenger of God was imposing and dignified, of obvious cleanliness and shining face, well-proportioned, over average height, but not excessively tall, not marred by potbelliedness nor disparaged for being small-headed and thin-necked, good-looking, handsome of face; he outpaced anyone who walked with him, even if the one going with him had longer legs;<sup>690</sup> large-crowned and curly-haired—if his newborn's hair separated, it formed a clear part—and his hair did not go beyond his earlobes; radiant of color, with a complexion tinged with redness; having intense blackness in his eyes and bushiness in his eyelashes; hoarse in his voice; thick-bearded, with most of the grey hairs of his beard around his chin and those of his head on the temples; flat-cheeked and broad-mouthed; pleasant in speech, neither taciturn nor garrulous; having little chest hair; of medium build, with a broad chest and broad shoulder-blades, with a large distance between the shoulders; wide of back, stocky<sup>691</sup> below the sockets of the hip and thigh; bright on the unclad parts of his body; with the area between his upper chest and his navel connected by hair running like a line, but bare of hair other than that; hairy of arms, shoulders, and the upper parts of the chest; with long forearms, ample hands, thick palms and soles of the feet; with extended fingers and well-arched feet; lively of step when he walked, as though he were descending a slope [or] falling off | a boulder; when he turned round, he turned altogether; having a lowered glance, so that he looked toward the ground more than he looked toward the sky; having a usually watchful gaze, so that when he met someone, he greeted them first off. Most of his sitting was squatting on his heels, and he used to eat (seated) on the ground. If a man addressed him saying, “Messenger of God!” he would say, “Here I am!”<sup>692</sup> If the man said, “Abū l-Qāsim!” he would reply, “Abū l-Qāsim!” If the man said, “Muhammad,” he would reply, “Muhammad!” Whenever a man took his hand, he would not withdraw it until the man himself withdrew it. Whenever someone tugged him by his robe, he would not try to pull it away from him until he let him go. Whenever someone begged something from him, he would not turn him away without giving him what he wanted or with kind words.

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689 Main parallels: Ibn Sa'd, *Tabaqāt*, 1/ii, 120–131; al-Tabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:1789–1793 (trans. Poona-wala, *The History of al-Tabarī*, IX, 157–161); al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, 1:386–396.

690 Arabic *lam yumāshihī aḥadun min al-nāsi illā ṭālahu, wa-in kāna al-mumāshi'u lahu ṭawīlan*.

691 Reading with M, ‘abl, rather than ed. Leiden *ghayr* (except).

692 Arabic, *labbayka*.

### Those Who Resembled the Messenger of God<sup>693</sup>

Those who resembled the Messenger of God were: Ja'far b. Abī Ṭālib—the Messenger of God said, “You resemble my physical build and my character”—al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī—Fāṭima used to say, “By my father, (he is) like my father, not like ‘Alī,” and it is said that Abū Bakr said to al-Ḥasan, when he met him on one of the streets of Medina, “By my father, (you are) like the Prophet, not like ‘Alī”—Qutham b. al-‘Abbās b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib, Abū Sufyān b. al-Ḥārith b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib, whose name was al-Mughīra,<sup>694</sup> Hāshim b. al-Muṭṭalib<sup>695</sup> b. ‘Abd Manāf, and Muslim b. Mu‘attib<sup>696</sup> b. Abī Lahab.

### The Lineage of the Messenger of God, His Female Ancestors Back to Abraham, and the ‘Ātikas and Fāṭimas Who were His Ancestors

- 2:131 He is Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim b. ‘Abd Manāf b. Quṣayy b. Kilāb b. Murra b. Ka'b b. Lu'ayy b. Ghālib b. Fihrah b. Mālik b. al-Nadr b. Kināna b. Khuzayma b. Mudrika b. Ilyās b. Muḍar b. Nizār b. Ma'add b. ‘Adnān b. Udd b. Udad b. Hamaysa<sup>c</sup> b. Yashhub b. Amīn b. Nabt b. Qaydhār b. Ismā'il b. Ibrāhīm (Abraham) b. Tārikh (Terah)<sup>697</sup> b. Sārūgh (Serug) b. Arghū (Reu) b. Fāligh (Peleg) b. ‘Ābir (Eber) b. Shālīkh (Salah) [b. Arfakhshad (Arpachshad) b. Sām (Shem) b. Nūḥ (Noah) b. Lamik (Lamech) b. Matūshalakh (Methuselah)]<sup>698</sup> b. Akhnūkh (Enoch)—who was Idrīs the prophet—b. Yarid (Jared) b. Mahlā'il (Mahalalel) b. Qaynān (Kenan) b. Anūsh (Enosh) b. Shīth (Seth) b. Adam.

The mother of the Messenger of God was Āmina bt. Wahb b. ‘Abd Manāf b. Zuhra b. Kilāb; and her mother was Barra bt. ‘Abd al-‘Uzzā b. ‘Uthmān b. ‘Abd al-Dār b. Quṣayy. The mother of ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib was Fāṭima bt. ‘Amr b. ‘Ā'idh b. Imrān b. Makhzūm. The mother of ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib—who

693 Main parallel: al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, 1:539.

694 Reading, with al-Balādhurī *Ansāb*, 1:539 bottom, *wa-smuhu al-mughīra* (for M, ed. Leiden: *wa-'s.h.d b.n al-'r.h*); on al-Mughīra, see Ibn al-Kalbī (ed. Caskel) *Čamharat an-nasab*, 2:419, and 1:Table 7.

695 Reading with M marginal note and al-Balādhurī *Ansāb*, 1:539, instead of M (main text) and ed. Leiden: Hāshim b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib.

696 M reads Abī Mu‘attib.

697 The MSS omit Terah's father Nahor.

698 The material in brackets was added by the Leiden editor.

was Shaybat al-Ḥamd b. Hāshim—was Salmā bt. [‘Amr b. Zayd]<sup>699</sup> b. Labīd b. Khidāsh b. Āmir b. Ghanam b. ‘Adī b. al-Najjār, whose name was Zayd Manāt—others, however, say that his name was Taym al-Lāt—b. Tha’laba b. ‘Amr b. al-Khazraj. The mother of Hāshim was ‘Ātika bt. Murra b. Hilāl b. Fālij b. Dhakwān b. Tha’laba b. Buhtha b. Sulaym. [The mother of ‘Abd Manāf]<sup>700</sup>—whose name was al-Mughīra b. Quṣayy—was [Hubbā]<sup>701</sup> bt. Ḥulayl b. Ḥabashiyya b. | Salūl b. Ka’b b. ‘Amr b. Rabī‘a b. Ḥāritha b. ‘Amr b. Āmir, of Khuzā‘a.<sup>702</sup> The mother of Quṣayy—whose name was Zayd b. Kilāb—was Fāṭima bt. Sa’d b. Sayal b. Āmir al-Jādir, from ...<sup>703</sup> of the Azd, the Azd-Shanū‘a, who were allies of the Banū Nufātha b. ‘Adī b. al-Dīl b. Bakr b. ‘Abd Manāt b. Kināna. The mother of Kilāb b. Murra was Hind bt. Surayr b. Tha’laba b. al-Ḥārith b. Mālik b. Kināna b. Khuzayma. The mother of Murra b. Ka’b b. Lu’ayy was Māwiyya bt. al-Qayn b. Jasr b. Shay‘ al-Lāt b. Asad<sup>704</sup> b. Wabara b. Tagħlib b. Ḥulwān b. ‘Imrān b. al-Ḥāfi b. Quḍā‘a. The mother of Ka’b b. Lu’ayy was [Waḥshiyya bt. Shaybān. The mother of Lu’ayy]<sup>705</sup> b. Ghālib was Salmā bt. ‘Amr b. Rabī‘a b. Ḥāritha b. ‘Amr b. Khuzā‘a. The mother of Ghālib b. Fihār was Laylā bt. Sa’d b. Hudhayl b. Mudrika b. Ilyās b. Muḍar. The mother of Fihār b. Mālik was Jandala bt. al-Ḥārith b. Jandal b. Āmir b. Sa’d b. al-Ḥārith b. Muḍāq b. Āmir b. Dubb b. Jurhum. The mother of Mālik b. al-Naḍr was ‘Ātika—who was ‘Ikrišha, (also known as) al-Ḥaṣān—bt. ‘Adwān—who was al-Ḥārith—b. ‘Amr b. Qays b. ‘Aylān b. Muḍar. The mother of al-Naḍr b. Kināna was Barra bt. Murr b. Udd b. Ṭābikha b. Ilyās b. Muḍar. The mother of Kināna b. Khuzayma was Hind bt. Qays b. ‘Aylān. The mother of Khuzayma b. Mudrika was Salmā bt. Asad b. Rabī‘a b. Nizār. The mother of Mudrika b. Ilyās was Khindif—who was Laylā—bt. Ḥulwān b. ‘Imrān b. al-Ḥāfi b. Quḍā‘a. The mother of Ilyās b. Muḍar was al-Ḥanfā<sup>706</sup> bt. Iyād b. Nizār | b. Ma’add b. ‘Adnān. The mother of Muḍar b. Nizār was Shaqīqa bt. ‘Akk b. ‘Adnān b. Udad. The mother of Nizār b. Ma’add was Nā‘ima bt. Jawsham<sup>706</sup> b. ‘Adī b.

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<sup>699</sup> ‘Amr b. Zayd was added by the Leiden editor on the basis of Ibn Durayd, *Kitāb al-ishtiqāq*, 220. M, however, has Salmā bt. Khidāsh b. Umayya b. Labīd b. Āmir ...

<sup>700</sup> Added by the Leiden editor.

<sup>701</sup> Added by the Leiden editor.

<sup>702</sup> Following L. M has “...Āmir b. Khuzā‘a,” but Khuzā‘a was the by-name of ‘Amr b. Rabī‘a b. Ḥāritha b. ‘Amr Muzayqiyā, cf. Ibn al-Kalbī (ed. Caskel), *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, 1:Tafel 196.

<sup>703</sup> Lacuna in M, ed. Leiden; ed. Leiden omits “from.”

<sup>704</sup> Following Ibn al-Kalbī (ed. Caskel), *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, 1:Tafel 297. M, ed. Leiden: Jasr b. Sh.y.‘ Allāh b. al-Asad. Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, 1:534: Māwiya bt. al-Qayn b. Jasr b. Shuyay‘ Allāh b. Asad ...

<sup>705</sup> Added by the Leiden editor.

<sup>706</sup> M, ed. Leiden: Jusham; corrected by the Leiden editor.

Dubb b. Jurhum. The mother of Ma'add b. 'Adnān was Tayma bt. Yashjub b. Ya'rūb b. Qaḥṭān. [...]<sup>707</sup> The mother of Udd b. Udad was al-Ba'jā<sup>708</sup> bt. 'Amr b. Tubba' b. Sa'd Dhī Fā'ish b. Ḥimyar. The mother of Udad b. al-Hamaysa' was Ḥayya bt. Qaḥṭān. The mother of al-Hamaysa' b. Yashjub was Ḥāritha<sup>709</sup> bt. Murād b. Zur'a b. Dhī Ra'īn b. Ḥimyar. The mother of Yashjub b. Amīn was Quṭāma bt. 'Alī b. Jurhum. [...]<sup>710</sup> The mother of Ismā'il b. Ibrāhīm was Hājar (Hagar), who was slave girl to Sāra, the mother of Ishāq (Isaac); she was a Copt, but others allege that she was Byzantine. The mother of Ibrāhīm—he was Ibrāhīm b. Tārikh—was Adnayyā<sup>711</sup> bt. B.r<sup>712</sup> b. Arghū b. Fāligh b. Ābir b. Shālikh.<sup>713</sup>

It is reported that the Messenger of God often said, "I am the offspring of the 'Ātikas," or sometimes he said, "I am the offspring of the 'Ātikas of Sulaym."<sup>714</sup> Those 'Ātikas who bore him were twelve women named 'Ātika, ten of them from Muḍar, one from Qaḥṭān, and one from Quḍā'a. Those from Muḍar were three from Quraysh, three from Sulaym, two from 'Adwān, and one each from Hudhayl and Asad. As for the women from Quraysh, the following were his ancestors through Asad b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā: [the mother of Asad b.]<sup>715</sup> 'Abd al-'Uzzā was al-Ḥuẓayyā,<sup>716</sup> (whose real name) was Rayṭa bt. Ka'b b. Sa'd b. Taym

<sup>707</sup> Although there is no visible lacuna in the MSS, the Leiden editor assumed that the genealogy of the mother of 'Adnān has dropped out of the text.

<sup>708</sup> Conjectural reading of an otherwise unattested name written undotted in M, C; another possible reading is al-Na'jā.

<sup>709</sup> As corrected by the Leiden editor. M: Jāriya (or, Ḥāritha, the letters are undotted) bt. Murād b. Zur'a; C similarly, except that the copyist apparently has dotted the first name as Ḥāritha.

<sup>710</sup> Although there is no visible lacuna in the MSS, the Leiden editor assumed that the genealogy of the mothers of Amīn, Nabt, and Qaydhar has dropped out of the text.

<sup>711</sup> Vocalization conjectural: '.d.n.y.ā.

<sup>712</sup> Conjectural; unpointed in M, C.

<sup>713</sup> Cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:346, which gives two versions of Ibrāhīm's (Abraham's) maternal ancestry, both largely different from that provided here. Jewish sources give the name of Abraham's mother as Emtelai, the daughter of Karnabo (see Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews*, 1:186; Ginzberg's note, 5:208–209, lists the variants, none of which can be easily matched with the Arabic).

<sup>714</sup> For similar lists of the Prophet's female ancestors who bore the name 'Ātika or Fāṭima, see al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, 1:532–535; Ibn Sa'd, *Tabaqāt*, 1/1, 32–36.

<sup>715</sup> As restored by the Leiden editor; C, M have a visible lacuna.

<sup>716</sup> M, ed. Leiden: al-Ḥuẓayyā; corrected on the basis of Wüstenfeld, *Genealogische Tabellen*, R. 19; cf. Muhammad ibn Ḥabib, *Kitāb al-Muhabbar*, 18, 19, 23, 47, which also has al-Ḥuẓayyā.

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b. Murra; her mother was Qabla<sup>717</sup> bt. Ḥudhāfa b. Jumāḥ; her mother was Umayma bt. | Āmir b. al-Ḥān<sup>718</sup> b. al-Ḥārith, who was Ghassān b. Khuzā‘a; and her mother was (1) [Ātika bt. Hilāl]<sup>719</sup> b. Wuhayb [b. Ḏabba b. al-Ḥārith]<sup>720</sup> b. Fihr; Hilāl b. Wuhayb's mother was (2) Ātika bt. ‘Utwāra b. al-Ṭarib b. al-Ḥārith b. Fihr; and her mother was (3) Ātika bt. Yakhluḍ b. al-Naḍr b. Kināna b. Khuzayma.

As for the women from Sulaym, the following were his ancestors through Hāshim: the mother of Hāshim b. ‘Abd Manāf, [who was (1) Ātika bt. Murra b. Hilāl]<sup>721</sup> b. Sulaym b. Maṇṣūr; the mother of Murra b. Hilāl, who was (2) Ātika bt. Murra b. ‘Adī b. Sulaymān b. Quṣayy b. Khuzā‘a; and it is said that she was (3) Ātika bt. Jābir b. Qunfudh b. Mālik b. ‘Awf b. Imru’ al-Qays b. Buhtha b. Sulaym.

As for the two women of ‘Adwān, they were his ancestors through the maternal ancestors of his father ‘Abdallāh and through Mālik b. al-Naḍr. As for the one who was his ancestor through ‘Abdallāh, she was his ancestor seven generations back<sup>722</sup>—some say five—Ātika bt. Āmir b. Zarib b. Amr b. Yashkur b. al-Ḥārith, who was ‘Adwān b. Amr b. Qays b. Aylān. Those who say she was five generations back say that she was Ātika bt. ‘Abdallāh b. al-Ḥārith b. Wā’ila b. Zarib b. Amr. As for the [second] woman of ‘Adwān, she was the mother of Mālik b. al-Naḍr b. Kināna, and (her name) was Ātika bt. ‘Adwān b. Amr b. Qays b. Aylān.

As for the woman of Hudhayl, his ancestry through Hāshim was: the mother of Hāshim, Ātika bt. Murra b. Hilāl, whose mother was Māwiyya bt. Ḥawra b. Amr b. Salūl b. Ṣaṣa‘a b. Mu‘āwiya b. Bakr b. Hawāzin, and the mother of Mu‘āwiya b. Bakr b. Hawāzin was Ātika bt. Sa‘d b. Hudhayl.

As for the woman of Asad, | his ancestor three generations back from Kilāb b. Murra was Ātika bt. Dūdān b. Asad b. Khuzayma.

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As for the woman of Qahṭān, she was his ancestor through Ghālib b. Fihr [b. Mālik]<sup>723</sup> b. al-Naḍr b. Kināna: the mother of Ghālib b. Fihr was Laylā bt.

<sup>717</sup> Ibn Ḥabib, *Kitāb al-Muḥabbat*, 19, 47, reads Qayla; a note on p. 18 points out that the name of Rayṭā's mother is also given as Māwiyya.

<sup>718</sup> Ibn Ḥabib, *Kitāb al-Muḥabbat*, 47 has ‘Āmir al-Jān b. al-Ḥārith.

<sup>719</sup> Restored by the Leiden editor; there is a visible lacuna in M.

<sup>720</sup> Restored by the Leiden editor; there is a visible lacuna in M.

<sup>721</sup> Restored by the Leiden editor; no lacuna is visible in M.

<sup>722</sup> Arabic *al-sābi‘atu min ummahātihi* (the seventh of his mothers), that is, his great-great-great-grandmother, seven generations before him.

<sup>723</sup> Added by the Leiden editor.

[Sa‘d b.]<sup>724</sup> Hudhayl b. Mudrika, whose mother was Salmā bt. Ṭābikha b. Ilyās b. Muḍar, and her mother was ‘Ātika bt. al-Azd b. al-Ghawth b. Nabt [b.] Mālik b. Zayd b. Kahlān b. Saba’ b. Yashjub b. Ya‘rub b. Qaḥṭān—and she was the female ancestor (of the Prophet) three generations back from al-Naḍr b. Kināna.<sup>725</sup>

As for the woman of Quḍā‘a, she was his ancestor through Ka'b b. Lu‘ayy—she was the latter’s ancestor three generations back: ‘Ātika bt. Rashdān b. Qays b. Juhayna b. Zayd b. Sūd b. Aslam b. al-Ḥāfi b. Quḍā‘a.

### Names of the Fāṭimas Who Bore Him

He<sup>726</sup> said: More than one scholar informed me that at the battle of Ḥunayn he would say “God is most great!”<sup>727</sup> and would say, “I am the son of the Fāṭimas.” The genealogists have informed me that four women named Fāṭima were female ancestors of his: one woman from Quraysh, two from Qays, and one from Azd.

As for the woman from Quraysh, through his father, ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib, he was descended from Fāṭima bt. ‘Amr b. ‘Āidh b. Imrān b. Makhzūm.<sup>728</sup> The two women of Qays were the mother of ‘Amr b. ‘Āidh b. Imrān—she was Fāṭima bt. [Rabī‘a b.]<sup>729</sup> ‘Abd al-‘Uzzā b. Rizām b. Bakr b. Hawāzin—and her mother, Fāṭima bt. [al-Ḥārith b.]<sup>730</sup> Buhtha b. Sulaym b. [Mansūr].<sup>731</sup> The woman of Azd was the mother of Quṣayy b. Kilāb—she was Fāṭima bt. Sa‘d b. Sayal.

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<sup>724</sup> Added by the Leiden editor.

<sup>725</sup> Sic. One would expect “three generations back from Ghālib b. Fihr.”

<sup>726</sup> The referent of the pronoun is unclear. It apparently refers to an unnamed informant of al-Ya‘qūbī.

<sup>727</sup> Ed. Leiden reads *kāna yakthuru* (he would do frequently), with note that text is unpointed, as it is in M; one could read *kāna yukabbiru*, which makes better sense of the passage. The translation follows this reading.

<sup>728</sup> She was the wife of ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib, and thus the Prophet’s grandmother.

<sup>729</sup> Added by the Leiden editor.

<sup>730</sup> Added by the Leiden editor.

<sup>731</sup> Added by the Leiden editor.

## The Governors of the Messenger of God

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The governors of the Messenger of God at the time of his death were: over Mecca, ‘Attāb b. Asīd b. al-Āṣ. Over al-Baḥrāyn,<sup>732</sup> al-‘Alā’ b. al-Ḥadramī and al-Mundhir b. Sāwā al-Tamīmī—some say, instead of al-‘Alā’, Abān b. Sa‘īd b. al-Āṣ. Over Oman, ‘Abbād and Jayfar, sons of al-Julandā—some say ‘Amr b. al-Āṣ. Over al-Ṭā’if, ‘Uthmān b. Abī l-Āṣ. Over Yemen, Mu‘ādh b. Jabal and Abū Mūsā ‘Abdallāh b. Qays al-Ash‘arī, who instructed the people.<sup>733</sup> Over the districts<sup>734</sup> of al-Janad and Ṣan‘ā’, al-Muhājir b. [Abī]<sup>735</sup> Umayya al-Makhzūmī. Over Ḥaḍramawt, Ziyād b. Labīd al-Anṣārī. Over the districts<sup>736</sup> of Yemen, Khālid b. Sa‘īd b. al-Āṣ. Over one of its districts,<sup>737</sup> Ya‘lā b. Munya al-Tamīmī. Over Najrān, Farwa b. Musayk al-Murādī—some have said it was Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb. In charge of the alms payments (*ṣadaqāt*)<sup>738</sup> of the (tribes of) Asad and Ṭayyī<sup>739</sup> was ‘Adī b. Ḥātim. In charge of the alms payments of the (tribe of) Ḥanzala<sup>740</sup> was Mālik b. Nuwayra al-Ḥanzalī. Some say that in charge of the alms payments of the Banū Yarbū‘ and those of the tribes of ‘Amr and Tamīm<sup>741</sup> was Samura b. ‘Amr b. Janāb al-‘Anbarī. In charge of the alms payments of the Banū Sa‘d was al-Zibriqān b. Badr. In charge of the alms payments of Muqā‘is and al-Buṭūn<sup>742</sup> was Qays b. ‘Āsim.

<sup>732</sup> Al-Baḥrāyn in early usage refers to all of eastern Arabia, not merely to the island that now bears that name.

<sup>733</sup> That is, in the rudiments of Islam; on his subsequent career, see the article by Michael Lecker in *EI*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. al-Ash‘arī, Abū Mūsā.

<sup>734</sup> Arabic *makhālf* (pl. of *mikhlāf*), a term restricted to the geographic regions of Yemen.

<sup>735</sup> Added by the Leiden editor.

<sup>736</sup> Perhaps to be interpreted as “some of the districts (*makhālf*).”

<sup>737</sup> Arabic *nāhiya min nawāhihā*, apparently still referring to Yemen.

<sup>738</sup> In texts relating to the time of Muḥammad, *ṣadaqa*, later interpreted as a kind of voluntary alms, seems to refer especially to a tax levied on the cattle owned by nomadic groups. See the article by T. H. Weir in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ṣadaqa.

<sup>739</sup> The tribes of Asad and Ṭayyī lived in Najd at the time.

<sup>740</sup> Ḥanzala was a sub-tribe of Tamīm (see next note).

<sup>741</sup> Tamīm was a large tribal group consisting mostly of pastoral nomads that dominated much of northeastern Arabia in Muḥammad’s day; many of its subordinate lineages, including Ḥanzala, Yarbū‘, ‘Amr b. Zayd Manāt, Sa‘d b. Zayd Manāt, Muqā‘is, and al-Buṭūn, functioned as virtually independent tribes. See the article by M. Lecker in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Tamīm b. Murr.

<sup>742</sup> See the preceding note.

### Report of the (Events at) the Portico of the Tribe of Sā‘ida and the Oath of Allegiance to Abū Bakr<sup>743</sup>

The Helpers (*Anṣār*) gathered at the portico of the Banū Sā‘ida<sup>744</sup> on the day the Messenger of God died [and] was to be washed.<sup>745</sup> They seated Sa‘d b. ‘Ubāda al-Khazrajī, bound his head (with a turban), and folded a cushion for him.<sup>746</sup> Abū Bakr, ‘Umar, and the Emigrants found out, and they came | hurriedly and turned people’s attention away from Sa‘d. Abū Bakr, ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, and Abū ‘Ubayda b. al-Jarrāḥ came forward and said, “Assemblies of the Helpers! The Messenger of God was one of us,<sup>747</sup> and therefore we are more entitled to his place.” The Helpers replied, “A commander from among us and a commander from among you!”<sup>748</sup> At this, Abū Bakr said, “The commanders from among us, and you the advisers!”<sup>749</sup> Thābit b. Qays b. Shammās then stood up—he was the orator (*khaṭīb*) of the Helpers—and spoke, pointing out their merit. Abū Bakr replied, “We do not deny their merit—indeed you are entitled to the merit you have mentioned—but Quraysh are closer<sup>750</sup> to Muḥammad than you are. Here is ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, of whom the Messenger of God said, ‘O God, strengthen the religion through him!’ And here is Abū ‘Ubayda b. al-Jarrāḥ, of whom the Messenger of God said, ‘The trusted one<sup>751</sup> of this community’ Pledge allegiance to whichever of the two you wish!” But the two

743 Al-Ya‘qūbī provides a very abbreviated account of this episode, based in part on fuller accounts in Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 1013–1018 (trans. Guillaume, 683–687); and al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:1820–1829 (trans. Poonawala, 189–202) and 1837–1847 (trans. Donner, 1–13). For an overview of the literature on the subject, see the article by G. Lecomte in *ET<sup>2</sup>*, s.v. al-Saqīfa. An extensive discussion can be found in Wilfred Madelung, *The Succession to Muḥammad*, especially 28–56.

744 The Banū Sā‘ida were one of the five main clans of the Khazraj tribe of Medina. Their chief was Sa‘d b. ‘Ubāda, mentioned in the next line. The portico (*saqīfa*) was some sort of covered area suitable for communal meetings.

745 Ed. Leiden assumes a lacuna here; M indicates none, but the disjointed syntax of the Arabic (the word “and” is not in the text) suggests that something has dropped out.

746 The other accounts mention that Sa‘d was ill; hence these actions.

747 That is, he was of our tribe, Quraysh.

748 That is, a kind of duumvirate in which two men would jointly hold authority.

749 Arabic *wuzarā'* (plural of *wazīr*).

750 Arabic *awlā bi-muḥammadin*: possibly “more worthy of Muḥammad” (that is, of his legitimacy).

751 Following M: *amīn* (cf. the parallel in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:1817–1818); ed. Leiden (apparently following C) reads *amīr* (commander).

of them refused<sup>752</sup> him and said, “By God, we are not such as to take precedence over you; you are the companion of the Messenger of God and ‘the second of two.’”<sup>753</sup> Abū ‘Ubayda then grasped the hand of Abū Bakr;<sup>754</sup> ‘Umar followed suit, and those of Quraysh who were with him pledged their allegiance to him. Then Abū ‘Ubayda called out, “Companies of Helpers! You were the first of those who offered assistance; do not be the first to alter and change.” ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. ‘Awf<sup>755</sup> stood up and said, “Companies of Helpers! Even if you possess merit, there is no one among you like Abū Bakr, ‘Umar, and ‘Ali.” Al-Mundhir b. Arqam<sup>756</sup> stood up and said, “We do not deny the merit of those you have mentioned; indeed, there is a man among them such that if he had sought this matter, no one would have disputed him for it: ‘Ali b. Abī Ṭālib.” Bashīr b. Sa‘d<sup>757</sup> of the Khazraj then jumped up and became the first of the Helpers to swear allegiance to him,<sup>758</sup> along with Usayd b. Ḥuḍayr al-Khazraji.<sup>759</sup> Then the people swore allegiance to him—men even began jumping over the pillow of Sa‘d b. Ubāda and even stepped on Sa‘d. ‘Umar said, “Kill Sa‘d—may God kill Sa‘d!”

Al-Barā’ b. Āzib<sup>760</sup> came, knocked at the door<sup>761</sup> of the Banū Hāshim, and said, “People of Hāshim! The oath of allegiance has been sworn to Abū Bakr!” At this some of them said, “The Muslims have never done anything new from

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<sup>752</sup> So emended by the Leiden editor (*fa-abayā ‘alayhi*); C, M: *fa-atayā ‘alayhi* (the two of them came to him), which is less idiomatic.

<sup>753</sup> That is, “the second of two in the cave,” a reference to the fact that Abū Bakr alone made the *hijra* with Muḥammad, during which they hid in a cave from a Meccan search party.

<sup>754</sup> The traditional handclasp signifying that one is swearing allegiance to another.

<sup>755</sup> ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. ‘Awf was an early companion of Prophet from the Banū Zuhra (Quraysh), renowned for piety and loyalty. See the article by Wilferd Madelung in *EI*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. ‘Abd al-Rahmān b ‘Awf.

<sup>756</sup> This spokesman for the Anṣār (Helpers) does not appear in the parallel accounts and apparently is unknown to other early sources.

<sup>757</sup> On Bashīr b. Sa‘d, a Medinese Companion of Prophet from a branch of the Khazraj, see the article by Michael Lecker in *EI*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. Bashīr b. Sa‘d.

<sup>758</sup> That is, to Abū Bakr.

<sup>759</sup> Usayd b. Ḥuḍayr from the ‘Abd al-Ashhal clan of al-Aws was one of Muḥammad’s earliest followers from Medina; see Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Isāba*, 1:234–235 (no. 185).

<sup>760</sup> On al-Barā’ b. Āzib, a Medinese Companion of the Prophet from the Banū al-Ḥāritha clan of al-Aws, see the article by Andreas Görke in *EI*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. al-Barā’ b. Āzib b. al-Ḥārith.

<sup>761</sup> Arabic *daraba l-bāba ‘alā Banī Hāshim* can also be interpreted as meaning, “shut the door on the Banū Hāshim.” In any case, the Banū Hāshim are portrayed as assembled in a *dār* (house) from which they emerge as a group, apparently intending to offer their allegiance to ‘Ali (“our companion”).

which we were absent, for we are closest to Muḥammad.” Whereupon al-‘Abbās said, “They have done so (now), by the Lord of the Ka’ba!” Now the Emigrants and Helpers never had had any doubt about ‘Alī,<sup>762</sup> and so when they<sup>763</sup> came out of the house, al-Faḍl b. al-‘Abbās, who was the spokesman of Quraysh, stood up to say, “People of Quraysh, it is not right that the succession (*khilāfa*) should become yours<sup>764</sup> through deceit; we are entitled to it before you, and our companion is more entitled to it than you are.” ‘Utba b. Abī Lahab<sup>765</sup> stood up and said:

I never thought that the matter would be diverted  
 from Hāshim and then from Abū l-Ḥasan among them:<sup>766</sup>  
 From the first of the people in belief and priority,  
 the person most knowledgeable about the Qur’ān and the *sunna*;  
 The last person to be in the Prophet’s presence, whom  
 Gabriel assisted in washing and shrouding (his body);  
 The one in whom is all (the good) that they have, whom they do not  
 doubt;  
 And the good that he has none of the people has.

‘Alī, however, sent to him and forbade him.<sup>767</sup> A group of Emigrants and Helpers held back from pledging allegiance to Abū Bakr and favored ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib; among them were al-‘Abbās b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib, al-Faḍl b. al-‘Abbās, al-Zubayr b. al-‘Awwām b. al-‘Āṣ, Khālid b. Sa‘īd, al-Miqdād b. ‘Amr, Salmān al-Fārisī, Abū Dharr al-Ghfārī, ‘Ammār b. Yāsir, al-Barā’ b. ‘Āzib, and Ubayy b. Ka'b.<sup>768</sup> | Abū Bakr therefore sent a message to ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, Abū ‘Ubayda b. al-Jarrāḥ,

2:139 762 That is, about his qualification for leadership.

763 That is, the Hāshimites.

764 Here al-Faḍl represents the claims of the clan of Hāshim (among them ‘Alī, whom he subsequently terms “our companion”) against those of the rest of Quraysh, including Abū Bakr, ‘Umar, etc.

765 ‘Utba b. Abī Lahab was a cousin of the Prophet, son of his determined enemy, his uncle Abū Lahab; he was a late follower of Muḥammad. On the varying attributions of the poem, see Madelung, *Succession*, 36–37.

766 That is, from ‘Alī, known by his *kunya* as Abū l-Ḥasan (Father of al-Ḥasan), after his oldest son.

767 The sentence appears to mean that ‘Alī sent a message to ‘Utba (or to al-Faḍl), forbidding him from stirring up opposition to Abū Bakr (so Madelung, *Succession*, 37, note 28, citing *Nahj al-Balāgha*, a commentary ‘Alī’s collected sermons).

768 All of them were early and distinguished companions of the Prophet.

and al-Mughīra b. Shu‘ba saying, “What do you think should be done?” They replied, “We think that you should meet with al-‘Abbās b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib and give him a share in this affair, to be for him and for his descendants after him—thereby cutting off the claim of ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib—as an argument for you against ‘Alī, if (al-‘Abbās) leans to your cause.”

Abū Bakr, ‘Umar, Abū ‘Ubayda b. al-Jarrāḥ, and al-Mughīra therefore set out and visited al-‘Abbās by night. Having praised and lauded God, Abū Bakr said: “Truly, God sent Muḥammad as a prophet and as a guardian<sup>769</sup> to the believers. He granted them the favor of his presence among them, until He chose for him that which is with Him,<sup>770</sup> and left to the people their affairs,<sup>771</sup> that they might choose for themselves with care for their own welfare.<sup>772</sup> They therefore have chosen me to be a guardian<sup>773</sup> over them and a shepherd for their affairs. I have been entrusted with that, and, with God’s aid and strengthening, I fear neither weakness, nor confusion, nor cowardice. *My success is only through God; I have put my trust in Him, and I turn in repentance to Him.*<sup>774</sup> But I continue to hear of a detractor who speaks in opposition to the majority of the Muslims, and takes you<sup>775</sup> as a refuge, that you<sup>776</sup> might be his invincible fortress and his eloquent argument.<sup>777</sup> Either you<sup>778</sup> join the people in what they have agreed upon, or you turn them aside from that to which they have inclined. We have come to you<sup>779</sup> desiring that you<sup>780</sup> should have a share in this affair, to be for you and for your descendants after you, since you were the paternal uncle of the Messenger of God. If the people considered your position and the position of your companion, [they would accept that]<sup>781</sup> on your<sup>782</sup> behalf. Go gently now, Banū Hāshim, for the Messenger of God was one of us and one of you.”

<sup>769</sup> Arabic *wali*.

<sup>770</sup> That is, until God summoned Muḥammad to Him in death.

<sup>771</sup> Reading with M, *umūrahum*, for ed. Leiden *umūran* (affairs).

<sup>772</sup> Arabic *mushfiqīn*; or perhaps “in fear (of the coming Hour)”, cf. Qur’ān 21:49.

<sup>773</sup> Arabic, *wali*.

<sup>774</sup> Qur’ān 11:88.

<sup>775</sup> The Arabic pronoun is plural, referring to al-‘Abbās and others of the Banū Hāshim.

<sup>776</sup> Reading with M, *takūnūna* (2nd person plural); ed. Leiden, *takūnu* (2nd person singular).

<sup>777</sup> Reading with M, *khuṭṭatahu al-badī*. The first word is unpointed in M; ed. Leiden reconstructs it as *khaṭbahu* (his affair).

<sup>778</sup> Plural.

<sup>779</sup> Singular.

<sup>780</sup> Singular.

<sup>781</sup> Lacuna in ed. Leiden and M; the Leiden editor proposed this emendation.

<sup>782</sup> Plural.

Then ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb said, “Yes, by God! More exactly:<sup>783</sup> we have not come to you to ask you for something, but out of dismay that the attack on what the Muslims have agreed upon should come from you and lest matters | should get out of hand both for you and for them. So look out for yourselves!”

Then al-‘Abbās praised and lauded God and said, “Truly, God sent Muḥammad, as you<sup>784</sup> have described, as a prophet and as a guardian to the believers, granting favor to his community through him, until God took him to Himself and chose for him that which is with Him, leaving to the Muslims responsibility for their affairs, that they might choose for themselves those who would reach the truth, unswayed by whim. So if you have been (chosen) by the Messenger of God, you have received your due; and if you have been (chosen) by the believers, we are of them. We did not put ourselves forward in your affair as an obligation, nor did we take a neutral position, nor did we withdraw out of anger. If you<sup>785</sup> have a right to this affair only by (the choice of) the believers, you have no right, since we are unwilling. How far your statement that they have spoken against you is from your claim that they chose you and inclined to you! How far your being named the successor (*khalfā*) of God’s Messenger is from your statement that He<sup>786</sup> left matters to the people to choose, and so they choose you! As for what you say you will grant me: if it is the right of the believers (to grant), it is not for you to decide about it; and if it is our right, we will not be satisfied with some of it to the exclusion of the rest. Go gently now! For indeed the Messenger of God was of a tree of which we are the branches, while you are its neighbors!”

Then they left his presence. Among those who held back from swearing allegiance to Abū Bakr was Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb. He said, “Banū ‘Abd Manāf,<sup>787</sup> are you content that someone other than (one of) you should govern this affair for you?” And he said to ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, “Stretch out your hand and I will swear allegiance to you.” With ‘Alī was Qusayy,<sup>788</sup> who said:

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<sup>783</sup> Reading *wa-aḥrā* for ed. Leiden and M *wa-ukhrā* (and another thing); L notes that the word is unpointed in C.

<sup>784</sup> The 2nd person pronoun, here and in the following sentences, is in the singular; al-‘Abbās is addressing Abū Bakr specifically.

<sup>785</sup> That is, Abū Bakr.

<sup>786</sup> The pronoun could refer either to God (as in Abū Bakr’s speech) or to Muḥammad.

<sup>787</sup> The ‘Abd Manāf clan of Quraysh included both the clans of Umayya (to which Abū Sufyān belonged) and the clan of Hāshim (to which the Prophet, ‘Alī, and al-‘Abbās belonged). Abū Bakr was of the Quraysh clan of Taym, and hence not of ‘Abd Manāf.

<sup>788</sup> Otherwise unidentified.

Banū Hāshim, do not let the people take advantage of you,  
 especially Taym b. Murra or ‘Adī.<sup>789</sup>  
 The affair is yours only, and yours by right;  
 and the only one for it is Abū l-Hasan ‘Alī. |  
 Seize it, Abū l-Hasan, with the hand of a resolute man,  
 for you are the one who is hoped for, fully up to the affair.  
 Indeed, a man behind whom Quṣayy shoots<sup>790</sup>  
 is strong of protection, (even) when the people are far from a  
 conqueror.

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Khālid b. Sa‘id was away, and when he returned he came to ‘Alī and said, “Come and I will swear allegiance to you; for, by God, no one among the people is worthier to take Muḥammad’s place than you.” A group gathered round ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, calling on him to accept the oath of allegiance to him, but he said to them, “Go to this man with shaved heads.”<sup>791</sup> However, only three people went to him. When Abū Bakr and ‘Umar learned that a group of Emigrants and Helpers had gathered with ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib in the house of Fāṭima, daughter of the Messenger of God, they came with a group to attack the courtyard. ‘Alī came out with a sword, and ‘Umar met him. ‘Umar wrestled with him, threw him to the ground, and broke his sword, and they entered the courtyard. Then Fāṭima came out saying, “By God, you will get out or I will uncover my hair and cry out to God for help!” So they left, and those who were in the house came out. The people waited a few days; then they began one by one [to swear allegiance].<sup>792</sup> ‘Alī, however, swore allegiance only after six months—some say forty days.

789 That is, either the clan of Abū Bakr (Taym b. Murra), or that of ‘Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb (‘Adī b. Ka‘b).

790 That is, in whose defense Quṣayy shoots arrows.

791 That is, to Abū Bakr, whom ‘Alī contemptuously refuses to name; the shaved heads presumably were to be a show of distress.

792 That is, to Abū Bakr. The text is badly disturbed. In M, the passage straddles the page break between folios 91b and 92a, and the sentence as originally written makes no sense; there is clearly a lacuna: “Then they began one by one [page break] ‘Alī swear allegiance.” To make sense of this, another hand has added the word *yubāyi‘ūna* (swear allegiance) in the margin at the bottom of folio 91b, and *‘Aliyyan wa-lam* (“‘Alī [accusative case], and did not ...”) in the margin at the top of folio 92a. Thus, the text in M, with the copyist’s clumsy attempt to make grammatical sense, says: “Then they began one by one to swear allegiance to ‘Alī, and ‘Alī did not swear allegiance except after six months ...” This is clearly wrong, as the gist of the story in every source is that Abū Bakr received the oath of allegiance, even though in some sources (as in al-Ya‘qūbi) sentiment for ‘Alī’s claim is expressed.

### [The Days of Abū Bakr]<sup>793</sup>

The swearing of allegiance to Abū Bakr took place on Tuesday, 2 Rabī‘ I 11, on the day on which the Messenger of God died.<sup>794</sup> Abū Bakr’s name was ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Uthmān b. ‘Āmir, and he was called “Atīq” (“comely”) because of his handsomeness. His mother | was Salmā bt. Ṣakhr of the Banū Taym b. Murra. His home was in al-Sunḥ outside Medina, where his wife Ḥabība bint Khārijah was. He also had a home in Medina, where Asmā’ bint ‘Umays was.<sup>795</sup> When he took charge, his place of residence was Medina. Fāṭima, the daughter of the Messenger of God, came to him to seek her inheritance from her father, but he said to her, “The Messenger of God said, ‘We, the company of prophets, do not bequeath; what we leave behind is charity.’” She replied: “Is it God’s wish that you inherit from your father, but that I do not inherit from my father? Didn’t the Messenger of God say, ‘A man should care for his children?’” Whereupon Abū Bakr wept profusely.

He ordered Usāma b. Zayd to go forth his army, but asked him to leave ‘Umar with him so that he might assist him in his affairs.<sup>796</sup> Usāma said, “And what do you say about yourself?” Abū Bakr replied, “Nephew, the people have done as you see; therefore leave me ‘Umar, and go your way.” So Usāma went out with the army. Abū Bakr saw him off, saying to him: “I am not commanding anything to you or ordering you to it; I am carrying out<sup>797</sup> what the Messenger of God ordered you to do. Proceed to where the Messenger of God appointed you.” Usāma therefore set out. He remained away for sixty days—or forty—from his departure until his return to Medina. Then he entered Medina with his standard (still) tied. He entered the mosque and prayed, and then went to his house, taking with him the standard that the Messenger of God had tied for him.

Upon taking charge of matters, Abū Bakr ascended the pulpit and sat one step lower than where the Messenger of God had sat. Having praised and lauded God, he said: “I have been given charge over you, but I am not the best of

<sup>793</sup> Section title supplied by the Leiden editor; not in M.

<sup>794</sup> May 28, 632.

<sup>795</sup> Abū Bakr’s third wife; see the article by W. M. Watt in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Abū Bakr; according to Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb* (ed. Hyderabad), 12:398, she was the widow of Ja‘far b. Abī Ṭālib and, after Abū Bakr’s death, was married to ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. On Abū Bakr’s name, see the article by Khalil Athamina in *EI*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. Abū Bakr.

<sup>796</sup> Cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:1851.

<sup>797</sup> Reading with M, *wa-anā murfidh* instead of the Leiden editor’s emendation to make sense of a miscopied word in C, *wa-innamā āmiru-ka* (and I order you only ...).

you; therefore, if I do what is right,<sup>798</sup> follow me, but if I go astray, set me right. I do not say that I am the best of you in merit, but I am the best of you to bear the burden." He praised the Helpers and said, "With regard to you, company of Helpers, I am as a certain poet said:<sup>799</sup>

May God reward Ja'far on our account, (for what he did) when our

sandals

caused us to slip among the trampers and to flee.

They<sup>800</sup> refused to turn away from us, though even our mother,  
had she experienced from us what they did, would have turned from  
us."

2:143

The Helpers remained aloof from Abū Bakr. The Quraysh were angered by this, and their orators took to talking about it. 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ came to them, and they said to him, "Go and say something to disparage the Helpers." He did so, whereupon al-Fadl b. al-'Abbās stood up and responded to them. Then he went to 'Alī to tell him, and recited to him a poem that he had composed. 'Alī went out angrily and entered the mosque. He spoke favorably about the Helpers and replied to what 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ had said. When the Helpers learned of it, they were delighted and said, "We don't care what anyone says, given how well 'Alī has spoken." They met with Ḥassān b. Thābit<sup>801</sup> saying, "Answer al-Fadl!"<sup>802</sup> So he said, "If I respond to him in a rhyme different from his, it would disgrace me." So they said, "Then mention only 'Alī." So he recited,<sup>803</sup>

May God give a good reward—and reward is in His hand—  
to Abū l-Ḥasan for us—and who is like Abū l-Ḥasan?

798 Arabic *in istaqamtu*, literally, "If I go straight," recalling "the straight path" (*al-ṣirāt al-mustaqīm*) of Qur'ān 1:6.

799 The poem is evidently a lament for the death of 'Alī's older brother Ja'far, who was killed at the battle of Mu'ta in southern Syria.

800 That is, Ja'far and his men. The sense is, "We failed to stand firm in battle, but Ja'far and his men refused to turn away from helping us, though even our mother would have turned away in disgust from our cowardice."

801 The poet who had been the Prophet's panegyrist; he was a member of the Khazraj of Medina and one of the Helpers (*Anṣār*).

802 Meaning, perhaps, that he should recite something supporting what al-Fadl had said—unless al-Fadl in the text here is a slip for 'Amr.

803 This poem is not found in *The Diwān of Ḥassān ibn Thābit*, and indeed no poem in that collection mentions 'Alī (Abū l-Ḥasan).

You have taken precedence over Quraysh with that which you merit;  
 your breast is opened and your heart well-tested.

Certain mighty men of Quraysh have desired  
 your place. How far removed is thinness from fatness!

2:144 You possess every dignity in Islam,  
 [...]<sup>804</sup> of the halter.

You have ever been the hope of Lu'ayy b. Ghālib<sup>805</sup>  
 both for what has been and what has not yet come to be.

You cared for the Messenger of God (when he was) among us; his charge  
 was to you—and who, who was more suited to it than you?

Were you not his (foster) brother in the “brothering”<sup>806</sup> and his heir<sup>807</sup>  
 the most knowledgeable of Fīhr<sup>808</sup> of the Book and the Sunnas?

Some of the Arabs<sup>809</sup> claimed to be prophets; some of them apostatized and placed crowns on their heads, and some refused to pay the *zakāt* to Abū Bakr. Among those who claimed to be prophets was Ṭulayḥa b. Khuwaylid al-Asadī<sup>810</sup> in his districts; his backers were the Ghaṭafān, whose chief was 'Uyayna b. Ḥiṣn al-Fazārī. Also among them were al-Aswad al-'Ansī<sup>811</sup> in Yemen, Musaylima b. Ḥabīb al-Hanafī<sup>812</sup> in al-Yamāma, and Sajāh bt. al-Ḥārith al-Tamīmiyya<sup>813</sup>—she

804 Although the MSS show no break, the metrical incompleteness of the line indicates that one or two words have fallen out.

805 One of the main subdivisions of Quraysh, including most of its major clans.

806 An episode when, shortly after the *hijra* to Medina, the Prophet paired Meccan Emigrants, most of whom had no means of making a living, with Medinese Helpers, so that the latter could help sustain the former until they became established.

807 Arabic, *waṣī*: in Shī'ī usage, the term refers to the transmission of the God-given right to rule from one Imam to the next.

808 That is, Quraysh.

809 Arabic *al-'arab*, a collective term for all the major Arab tribes outside of those settled in Mecca and Medina. For a general account of the falling away from Islam, conventionally termed “Apostasy” (Arabic, *Ridda*) of some of the Arab tribes and the appearance of self-proclaimed prophets among them, see the article by M. Lecker in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *al-Ridda*.

810 On Ṭulayḥa b. Khuwaylid b. Nawfal, a soothsayer (*kāhin*) and chief of the Banū Faq'as, a clan of the Asad, see the article by Ella Landau-Tasseron in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ṭulayḥa.

811 On al-Aswad b. Ka'b al-'Ansī, of the tribe of Madhhij, whose death took place during the lifetime of Muḥammad, see the article by W. Montgomery Watt in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Aswad b. Ka'b.

812 Cf. above, ed. Leiden, 2:87, where Musaylima is reported to have led a delegation of the Banū Ḥanifa to Medina in the last year of Muḥammad's life; cf. the article by W. Montgomery Watt in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Musaylima.

813 On the career of Sajāh, see the article by V. Vacca in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Sadjāh.

then married Musaylima, and al-Ash'ath b. Qays was her muezzin. Abū Bakr marched out with his army to Dhū l-Qaṣṭā and summoned 'Amr b. al-Āṣ, saying: "Amr, you are the member of Quraysh with the best judgment. Ṭulayḥa has claimed prophecy; what do you think about (sending) 'Alī (against him)?" 'Amr replied, "He will not obey you." Abū Bakr said, "What about al-Zubayr?" 'Amr replied, "Brave and good." Abū Bakr said, "What about Ṭalḥa?" 'Amr replied, "For the easy life and harsh criticism." Abū Bakr said, "What about Sa'd?" 'Amr replied, "A scythe of war." Abū Bakr said, "What about 'Uthmān?" 'Amr replied, "Sit him down and make use of his judgment." Abū Bakr said, "What about Khālid b. al-Walid?" 'Amr replied, "A Basūs<sup>814</sup> of war and defender to the death, with the patience of a sand-grouse and the pounce of a lion." When the war-banner was assigned to Khālid, Thābit | b. Qays b. Shammās<sup>815</sup> stood up and said: "Company of Quraysh, was there no man among us<sup>816</sup> suited for what you are suited? We are not blind to what we see, or deaf to what we hear, but the Messenger of God commanded us to be patient, and so we are being patient."

2:145

Then Hassān stood up and said,<sup>817</sup>

O men, help us to deal with these distressing vicissitudes,  
and with what these men<sup>818</sup> have intended against the Helpers!  
They have brought in not a single leader from us,  
my friend, for any important task.<sup>819</sup>

This speech was so distressing to Abū Bakr that he put Thābit b. Qays in charge of the Helpers,<sup>820</sup> and sent out Khālid in charge of the Emigrants. (The latter) set out to confront Ṭulayha, scattering his forces and killing a large number of his followers. He captured 'Uyayna b. al-Hiṣn and sent him, shackled in irons, to Abū Bakr, along with thirty captives. When 'Uyayna entered Medina, the boys

<sup>814</sup> Al-Basūs was the name of a legendary woman of pre-Islamic Arabia, who is said to have sparked a war between the tribes of Bakr and Tagħlib. See the article by J. Fück in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Basūs bint Munkidh.

<sup>815</sup> Thābit b. Qays b. Shammās al-Khazrajī was the orator (*khatib*) of the Anṣār (Helpers); see above, ed. Leiden, 2:137.

<sup>816</sup> That is, among the Helpers (*Anṣār*).

<sup>817</sup> This poem is also not found in *The Dīwān of Hassān ibn Thābit*.

<sup>818</sup> Arabic, *al-qawm* (the men, people), often used to designate the enemy.

<sup>819</sup> Literally, "for raveling or unraveling (a rope)."

<sup>820</sup> Cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:1887.

took to calling out to him, “Apostate!”<sup>821</sup> But he would reply, “I never believed even for the blinking of an eye.”<sup>822</sup> (Abū Bakr) called on him to repent and let him go his way. (‘Uyayna) joined Ṭulayḥa in Syria and made a pact of protection with the Banū Ḥanīfa. He sent a poem to Abū Bakr, making excuses to him and returning to Islam, saying in it:

Does al-Ṣiddīq<sup>823</sup> accept that I am returning  
and renouncing the evils I caused?  
Verily I bear witness, after having strayed,  
with true testimony that I will not deny.

When Abū Bakr learned what he had said, he relented towards him and sent a message to him. He came back, but he arrived only after Abū Bakr had died and ‘Umar was standing at his grave. ‘Umar sent him to Iraq with Sa‘d b. Abī Waqqās, but he ordered Sa‘d not to appoint him (to any position of command).

As for al-Aswad b. ‘Anaza al-‘Ansī, he had already claimed prophethood in 2:146 the lifetime of the Messenger | of God. When the oath of allegiance was sworn to Abū Bakr, his affair became public, and a group of people followed him in it. Qays b. Makshūḥ al-Murādī and Fayrūz al-Daylamī killed him; they entered his house while he was drunk and killed him.<sup>824</sup>

Abū Bakr had appointed Shurahbīl b. Hasana and had ordered him to head for Musaylima the Liar; if not, he was to bring him his opinion.<sup>825</sup> Afterward, he assigned the command to Khālid and sent him to be over Shurahbīl. Khālid wrote to Shurahbīl: “Don’t move too fast, so that I can catch up with you.” Khālid b. al-Walīd made his way quickly to al-Yamāma, to Musaylima al-Ḥanafī the Liar. Musaylima had embraced Islam, but in the year 10 he claimed to be a prophet and alleged that he was a partner to the Messenger of God in prophecy. He had written to the Messenger of God: “I have been made a partner with you—half the earth is yours, half of it mine—but the Quraysh are a people who do not act justly.” The Messenger of God wrote back to him: “From Muhammad the Messenger of God, to Musaylima the Liar. Thereafter: *Verily the earth is God’s,*

<sup>821</sup> Ibid.

<sup>822</sup> In other words, he could not be called an apostate because he had not previously embraced the faith.

<sup>823</sup> “The Veracious,” a byname of Abū Bakr.

<sup>824</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, *Tarīkh*, 1:1864–1868, gives a long, colorful account of the episode.

<sup>825</sup> The Arabic is obscure (*wa-illā ya’tiyahu ra’yahu*); a word seems to have fallen out. Perhaps one can reconstruct: “... to head for Musaylima the Liar and bring him; if not (i.e., if he could not bring him), he was to bring Abū Bakr his opinion (about how to proceed).”

*He bequeaths it to whomever He wills of His servants, and the yield of it is for the God-fearing.”<sup>826</sup>*

Then Khālid encountered Mujjā'a,<sup>827</sup> who was with a group of men; he took them prisoner and cut off their heads, but he spared Mujjā'a and marched against Musaylima. Musaylima came out and fought him fiercely with those of Rabī'a and other tribes that were with him. A large number of the Muslims were killed. Then Musaylima was killed in a struggle: Abū Dujāna al-Anṣārī impaled him, but Musaylima strode towards him with the lance (in him) and killed him; Wahshī cast his spear at him, killing him—he was 150 years old at the time. Mujjā'a al-Hanafī<sup>828</sup> came to Khālid and made him believe that there were still armed men in the fortress, saying, “Only the first part of the people came out against you,” and advising a truce. Khālid therefore offered them terms: (that they give up) the gold, the silver, and half of the captives. Then (Mujjā'a) looked and there was | no one<sup>829</sup> in the fortress except women and children; so he dressed them with weapons and made them stand on the fortifications. Then he signaled to Khālid, saying: “They have given me a refusal. Will you agree to one-quarter of the captives?” Khālid did so and accepted their offer. However, when the fortifications were opened, he found only women and children. He said, “Is this a trick, Mujjā'a?” Mujjā'a replied, “They are my people,” and Khālid let them go. Al-Yamāma was conquered; Sajāh fled and died in Basra. The defeat of Musaylima took place in the year 11, and he was killed in Rabī' I 12.<sup>830</sup> Khālid asked Mujjā'a for his daughter in marriage, and Mujjā'a married him to her. Abū Bakr therefore wrote to him, “You are pouncing on women while the blood of the Muslims is still (wet) by your tent-ropes.”<sup>831</sup>

2:147

Abū Bakr ordered Khālid to march to Iraq; he went, accompanied by al-Muthannā b. Hāritha, and, having come to the city of Bāniqiyā, he conquered it and took captive those who were in it. Then he came to the city of Kaskar, conquered it, and took captive those who were in it. Then he marched until he encountered one of the kings of the Persians named Jābān;<sup>832</sup> he defeated him

826 Qur'ān 7:128.

827 On Mujjā'a b. Murāra, see al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 1:1937–1938 (trans. Donner, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, X, 112–114).

828 Cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 1:1952–1953.

829 Emending M's *thumma nażarū laysa* to *thumma nażara wa-laysa ...*; ed. L emends to *thumma nażarū wa-laysa* (then they looked and there was no one).

830 Rabī' I 12 began on May 16, 633.

831 This tidbit seems to belong to the story of Khālid b. al-Walid's marriage with the widow of Mālik b. Nuwayra, related below, ed. Leiden, 2:148; cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 1:1928.

832 Literally, “one of the *mulūk* (pl. of *malik*) of the non-Arabs”; not necessarily a king, but

and killed his companions. Then he marched until he reached Furāt Bādaqlā, aiming for [al-Ḥīra]<sup>833</sup> and its king, al-Nu‘mān. They fought a fierce battle; al-Nu‘mān was defeated and betook himself to al-Madā'in, and Khālid encamped in al-Khawarnaq.<sup>834</sup> He marched until he had put al-Ḥīra behind him; they were about to fight him, but then called for terms, and so he made a treaty with them against payment of 70,000 (dirhams) in exchange for their lives—some say 100,000 dirhams.

Abū Bakr devoted himself to fighting those who had apostatized. Among those of the Arabs who had apostatized and placed the crown on their heads was al-Nu‘mān b. al-Mundhir b. Sāwī al-Tamīmī in al-Baḥrāyn; Abū Bakr sent al-‘Alā’ b. al-Ḥaḍramī, and he killed him.<sup>835</sup> Another was Laqīt b. Mālik, the Wearer | of the Crown, in Oman; Abū Bakr sent Ḥudhayfa b. Miḥṣan against him, and he killed him in Ṣuhār in the land of Oman.<sup>836</sup> The Wearer of the Crown was ... [...] of the B. Nājiya and many people from ‘Abd al-Qays. God killed the Wearer of the Crown, and the Muslims took their children captive and sent them to Abū Bakr, who sold them for 400 dirhams. Then he sent forces to fight those who had withheld *zakāt*, saying, “If they withheld from me even a camel-hobble, I would fight them.” He wrote to Khālid b. al-Walīd that he should turn back toward Mālik b. Nuwayra al-Yarbūṭī<sup>838</sup> so he marched toward them. It is said that he had invited them,<sup>839</sup> and so Mālik b. Nuwayra came to him to negotiate with him. Mālik’s wife walked behind him, and when Khālid saw her she pleased him, and so he said [to himself], “By God, I cannot get hold of anything like what you have unless I kill you!” So he kept an eye on Mālik,<sup>840</sup> had

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rather a high noble or local ruler. In al-Balādhurī, *Futuḥ*, 242, he is called “Jābān, the great one (*‘azīm*) of the Persians.” The manuscripts of al-Yāqūbī write the name as “Khābān,” which the Leiden editor emended to agree with al-Balādhurī, who specifies Ullays as the place of the battle.

<sup>833</sup> Added by the Leiden editor.

<sup>834</sup> A place near Najaf in Iraq, site of a castle built by the Lakhmids; see the article by L. Massignon in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Khawarnak.

<sup>835</sup> Cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:1957–1958.

<sup>836</sup> Cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:1977–1980.

<sup>837</sup> Although the MSS show no break, the Leiden editor inferred the presence of a considerable lacuna, based on comparison with Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 2:285, l. 17.

<sup>838</sup> Cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:1922–1929.

<sup>839</sup> That is, to embrace Islam; however, the word that the Leiden editor reads as *nadāhum* (he summoned them) is not clear in M, which has *b.d.ā.?h.m* (? representing an unpointed tooth), perhaps to be read as *bada’ā bihim* (had begun with them).

<sup>840</sup> Arabic *fa-nażara Mālikan*; perhaps “waited for his chance with Mālik” or “passed judgment on Mālik.”

him executed, and married his wife. Abū Qatāda came to Abū Bakr, reported it to him, and swore that he would not march under Khālid's banner because he had killed Mālik when the latter was a Muslim. Then ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb said to Abū Bakr, "Caliph of the Messenger of God, Khālid murdered a Muslim man and married his wife on the same day!" So Abū Bakr wrote to Khālid and summoned him to come. At this Khālid said, "Caliph of the Messenger of God, I have delivered and have been both right and wrong." Mutammim b. Nuwayra was a poet, and he lamented his brother Mālik in many elegies. He came to Medina to Abū Bakr and prayed the morning prayer behind Abū Bakr, and when Abū Bakr finished his prayer Mutammim stood up and leaned on his bow, and said:

How excellent the man you killed while the winds howled  
behind the tents, O son of the squint-eyed one!  
Did you invite him in God's name and then betray him?  
If he had invited you with a promise of safety, he would not have  
betrayed.

Abū Bakr said, "I neither invited him nor betrayed him."

Abū Bakr wrote to Ziyād b. Labīd | al-Bayādī about fighting those who had apostatized in Yemen and who had withheld the *zakāt*, and so he fought them.<sup>841</sup> Kinda had a number of kings who styled themselves king, each of whom had a preserve in which no one else could graze flocks. Ziyād made raids by night while they were in their reserved pastures, striking down the kings Jamad, Mikhwaṣ, Mishrah, and Abḍa'a and seizing flocks and many captives. Then al-Ash'ath b. Qays came out against (the Muslims) and extricated the captives from their hands. When Abū Bakr learned of al-Ash'ath's apostasy and what he had done, he sent Ḥikrīma b. Abī Jahl with an army to fight them. He arrived when Ziyād b. Labīd and al-Muhājir b. Abī Umayya had already put them under siege; they had killed a large number of them and had taken much plunder. Al-Muhājir and Ziyād said to those who were with them, "Your brethren from the Ḥijāz have come; share with them and give them (part of the booty)." Al-Ash'ath requested a truce and obtained a pledge of safety for his tribe, but he forgot to include himself; and so when Ḥikrīma read the document, with al-Ash'ath's name not in it, he exclaimed, "God is great!" and seized him and sent him in fetters to Abū Bakr; but Abū Bakr showed him favor, set him free, and married him to his sister Umm Farwa.<sup>842</sup>

2:149

<sup>841</sup> Cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:2000–2006.

<sup>842</sup> Cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:2009–2012.

Abū Bakr wanted to raid the Byzantines. He consulted a number of the Companions of the Messenger of God, but they kept temporizing, and so he asked ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib’s advice. ‘Alī advised him to do it, saying, “If you do it, you will be victorious.” Abū Bakr replied, “You have foretold something auspicious.” Then Abū Bakr stood up among the people for a sermon and ordered them to make ready for war with the Byzantines. The people fell silent. Then ‘Umar stood up and said, “[Were it] a gain near at hand and an easy journey,<sup>843</sup> you would be more eager than he.”<sup>844</sup> At this ‘Amr b. Sa‘īd<sup>845</sup> stood up, saying, “Son of al-Khaṭṭāb,<sup>846</sup> are you comparing us to the Hypocrites? What is holding *you* back from that in which you find fault with us?” Khālid b. Sa‘īd then spoke up and quieted his brother, | saying, “We will show nothing but obedience.” Abū Bakr requited him well, and then summoned the people to march out with Khālid b. Sa‘īd as their commander. Khālid had been one of the Messenger of God’s tax-agents in Yemen and had returned after the Messenger of God had died. He had withheld swearing allegiance<sup>847</sup> and had inclined toward the Banū Hāshim. Therefore, when Abū Bakr assigned the command to Khālid, ‘Umar said to him: “Will you appoint Khālid even though he withheld his allegiance from you and said to the Banū Hāshim such things as have reached your ears? By God, I do not think you should send him.” Abū Bakr therefore relieved him of the command<sup>848</sup> and summoned Yazīd b. Abī Sufyān, Abū ‘Ubayda b. al-Jarrāḥ, Shurahbīl b. Ḥasana, and ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ and appointed them to commands, saying, “When you are together, let the commander of the men be Abū ‘Ubayda.” The tribes came to him from Yemen, and he dispatched them one army after another.

<sup>843</sup> Cf. Qur’ān 9:42, which refers to the so-called Hypocrites (*munāfiqūn*), who hung back from aiding Muhammad: “If it were a gain near at hand, and the journey easy, they (that is, the hypocrites) would surely have followed you.” M omits the opening words, *law kāna*, found in the Qur’ān and ed. Leiden.

<sup>844</sup> Reading with M *la-btadartumūhu*; ed. Leiden (based on C) reads *la-ntadabtumūhu* (you would have authorized him).

<sup>845</sup> ‘Amr b. Sa‘īd b. al-‘Āṣ b. Umayya was an early Companion of the Prophet. One of the emigrants to Abyssinia, he later was the Prophet’s agent for lands of Khaybar (Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Isāba* 4:526–528 [no. 5862]) and still later served the Umayyads. See the article by K. V. Zetterstéen in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. ‘Amr b. Sa‘īd. On his brother Khālid, mentioned below, also an early Companion of Muhammad, see the article by H. Loucel in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Khālid b. Sa‘īd.

<sup>846</sup> That is, ‘Umar, addressed here only by the name of his father. The omission of his name is abrupt and rude.

<sup>847</sup> That is, to Abū Bakr.

<sup>848</sup> Literally, “untied his standard.”

When the armies reached Syria, Abū ‘Ubayda wrote to Abū Bakr informing him of the approach of the king of the Byzantines with a great host; Abū Bakr therefore began dispatching army after army to him, one after another, from whatever Arab tribes came to him. There followed a succession of letters from Abū ‘Ubayda, each with reports about the Byzantine host. Abū Bakr therefore sent ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ with an army of Quraysh and others. Then Abū Bakr wrote to Khālid b. al-Walid to march to Syria, leaving al-Muthannā b. Ḥāritha in charge in Iraq.<sup>849</sup> Khālid set out with his best troops, leaving al-Muthannā b. Ḥāritha al-Shaybānī in Iraq with the rest of the army, and marched toward Syria. When he reached ‘Ayn al-Tamr,<sup>850</sup> he encountered an outpost of Kisrā<sup>851</sup> under the command of ‘Uqba b. Abī Hilāl al-Namiri; they fortified themselves against him, but then they yielded to his control, and he beheaded al-Namirī. Then he marched until he came upon a group of the Banū Tagħlib, led by al-Hudhayl b. ‘Imrān; he had him brought forward | and beheaded, and from them he took many captives whom he sent to Medina. He sent to the Jewish synagogue and took twenty boys from them. He made his way to al-Anbār and took a guide to show him the way across the desert. He passed by Tadmur;<sup>852</sup> its people fortified themselves, so he surrounded them until they opened the town to him and he made a treaty with them. Then he reached Ḥuwārīn<sup>853</sup> and engaged in fierce fighting with them. Khālid is said to have marched in the steppe and desert for eight days before he reached them. Then they conquered Buṣrā and Fiḥl and Ajnādayn in Palestine. Between them and the Byzantines there were hard battles at Ajnādayn, in each of which God defeated the Byzantines, and the outcome favored the Muslims.

2:151

One of (our authorities) related that Khālid b. al-Walid marched to the agricultural area (*ghūṭa*) of Damascus,<sup>854</sup> then went about in it as far as Thaniyya. With him was a white standard called the Eagle, and so the place came to be called Thaniyya of the Eagle (*Thaniyyat al-‘Uqāb*) after it. He made his way to

<sup>849</sup> Cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:2108–2109.

<sup>850</sup> A town in Iraq in a fertile depression on the borders of the desert between al-Anbār and Kufa, 80 miles west of Karbalā'; see the article by Saleh A. El-Ali in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. ‘Ayn al-Tamr.

<sup>851</sup> That is, of the Persian monarch, who at this time was Yazdagird III, the last of the Sasanian rulers.

<sup>852</sup> Tadmur (often known by its Greco-Roman name of Palmyra) lies in the Syrian desert some 145 km/90 miles east of Ḥimṣ and 240 km/150 miles west of the middle Euphrates. See the article by C. E. Bosworth in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Tadmur.

<sup>853</sup> M, C, Hawrān; emended by the Leiden editor on the basis of al-Balādhurī, *Futūh*, 112.

<sup>854</sup> For a description of this area of gardens and orchards fed by an irrigation network, see the article by N. Elisséeff in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ghūṭa.

Ḩawrān, headed for the city of Buşrā, and waged war on its inhabitants, so that they asked him for a truce, which he concluded with them. Then he came to Ajnādayn, where there was a Byzantine host. He fought them fiercely, and the host of the unbelievers scattered. The battle of Ajnādayn took place on Saturday, two nights remaining in Jumādā I 13.<sup>855</sup>

Abū Bakr dispatched ‘Uthmān b. Abī l-‘Āṣ, with whom he assigned the ‘Abd al-Qays. He marched at the head of an army to Tawwaj,<sup>856</sup> conquering it and taking its people captive. He conquered Makrān<sup>857</sup> and what adjoins it. Abū Bakr dispatched al-‘Alā’ b. al-Ḥadramī with an army, and he conquered al-Zāra and its environs in the land of al-Baḥrayn.<sup>858</sup> Al-‘Alā’ sent booty back to Abū Bakr; it was the first booty that Abū Bakr divided among the people, dividing it among the white and the black,<sup>859</sup> the free and the slave, a dinar to every person.

- 2:152      Iyās b. ‘Abdallāh b. al-Fujā’ā al-Sulamī<sup>860</sup> came to Abū Bakr saying, “Caliph of the Messenger of God, I have become a Muslim.”<sup>861</sup> Abū Bakr therefore gave him weapons, and the man departed. Then Abū Bakr learned that the man was committing highway robbery, and so he wrote to Ṭurayfa b. Ḥājiza: “God’s enemy Ibn al-Fujā’ā left from my presence. I have learned that he has committed highway robbery and I fear for the safety of the road. March against him and seize him.” Ṭurayfa advanced and marched against al-Fujā’ā and killed some of his companions; then he encountered al-Fujā’ā himself, who said, “I am a Muslim, and he has been told lies about me.” Ṭurayfa said, “If you are telling the truth, let yourself be taken into custody so that you can come to Abū Bakr and tell him about it.” He therefore let himself be taken into custody. When

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855      28 Jumādā I 13, corresponding to 30 July 634; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:2127 gives the same date.

856      Tawwaj was an Iranian town in the western part of Fārs; see the article by C. E. Bosworth in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Tawwadj*.

857      If the report of so early a conquest of this area is to be trusted, this would be Makrān, the coastal area of southern Baluchistan that straddles the present border between Iran and Pakistan. See the article by C. E. Bosworth in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Makrān*.

858      Cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:1973.

859      That is, among all and sundry, regardless of their complexion. Arabic *al-ahmar wa-l-aswad*, lit. “the red and the black,” originally designating the swarthy Arabs and the ruddy Persians and Greeks, came to mean “all and sundry”; cf. Lane, *Lexicon*, 2:642, s.v. *ahmar*.

860      Cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:1903–1904. M and C read *Anas b. Ubaydallāh*; the Leiden editor has emended to agree with al-Ṭabarī, where he is mentioned as “a man from the Banū Sulaym called al-Fujā’ā, who was Iyās b. ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Abd Yālīl.”

861      The parallel in al-Ṭabarī adds, “and want to engage in jihād against the unbelievers who have apostatized.”

Ṭurayfa brought him to Abū Bakr, the latter sent him out to al-Baqī<sup>862</sup> and had him burned alive. He also burned a man of the Banū Asad named Shujā' b. Warqā' who used to practice passive sodomy.<sup>863</sup>

‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb said to Abū Bakr, “Caliph of the Messenger of God, most of those who had memorized the Qur’ān were killed at the battle of al-Yamāma. If only you had collected the Qur’ān; for I fear for it, lest those who have memorized it should disappear!” Abū Bakr replied, “Shall I do what the Messenger of God did not do?” But ‘Umar kept after him until he collected it and wrote it down in sheets—it had been scattered about on palm-leaves and other things. He assembled a council of twenty-five men from Quraysh and fifty men from the Helpers and said, “Write down the Qur’ān and submit it to Sa‘id b. al-Āṣ, for he is a man skilled in proper language.”

One of our informants related that ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭalib had gathered it together when the Messenger of God died. He brought it loaded on a camel and said, “This is the Qur’ān, which I have gathered.” He had divided it into seven parts.<sup>864</sup>

The first part consisted of The Cow (al-Baqara), The Sura of Joseph (Yūsuf), The Spider (al-‘Ankabūt), The Greeks (al-Rūm), Luqmān, Ḥā-Mim: The Prostration (al-Sajda),<sup>865</sup> | The Scatterers (al-Dhāriyāt), Has There Come to Mankind (al-Insān), Alif-Lām-Mīm: The Sending Down (al-Sajda),<sup>866</sup> The Pluckers (al-Nāzī‘āt), When the Sun Shall Be Wrapped Up,<sup>867</sup> When the Heaven Is Split Open,<sup>868</sup> When the Heaven Is Rent Asunder,<sup>869</sup> Praise the Name of Your Lord the Most High,<sup>870</sup> and They Would Never (Lam Yakun).<sup>871</sup> That was the part of The Cow (al-Baqara): 886 verses and 16 suras.

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862 That is, Baqī' al-Gharqad, a cemetery in Medina.

863 A lacuna is indicated in ed. Leiden, but if one reads *kāna yunkāhu* (in the passive), no lacuna is needed; M shows no break.

864 The listing that follows presents many problems. Part 1 is said to consist of 16 suras, but only 15 are listed; part 2 is said to consist of 15 suras, but 16 are listed; and part 7 is said to consist of 16 suras, but only 15 are listed. In addition, 4 suras are not listed at all (besides al-Fātiha [1], which was often not included in early listings); they are al-Ra'd (13), Saba' (34), al-Taḥrīm (66), and al-‘Alaq (96). For a general discussion of the collection of the Qur’ān, see the article by A. T. Welch et al. in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Ķur’ān (especially the section 3a, “The ‘Collection’ of the Kur’ān”); and John Burton, *The Collection of the Qur’ān*.

865 Sura 41, usually called Fuṣṣilat (Distinguished).

866 Sura 32, usually called simply al-Sajda (Prostration).

867 Sura 81, al-Takwīr (The Darkening).

868 Sura 82, al-Infitār (The Splitting).

869 Sura 84, al-Inshiqaq (The Rending Asunder).

870 Sura 87, al-A'lā (The Most High).

871 Sura 98, al-Bayyina (The Clear Sign), referred to by its Arabic incipit.

The second part consisted of The House of ‘Imrān (Āl ‘Imrān), Hūd, The Pilgrimage (al-Hajj), al-Hijr, The Confederates (al-Ahzāb), Smoke (al-Dukhān), The All-Merciful (al-Rahmān), The Indubitable (al-Hāqqā), A Questioner Asked,<sup>872</sup> He Frowned (‘Abasa), By the Sun and Its Morning Brightness,<sup>873</sup> Behold We Sent It Down,<sup>874</sup> When It Is Shaken,<sup>875</sup> Woe to Every Backbiter,<sup>876</sup> Have You Not Seen,<sup>877</sup> and For the Composing of Quraysh.<sup>878</sup> That was the part of The House of ‘Imrān (Āl ‘Imrān): 886 verses and 15 suras.

The third part consisted of Women (al-Nisā’), The Bee (al-Nahl), The Believers (al-Mu’mīnūn), Yā Sīn, Ḥā’-Mīm-‘Ayn-Sīn-Qāf,<sup>879</sup> The Terror (al-Wāqi‘a), Blessed [Be He in Whose Hand Is] the Kingdom,<sup>880</sup> O Thou Shrouded,<sup>881</sup> Hast Thou Seen,<sup>882</sup> Perish,<sup>883</sup> Say: He Is God, One,<sup>884</sup> Afternoon (al-‘Asr), The Clatterer (al-Qāri‘a), By Heaven of the Constellations,<sup>885</sup> By the Fig and the Olive,<sup>886</sup> and Tā’-Sīn: The Ant (al-Naml). That was the part of Women (al-Nisā’): 886 verses and 16 suras.

The fourth part consisted of The Table (al-Mā’ida), Jonah (Yūnus), Mary (Maryam), Tā’-Sīn-Mīm: ... and the Poets (al-Shu‘arā’), Ornaments (al-Zukhruf), Apartments (al-Ḥujurāt), Qāf: By the Glorious Qur’ān (Qāf), The Hour Has Drawn Nigh,<sup>887</sup> The Woman Tested (al-Mumtaḥana), By Heaven and the Night-Star,<sup>888</sup> No! I Swear by This Land,<sup>889</sup> Did We Not Expand [Thy Breast] for Thee,<sup>890</sup> The Chargers (al-‘Adiyāt), Surely We Have Given Thee Abundance,<sup>891</sup>

872 Sura 70, al-Ma‘ārij (The Stairways), referred to by its Arabic incipit.

873 Sura 91, al-Shams (The Sun).

874 Sura 97, al-Qadr (Power), referred to by its Arabic incipit.

875 Sura 99, al-Zalzala (The Earthquake), referred to by its Arabic incipit.

876 Sura 104, al-Humaza (The Backbiter), referred to by its Arabic incipit.

877 Sura 105, al-Fil (The Elephant), referred to by its Arabic incipit.

878 Sura 106, Quraysh, referred to by its Arabic incipit.

879 Sura 46, al-Shūrā (Counsel), referred to by its Arabic incipit.

880 Sura 67, al-Mulk (The Kingdom), referred to by its Arabic incipit.

881 Sura 74, al-Muddaththir (Shrouded), referred to by its Arabic incipit.

882 Sura 107, al-Mā‘ūn (Charity), referred to by its Arabic incipit.

883 Sura 111, al-Masad (Palm-Fiber), usually called “Perish,” referred to by its Arabic incipit.

884 Sura 112, al-Ikhlāṣ (Sincere Religion), referred to by its Arabic incipit.

885 Sura 85, al-Burūj (The Constellations).

886 Sura 95, al-Tin (The Fig), referred to by its Arabic incipit.

887 Sura 54, al-Qamar (The Moon), referred to by its Arabic incipit.

888 Sura 86, al-Ṭāriq (The Night-Star), referred to by its Arabic incipit.

889 Sura 90, al-Balad (The Land), referred to by its Arabic incipit.

890 Sura 94, al-Sharḥ (The Expanding), referred to by its Arabic incipit.

891 Sura 108, al-Kawthar (Abundance), referred to by its Arabic incipit.

and Say: O Unbelievers.<sup>892</sup> That was the part of The Table (al-Mā'ida): 886 verses and 15 suras.

The fifth part consisted of Cattle (al-An'ām), Glory Be,<sup>893</sup> Nigh [Unto Men] Has Drawn,<sup>894</sup> Salvation (al-Furqān), Moses and Pharaoh,<sup>895</sup> Hā'-Mīm: al-Mu'-min,<sup>896</sup> The Disputer (al-Mujādala), The Mustering (al-Ḥashr), Congregation (al-Jumu'a), The Hypocrites (al-Munāfiqūn), | Nūn: By the Pen,<sup>897</sup> We Sent Noah,<sup>898</sup> Say: It Has Been Revealed to Me,<sup>899</sup> The Loosed Ones (al-Mursalāt), The Forenoon (al-Ḏuhā), and [Gross Rivalry] Diverts You.<sup>900</sup> That was the part of Cattle (al-An'ām): 886 verses and 16 suras.

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The sixth part consisted of The Battlements (al-A'rāf), Abraham (Ibrāhīm), The Cave (al-Kahf), Light (al-Nūr), Ṣād, The Companies (al-Zumar), An Open Way (al-Sharī'a),<sup>901</sup> Those Who Disbelieve,<sup>902</sup> Iron (al-Ḥadid), Enwrapped (al-Muzzammil), No! I Swear by the Day of Resurrection,<sup>903</sup> Of What Do They Question One Another,<sup>904</sup> The Enveloper (al-Ghāshiya), The Dawn (al-Fajr), By the Night Enshrouding,<sup>905</sup> and When Comes the Help of God.<sup>906</sup> That was the part of The Battlements (al-A'rāf): 886 verses and 16 suras.

The seventh part consisted of The Spoils (al-Anfāl), An Acquittal (Barā'a),<sup>907</sup> Tā' Hā', The Angels (al-Malā'iqa),<sup>908</sup> The Rangers (al-Ṣaffāt), The Sand-dunes

892 Sura 109, al-Kāfirūn (The Unbelievers), referred to by its Arabic incipit.

893 Sura 17, al-Isrā' (The Night Journey), referred to by its Arabic incipit.

894 Sura 21, al-Anbiyā' (The Prophets), referred to by its Arabic incipit.

895 Sura 28, al-Qaṣāṣ (The Story), referred to by words from its third verse announcing its subject.

896 Sura 40, usually known as Ghāfir (The Forgiver), but also known as al-Mu'min (The Believer) from a reference in 40:28 to "a certain man, a believer (*mu'min*) of Pharaoh's folk that kept hidden his belief."

897 Sura 68, al-Qalam (The Pen), referred to by its Arabic incipit.

898 Sura 71, Nūḥ (Noah), referred to by its Arabic incipit.

899 Sura 72, al-Jinn (The Jinn), referred to by its Arabic incipit.

900 Sura 102, al-Takāthur (Rivalry), referred to by its Arabic incipit.

901 Ed. Leiden notes that in C (apparently also in M) al-Jāthiya (Hobbling, the usual title of Sura 45) is written above without points. The word *al-sharī'a* occurs in verse 18 of this Sura, the only time it occurs in the Qur'ān.

902 Sura 47, Muḥammad, referred to by its Arabic incipit.

903 Sura 75, al-Qiyāma (The Resurrection), referred to by its Arabic incipit.

904 Sura 78, al-Naba' (The Tiding), referred to by its Arabic incipit.

905 Sura 92, al-Layl (The Night), referred to by its Arabic incipit.

906 Sura 110, al-Naṣr (Help), referred to by its Arabic incipit.

907 Sura 9, more commonly known as al-Tawba (Repentence), here referred to by its first word.

908 An alternative name for Sura 35, also known as Fātiḥ (The Originator).

(al-Aḥqāf), Victory (al-Fath), The Mount (al-Tūr), The Star (al-Najm), The Ranks (al-Saff), Mutual Fraud (al-Taghābun), Divorce (al-Talāq), The Stinters (al-Muṭaffifin), and the two suras of Taking Refuge.<sup>909</sup> That was the part of The Spoils (al-Anfāl): 886 verses and 16 suras.

Someone has said that ‘Alī said, “The Qur’ān came down in four quarters: a quarter about us, a quarter about our enemies, a quarter consisting of parables, and a quarter consisting of (matters) clear or obscure.”

Abū Bakr made distribution among the people equitably, without favoring one person over another. He used to take three dirhams from the treasury every day as wage. He was called Successor (*khalīfa*) of the Messenger of God. Abū Bakr fell ill in Jumādā II 13,<sup>910</sup> when his illness became grave, he designated ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb his successor and ordered ‘Uthmān to write down his designation. He wrote: “In the name of God, the Merciful and Compassionate: This is what Abū Bakr, successor of the Messenger of God, pledges to the Believers and Muslims. Peace be upon you. I praise God to you. Thereafter: I have appointed over you | ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. Hear and obey! I have not ceased to advise you. Peace.” He said to ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb: “‘Umar, there are those who have loved you and those who have hated you. If the truth is hated, it has been so from of old; and if error is persisted in, it has often been so.”

‘Abd al-Rahmān b. ‘Awf<sup>911</sup> visited Abū Bakr during the illness from which he died. “How are you this morning, Successor of the Messenger of God?” he asked. Abū Bakr replied, “I have appointed a successor this morning; and now you have increased my malady over what it was by the fact that when you saw that I had appointed a man from among you, each of you woke up with his nose swollen,<sup>912</sup> each seeking it for himself.” ‘Abd al-Rahmān said, “By God, I do not know your companion to be other than a good man who does good works; so do not worry about (what) the world (thinks).” [Abū Bakr] replied:<sup>913</sup> “I worry only about [three] things I did that I wish I hadn’t done, three I did not do that I wish I had done, and three about which I wish I had asked the Messenger of God. As for the three that I did: I wish that I had not taken this office, but had advanced ‘Umar before me, for I should have been better as an adviser (*wazīr*) than as a commander (*amīr*). I wish that I had not searched the house

<sup>909</sup> Arabic, *al-Mu’awwidhatān*: the last two suras of the Qur’ān as presently ordered, 113 (al-Falaq, Daybreak) and 114 (al-Nās, Men), each of which begins with the phrase “I take refuge (*a’ūdhu*) with the Lord of ...”

<sup>910</sup> Jumādā II 13 began on August 2, 634.

<sup>911</sup> Cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:2137–2140.

<sup>912</sup> A sign of pride.

<sup>913</sup> Cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:2140–2141.

of Fāṭīma the daughter of the Messenger of God and that I had not sent men to enter it, even if it had been harboring an enemy. I wish that I had not burned al-Fujā'a al-Sulamī alive: I should have either killed him quickly or set him free unharmed. As for the three things that I wish I had done: I wish I had brought al-Ash'ath b. Qays forward for you to cut off his head, for it seems to me that he comes to the aid of every evil he sees. I wish that I had sent Abū 'Ubayda to the west and 'Umar to the lands of the east, | so that I might have taken part in person in fighting in God's way. I wish that I had not sent Khālid b. al-Walid [alone] to Buzākha, [but]<sup>914</sup> had gone out to reinforce him in God's way. As for the three things about which I wish I had asked the Messenger of God, they are: Whose is this affair?<sup>915</sup>—and so no one would have disputed him about it. Do the Helpers have any share in it? Are the paternal aunt and the maternal aunt deemed heirs, or do they not inherit?<sup>916</sup> I have taken nothing of your worldly possessions; with regard to the property of God and the booty (*fay'*) of the Muslims, I have behaved like the legal guardian of an orphan's property: if he can do without, he abstains; and if he is in want, he consumes only what is customary. The person in charge of affairs after me is 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. I borrowed some money from the treasury; when I die, let him sell<sup>917</sup> my walled garden in such-and-such a place, and return the money to the treasury."

Abū Bakr appointed his wife, Asmā' bt. 'Umays, to wash his body, and she did so. He was buried at night. Abū Quḥāfa inherited the sixth (of his estate) from him.<sup>918</sup>

The person with greatest influence over Abū Bakr was 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. Abū Bakr's death took place on Tuesday, 8 nights remaining in Jumādā II 13,<sup>919</sup> corresponding to the non-Arab month of Āb (August). Others have said two days remaining. 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb prayed over him, and he was buried in the house in which is the grave of the Messenger of God. He was 63 years old

<sup>914</sup> Added by the Leiden editor. The reference is to Khālid's campaign against the Banū Asad and their false prophet Tulayḥa, defeated by Khālid at Buzākha (a well in Nejd) in 11/632. See the article by C. E. Bosworth in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Buzākha.

<sup>915</sup> That is, leadership of the community of Believers.

<sup>916</sup> Cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 1:2141 (trans. Blankinship, *The History of al-Tabarī*, XI, 150 and note).

<sup>917</sup> The text is uncertain. Ed. Leiden (apparently following C) reads, *fa-l-yabi'* (let him then sell), but the form is ungrammatical (it should have a short vowel, *fa-l-yabi*). M reads *fa-l-yablugh* (let him arrive at). Also, the word translated here as "walled garden" (*hā'iṭ*) can also refer to the wall surrounding such a garden.

<sup>918</sup> Abū Quḥāfa was Abū Bakr's father. According to al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 1:2137, he survived his son only for about six months.

<sup>919</sup> 21 Jumādā II 13 = August 22, 634.

at the time of his death. He had three male children; one of them, ‘Abdallāh, died during his lifetime, leaving two: Muhammad and ‘Abd al-Rahmān. His chamberlain (*hājib*) was his client Shadīd.<sup>920</sup> His rule lasted two years and four months. He led the people on pilgrimage in the year 12.

Abū Bakr’s governors at the time of his death were:<sup>921</sup> ‘Attāb b. Asīd over Mecca, ‘Uthmān b. Abī l-‘Āṣ over al-Tā’if, one of the Helpers over al-Yamāma, Hudhayfa b. Miḥṣan over Oman, al-‘Alā’ b. | al-Ḥaḍramī over al-Bahrayn, Khālid b. al-Walīd over the army of Syria, al-Muthannā b. Ḥāritha al-Shaybānī over Kufa, and Suwayd b. Quṭba over Basra.<sup>922</sup>

### Description of Abū Bakr<sup>923</sup>

Abū Bakr was white-complexioned, slender, having a sparse beard, stooped over; his loincloth did not cling to his loins; gaunt-faced, with sunken eyes and bony knuckles. He colored his beard with henna and *katam*.<sup>924</sup>

Among those from whom religious learning was taken in the days of Abū Bakr were ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, Mu‘ādh b. Jabal, Ubayy b. Ka‘b, Zayd b. Thābit, and ‘Abdallāh b. Mas‘ūd.

### The Days of ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb

Then ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb b. Nufayl b. ‘Abd al-‘Uzzā b. Riyāḥ b. ‘Abdallāh b. Qurṭ b. Razāḥ b. ‘Adī b. Ka‘b became caliph. His mother was Ḥantama bt. Hāshim b. al-Mughīra b. ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Umar b. Makhzūm. He became caliph on Tuesday, 2 nights remaining (some say 7) in Jumādā II 13, corresponding to the non-Arab month of Āb (August).<sup>925</sup> On that day the Sun was in Leo, 16°; the Moon in

<sup>920</sup> Following al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:2138, and the dictionary *Tāj al-‘arūs*, s.v. *sh-d-d*. The Leiden editor read the name, which is unpointed in C and M, as Sadiq.

<sup>921</sup> Cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:2135–2136.

<sup>922</sup> A second hand in the margin of M notes the anachronism: “How can this be? It is generally agreed that Kufa and Basra were founded and built by ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, and so I do not know how they come to be mentioned here.”

<sup>923</sup> Cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:2132–2133.

<sup>924</sup> *Katam* (*Buxus dioica*) is a plant that grows in Yemen. Like henna, it was and still is used as a dye. By itself, it dyes hair a dark gray; mixed with henna, it dyes the hair various shades of reddish brown.

<sup>925</sup> Either on 27 Jumādā II 13 (August 28, 634) or on 22 Jumādā II 13 (August 23, 634).

Scorpio,  $24^{\circ} 10'$ ; Saturn in Sagittarius,  $30^{\circ}$ , retrograde; Jupiter in Pisces,  $9^{\circ} 30'$ , retrograde; Mars in Taurus,  $21^{\circ} 50'$ ; Venus in Pisces,  $9^{\circ}$ ; Mercury in Virgo,  $10^{\circ} 30'$ ; and the Ascending Node in Sagittarius,  $12^{\circ}, 35'$ .

He ascended the pulpit, sat one step below the seat of Abū Bakr, and addressed the people. Having praised and extolled God | and invoked God's blessing upon the Prophet, he spoke of Abū Bakr and his excellence and asked for God's mercy upon him. Then he said, "I am only a man like any of you;<sup>926</sup> and but for the fact that I was loathe to refuse the command of the successor of the Messenger of God, I would not have assumed authority over you." Then the people spoke well of him.

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The first thing that 'Umar did was to return the captives of the people of the *ridda*<sup>927</sup> to their clans. He said, "I am loathe to see the taking of captives become an established practice (*sunna*) (to be used) against the Arabs."<sup>928</sup>

'Umar sent a letter with his client (*mawlā*) Yarfa' to Abū 'Ubayda b. al-Jarrāḥ, informing him of the death of Abū Bakr, and sent a letter with Shaddād b. Aws appointing Abū 'Ubayda governor of Syria in place of Khālid b. al-Walīd and putting Khālid in the position of Abū 'Ubayda. 'Umar had a bad opinion of Khālid, despite the fact that he was the son of his mother's brother, because of something that Khālid had said about 'Umar. Khālid b. al-Walīd and the Muslims who were with him had already conquered Marj al-Şuffar, part of the territory of Damascus, and had laid siege to the city of Damascus four days before Abū Bakr's death. Abū 'Ubayda concealed the news from Khālid until a second letter came from 'Umar to Abū 'Ubayda, ordering him to head toward Ḥimṣ and the (other) districts of Syria, whereupon Abū 'Ubayda informed Khālid of it. Khālid said, "May God have mercy on Abū Bakr! If he were alive he would not have dismissed me." 'Umar wrote to Abū 'Ubayda, saying: "If Khālid declares himself to have lied in what he said, appoint him governor; if he doesn't, strip him of his turban and confiscate half his wealth." Khālid asked his sister for advice. She said, "By God, Ḥantama's son<sup>929</sup> wants nothing less than for you to declare that you are a liar, and then he will dismiss you from your governorship (anyway). Don't do it!" So he did not declare that he had lied.

926 Arabic *mā anā illā rajulun minkum*, literally, "I am only a man from among you."

927 That is, the people who had been taken captive in the wars conducted by Abū Bakr to put down the apostasy (*ridda*) that had broken out after the death of Muḥammad. For an overview, see the article by M. Lecker in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Ridda.

928 Arabic *karihu an yaṣira l-sabyu sunnatan 'alā l-'Arab*. The implication is that Arabs, as opposed to non-Arabs, captured in war were not to be treated as captives who could be enslaved.

929 That is, 'Umar, referring to him by his mother's name.

Then Bilāl went and stripped him of his turban, and Abū ‘Ubayda confiscated half his wealth, even his sandals, separating one from the other.

They continued to besiege Damascus for a full year and a number of days:

2:159 Abū ‘Ubayda was at al-Jābiya Gate, Khālid at the Eastern Gate, ‘Amr b. al-Āṣ at Bāb Tūmā, and Yazīd b. Abī Sufyān at the Little Gate. Then, when matters had gone on too long for the (Byzantine) commander of Damascus, he sent to Abū ‘Ubayda, came to terms with him, and opened al-Jābiya Gate to him. However, when Khālid learned that Abū ‘Ubayda had decided to grant the enemy terms and that the enemy had committed itself to a peace agreement (*ṣulḥ*) with him, he redoubled his efforts at the Eastern Gate and breached it by force. Khālid then said to Abū ‘Ubayda, “Take them captive, for I have conquered it by force (*‘anwatan*).” But Abū ‘Ubayda replied, “No, I have promised them security.” The Muslims entered the city and the peace agreement was concluded—this was in Rajab of the year 14.<sup>930</sup>

According to al-Wāqidī, Khālid b. al-Walīd granted them a peace agreement; he wrote out a treaty document for the bishop and gave them a promise of security, and Abū ‘Ubayda allowed that.

In this year, ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb made night-vigils during the month of Ramaḍān *sunna*, and wrote to the provinces concerning this.<sup>931</sup> He ordered Ubayy b. Ka'b and Tamīm al-Dārī to lead the people in prayer, and when he was told in regard to this that the Messenger of God had not done it and that Abū Bakr had not done it, he said, “If it is an innovation, what a good innovation it is!”

Abū ‘Ubayda dispatched ‘Amr b. al-Āṣ to Jordan and Palestine. At this the enemy mustered their forces to repel ‘Amr and his companions. Abū ‘Ubayda then sent Shurahbīl b. Ḥasanā to ‘Amr, and Abū ‘Ubayda (himself) went towards the Byzantine host. Thus Jordan was conquered by force, except for Tiberias, whose people came to a peace agreement with him against (surrender of) half their homes and churches. It was Shurahbīl b. Ḥasanā who arranged that. When the Byzantines learned of Abū ‘Ubayda’s approach, they moved to Fīḥl.<sup>932</sup> Abū ‘Ubayda put the Muslims in battle order, placing Mu‘ādh b. Jabal over his right

<sup>930</sup> Rajab 14 began on August 21, 635.

<sup>931</sup> The Arabic (*sanna ... qiyām shahr Ramaḍān*) is vague. *Qiyām* (standing/staying up) seems to refer to the night prayers called *tarāwīh*. These traditionally date back to Muḥammad himself, but he is said to have held that they were not obligatory. ‘Umar is said to have been the first to formalize them by having them said behind a single reader in the mosque, rather than as purely individual devotions. See the article by A. J. Wensinck in *EI<sup>2</sup>*, s.v. *Tarāwīh*.

<sup>932</sup> Fīḥl (the vowel preferred by Yāqūt) or Fahl is in Jordan, east of the Jordan River, about

wing, Hāshim b. 'Utba over his left wing, Sa'd b. Zayd over the foot-soldiers, and Khālid b. al-Walīd over the cavalry. | As the Byzantines approached, the first to encounter them was Khālid. God defeated the Byzantines, and they sought a settlement (*sulh*) against payment of the *jizya*; Abū 'Ubayda granted it to them and withdrew. He left 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ over the remainder of Jordan and sent Khālid over his advance guard to Ba'labbakk and the land of al-Biqā'; he conquered it and then marched to Ḥimṣ. Abū 'Ubayda joined with him, and they put the people of Ḥimṣ under tight siege. The latter sought a settlement, so he made a settlement with them covering all their villages on condition that they pay a tax (*kharāj*) of 170,000 dīnārs. The Muslims entered the city, and Abū 'Ubayda sent his tax-agents into the districts around Ḥimṣ.

Then Abū 'Ubayda received a report about the forces that the Byzantine emperor had gathered in all his lands and how he had sent against them someone whom they would not have strength to defeat. He therefore returned to Damascus and wrote to 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb about it. 'Umar wrote to them that he disapproved of their returning from the territory of Ḥimṣ to Damascus. Abū 'Ubayda gathered the Muslims to himself and encamped by the Yarmūk.<sup>933</sup> Jabala b. al-Ayham al-Ghassānī commanded the vanguard of the Byzantines among an army (*jaysh*) of his tribesmen. Abū 'Ubayda put Khālid b. al-Walid in command of his vanguard; he attacked the polytheists and engaged the Byzantine commander Bāhān,<sup>934</sup> and the two sides fought violently. Abū 'Ubayda and the Muslims joined him, and a momentous battle took place. A great number of Byzantines were killed, and God showed His grace to the Muslims. This took place in the year 15.<sup>935</sup>

Abū 'Ubayda sent a delegation to 'Umar in which was Hudhayfa b. al-Yamān. 'Umar had been sleepless a number of nights and was eagerly awaiting the news. When it arrived, he fell down in prostration to God and said, "Praise be to God, who has bestowed the grace of victory on Abū 'Ubayda; for, by God, had

12 km southeast of Baysān. It was the ancient city of Pella in the Decapolis. See the article by Fr. Buhl in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Fah̄l or Fiḥl.

933 The Yarmūk is the main eastern tributary of the Jordan River, into which it flows 9km south of Lake Tiberias. The decisive battle took place near the junction of the Yarmūk and Wādī l-Ruqqād, on the present border of Jordan and Syria. See the article by C. E. Bosworth in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Yarmūk.

934 Following M and al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:2081–2082; ed. Leiden reads Māhān. His proper name was Vahān, and he was of Armenian origin. For a detailed discussion of the battle and its significance, see W. E. Kaegi, *Byzantium and the Early Islamic Conquests*, 112–146.

935 The final Muslim victory can be dated to 12 Rajab 15 (August 20, 636); see C. E. Bosworth in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Yarmūk.

He not bestowed it, someone would have said, 'If only Khālid b. al-Walīd had been (in command)!"

2:161 Abū 'Ubayda returned to Ḥimṣ and dispatched Khālid in | pursuit of the Byzantines, (and he did so) until he came to Qinnasrīn. He came finally to Aleppo, whose inhabitants fortified themselves. Abū 'Ubayda came and took up a position opposite it. The inhabitants sought a settlement and a promise of security; Abū 'Ubayda accepted that from them and wrote them a promise of security. He sent Mālik b. al-Ḥārith al-Ashtar commanding a force against the Byzantines, who had blocked the mountain pass; he killed a great number of them and then returned, God having preserved him and his companions. Abū 'Ubayda returned toward Jordan and besieged the people of Īliyā', which is Bayt al-Maqdis,<sup>936</sup> but they held out against him and contended with him. Abū 'Ubayda sent 'Amr b. al-Āṣ to Qinnasrīn; he made terms with them—the inhabitants of Aleppo, Qinnasrīn, and Manbij—and imposed the tax (*kharāj*) on them as Abū 'Ubayda had done with Ḥimṣ. The booty of al-Yarmūk was gathered at al-Jābiya, and they wrote to 'Umar (about it). He wrote to them, "Do nothing with it until you have conquered Bayt al-Maqdis." Now when the Byzantines were routed from al-Yarmūk, Jabala b. al-Ayham al-Ghassānī went to his home territory with all his tribesmen; Yazīd b. Abī Sufyān sent a message to him, saying, "Impose *kharāj* on your lands and payment of *jizya*." But he said, "Only the peasants ('ulūj) pay *jizya*; I am a man of the Arabs."<sup>937</sup>

936 Īliyā' and Bayt al-Maqdis are names for Jerusalem: the former derived from the name of the Roman city Aelia built on the ruins of the Jewish city destroyed in the wake of the Jewish revolt of 132–135 CE; the latter (House of the Sanctuary) echoing the Hebrew Bayt ha-Miqdāsh, referring to the Jewish temple.

937 At issue here is the fact that the Banū Ghassān were a Christian Arab tribe that had provided the Byzantines with troops to guard the borders of the empire. As ethnic Arabs, though not Muslims, they wished to be treated differently from non-Arab inhabitants of the conquered territories in matters of land taxation and/or tribute (*kharāj*) and the poll-tax (*jizya*). Al-Ya'qūbī's brief mention of the last of the Ghassānid phylarchs, Jabala b. al-Ayham, can be filled out by the colorful story of his conversion to Islam after the Byzantine defeat at the Yarmūk, his journey with a splendid entourage of 500 tribesmen to Medina to see 'Umar, and how a tussle with a Bedouin tribesman who jostled him during the pilgrimage, causing his loincloth to fall to the ground—Jabala broke the man's nose for being so careless—followed by 'Umar's insistence on having Jabala pay the man damages or allow him to break his nose in return, caused Jabala to return to Christianity in indignation and make his way to Constantinople, where he was received with honor. See al-Īsfahānī, *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, 14:2–8; also the article by Irfan Kawar in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Djabala b. al-Ayham. Al-Ya'qūbī will relate another instance of Jabala's insistence on being treated as an Arab; *v. infra*, ed. Leiden, 2:168.

'Umar had sent Abū 'Ubayd b. Mas'ūd al-Thaqafī to Iraq at the head of an army with al-Muthannā b. Ḥāritha al-Shaybānī. Kisrā had died, and his daughter Būrān had come to exercise the kingship.<sup>938</sup> She made Rustam and al-Fīruzān custodians of the affairs of the monarchy—both of whom were weak and contemptible. Abū 'Ubayd al-Thaqafī advanced until he encountered one of the Persians' outposts; he assaulted them, and they fought a pitched battle. Then God made the Muslims victorious over them and sent them fleeing. When the news reached Rustam, he sent against them a man named Jālīnūs; the two sides met at a place called | Bārūsmā; the Persians were routed and Abū 'Ubayd conquered Bārūsmā. Then Rustam sent Dhū l-Ḥājib against them, and with him he sent the elephant.<sup>939</sup> They fought fiercely. The Muslims' horses began to shy from the elephant, and so Abū 'Ubayd al-Thaqafī attacked it with his sword and cut off its trunk,<sup>940</sup> but the elephant knelt upon him and killed him. Al-Muthannā b. Ḥāritha al-Shaybānī took command of the army. When the news reached 'Umar, he became very worried about it. Jarīr b. 'Abdallāh al-Bajalī arrived from Yemen with a troop of mounted Bajila tribesmen, whose leader was 'Arfaja b. Harthama, an ally of theirs from the Azd. 'Umar ordered them to march quickly<sup>941</sup> to Iraq, and he made 'Arfaja b. Harthama their commander. Jarīr became angry about this and said, "By God, the man isn't one of us." "He's right," replied 'Arfaja; and so 'Umar sent Jarīr b. 'Abdallāh. Having reached Kufa, he sortied from it, attacked the *marzubān* (governor) of al-Madhbār,<sup>942</sup> and killed him; the latter's army was routed and most of its men drowned in the Tigris. Then Jarīr went to al-Nukhayla, where Mihrān was with his force, and

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938 Al-Ya'qūbī has already given an account of the turbulent succession to the Sasanian monarchy after the murder of "Kisrā" (Khusraw II Aparwiz) in 628 CE (ed. Leiden, 1:196–198). Here he telescopes the complex story of the succession in order to focus on the Persian empire's weakness that facilitated the Arab conquest.

939 Arabic *wa-ba'atha ma'ahu bi-l-fil*. Unless *fil* is to be taken as collective, an otherwise unknown usage, the Arabic implies "the" (that is, the well-known) elephant. The parallel in al-Tabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 1:2174–2182, clarifies the meaning: "Rustam charged Bahman Jādhuyah, who was Dhū l-Ḥājib, with fighting Abū 'Ubayd. He sent back with him al-Jālinūs, who had with him the elephants (*al-fiyyala*, pl.), among them a white elephant (*fil abyad*) on which was a palm tree [emblem]." (Trans., Blankinship, *The History of al-Tabarī*, XI, 190.)

940 Arabic *mishfar* usually means an animal's lip, but here it almost certainly means the elephant's trunk. The same word is used throughout in the parallel in al-Tabarī; see especially *Ta'rīkh*, 1:2181, where cutting off the elephant's *mishfar* is said to be a way to kill the animal.

941 Arabic *al-nufūd ilā*, literally, "to pass through."

942 Reading *marzubān al-madhbār*, as emended by the Leiden editor on the basis of al-Balādhurī, *Futūh*, 253.

attacked him. The two sides fought fiercely. Al-Mundhir b. Ḥassān pressed upon Mihrān, speared him, and threw him from his mount; Jarīr then rushed up and cut off his head. The two of them quarreled over taking his spoil, so Jarīr took the weapons and al-Mundhir the belt. That was in the year 14.

When the Persians saw their own weakness and contemptibility and how the Muslims were prevailing over them, they conspired to kill Rustam and al-Fīruzān. But then they said, "This will undermine our cause," and so they sought a son of Kisrā. Finally they located Yazdagird, who was twenty years old, and made him king over them. He set their affairs in order and managed them ably, and so the kingdom became strong and the power of the Persians increased. They expelled the Muslims from the plains;<sup>943</sup> the people of the Sawād<sup>944</sup> reneged and tore up the agreements they had in their hands, and | the Muslims retreated to the outskirts. When 'Umar learned of it, he wanted to go out to Iraq himself; then, however, he sought advice, and Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ was recommended to him, so he dispatched him with 80,000 troops. Sa'd marched until he encamped at al-Qādisiyya. He<sup>945</sup> sent 'Utba b. Ghazwān to the rural districts along the Tigris,<sup>946</sup> al-Ubulla, Abarqubādh, and Maysān, and he conquered them. He<sup>947</sup> laid out the plan of Basra and constructed its mosque of reeds. It is said that 'Umar sent him for that purpose. Sa'd remained in al-Qādisiyya.

Then the Muslims seized the daughter of Āzādhmard<sup>948</sup> as she was being conveyed to marry a certain nobleman. They took the property and valuables that she had with her, and they distributed it among the Muslims, who, as a result, were delighted and whose morale improved.<sup>949</sup> Then Sa'd sent al-Nu'mān b. Muqarrin with a group of men to Kisrā<sup>950</sup> to invite him to Islam. They entered his presence in the comeliest garments, wearing striped wrappers

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943 Arabic *al-murūj* in ed. Leiden; the parallel in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:2174–2177, has al-Marwāḥa, a place described by Yāqūt (s.v.) as being in the Sawād on the west bank of the Euphrates.

944 Arabic *sawād*, literally, "blackness," the usual term for the arable land of Iraq.

945 That is, 'Umar, as is clear from the parallel accounts.

946 Arabic *kuwar Dijla*.

947 That is, 'Utba b. Ghazwān. For a detailed account of the founding of the Arab garrison city of Basra by 'Utba b. Ghazwān, see al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:2377–2385 (trans. Friedmann, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, XII, 161–168).

948 Āzādhmard (or Āzādmard) was the son of Āzādhbih (or Āzādbih), the Persian governor (*marzubān*) of al-Hīra; cf. the parallel in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:2233.

949 Arabic *hasunat quwwatuhum*: or, "their power came to be in a good state." Arabic *quwwa* can refer to both physical and mental strength.

950 That is, to Yazdagird, the Persian Great King.

and sandals. They told him why Sa'd had sent them to him and invited him to Islam and to bear witness to the truth, or to pay the *jizya*.<sup>951</sup> This angered him. He called for a palm-basket full of earth and said, "Load it on the head of their chief; were it not that messengers are not to be killed, I would kill them." ʻĀsim b. ʻAmr al-Tamīmī said, "I am the chief of the group," and so they loaded the earth on him, whereupon he left hastily. He said, "By God, we have defeated them and trampled their land!"<sup>952</sup>

When a report of this reached Rustam, it was very painful to him. He said, "What does the son of the copper know about managing the kingdom?"—Yazdagird's mother is said to have been a copper. He sent messengers after them, but they evaded the messengers. Kisrā and the Persians then became exceedingly fearful of them. He ordered Rustam to head towards them; he was reluctant to do so, but Kisrā so badgered him about it that he marched out under duress. When he reached al-Najaf, he sent to Sa'd, saying, "Send me some men of yours so that I can negotiate with them." Sa'd therefore sent | al-Mughīra b. Shu'ba, Bishr b. Abī Ruhm, Arfaja b. Harthama, Hudhayfa b. Mihṣan, Ribī b. ʻĀmir, Qirfa b. Zāhir, Madhūr b. ʻAdī, Muḍārib b. Yazīd, and Shu'ba b. Murra. They were among the shrewdest men of the Arabs. They came before him one man at a time, each of them saying just what his companions had said and summoning him to Islam or to pay the *jizya*. It was clear to them that he desired to embrace Islam, but was afraid of his companions—whenever Islam was presented to one of them, he did not see him responding with alacrity. Then Rustam went out to set the army in battle order; he seated himself on a throne of gold, put the ranks in order, and arranged his companions. Being an astrologer, he was certain that he would perish, so he wrote to his brother: "In the name of God, the Lord of mercy, from the *iṣbahbad*"<sup>953</sup> Rustam to his brother: I have seen Jupiter in descent and Venus in ascent; it is the end of the era for you. Peace upon you forever and forever."

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Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ addressed the Muslims, making them desire *jihād* and telling them of what God promised His Messenger by way of victory and making the religion triumphant,<sup>954</sup> and each of the Muslims encouraged his

<sup>951</sup> Text has *wa-ilā adā al-jizya* (*and to pay the jizya*), but this must be a scribal error for *aw ilā ...*, "or to pay the *jizya*", as below (ed. Leiden, 2:164).

<sup>952</sup> The symbolism of the Persian king's unwittingly transferring the land to the invaders is obvious. Cf. the much longer account in al-Ṭabarī, *Tarīkh*, 1:2236, 2238–2244, where Yazdagird's own general Rustam explicitly interprets the gesture in this way.

<sup>953</sup> From Middle Persian *spāhbādh*, military governor of one of the four quadrants into which the Sasanian empire was divided during the reforms of Khusraw Anūshirwān.

<sup>954</sup> Arabic, *izhār al-dīn*; the phrase echoes Qur'ān 9:33.

fellow. The fighting was initiated after the midday prayer. The two sides fought vigorously, and the Muslims showed great bravery and skill. Sa'd was sick that day, and so he went to the Palace of al-'Udhayb, stayed in it, and fortified himself in it. When Rustam found out, he sent some cavalry to surround the palace. When the Muslims learned of it, they went to the palace, and Rustam's men were put to flight. When they woke up the next morning, 6,000 troops arrived from the army of Abū 'Ubayda b. al-Jarrāḥ—they had been with Khālid b. al-Walīd: 5,000 were Muḍar and Rabī'a tribesmen, and 1,000 were from other groups of Muslims. | They were under the command of al-Mirqāl Hāshim b. 'Utba b. Abī Waqqāṣ—the conquest of Syria<sup>955</sup> had taken place a month before (the Battle of) al-Qādisiyya. So on the morning of the third day they were in their positions. Rustam sent out the elephants, and when the squadrons saw them they almost broke ranks. Then the Muslims attacked them, putting out their eyes and cutting their trunks, and the Muslims advanced. On the morning of the fourth day the Muslims had the upper hand. Rustam was killed—a pack that was on a mule fell on him and killed him. The one who threw the pack on him was Hilāl b. 'Ullafa;<sup>956</sup> he climbed atop Rustam's throne and shouted, "I have killed [Rustam], by the Lord of the Ka'ba! To me, to me!" Some have said that Zuhayr b. 'Abd Shams, the nephew of Jarīr b. 'Abdallāh, killed him. There was great carnage among them, and they retreated in flight. The booty and spoil were gathered; the spoil of Rustam was sold. The share of a single man amounted to 14,000 (dirhams) for each cavalryman and 7,100 for an infantryman. From the bulk of the booty<sup>957</sup> a little was given as a token to the dependents of martyrs, and a little was given to the women from the bulk of the booty. As for slaves, they were plentiful.

Sa'd sent a delegation to 'Umar, and 'Umar bestowed on them 80 dinars apiece. Present at al-Qādisiyya from among the Companions of the Messenger of God were 70 veterans of Badr, 120 who had witnessed the Oath of Good Pleasure<sup>958</sup> and the conquest (of Mecca), and 100 (other) Companions of the Messenger of God. All the Persians rushed to al-Madā'in in flight, turning aside for nothing; Yazdagird the king was there. Sa'd sent the Muslims after them and

<sup>955</sup> Arabic *al-Sha'm*, referring either to Syria or to the city of Damascus.

<sup>956</sup> M has Malik (for Mālik) b. 'Alqama; ed. Leiden corrects to Hilāl b. 'Ullafa on the basis of al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 1:2336–2338, and al-Balādhurī, *Futūh*, 259, noting that miscopying could explain the confusion.

<sup>957</sup> Arabic *min sūlb al-fay'*.

<sup>958</sup> The oath of allegiance sworn to the Prophet by his followers in Dhū l-Qa'da 6 (March 638) during the expedition to al-Ḥudaybiya. See the article by W. Montgomery Watt in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Bay'at al-Ridwān.

besieged them for a month and 15 days. Then the Persians departed in flight, and al-Madā'in was conquered. Some have said that this took place in the year 16.<sup>959</sup>

In this (year) 'Umar began dating written documents. He wanted to write the date from the birth | of the Messenger of God; afterward he said, "from the beginning of his mission."<sup>960</sup> 'Alī b. Abī Tālib advised him to write it from the migration (*hijra*), so he wrote it from the *hijra*.<sup>961</sup>

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'Utba b. Ghazwān betook himself to 'Umar, leaving Mujāshi' b. Mas'ūd al-Sulamī in charge of Basra, with al-Mughira b. Shu'ba commanding the army. After 'Utba departed, the local inhabitants<sup>962</sup> of Maysān and the rural districts along the Tigris came forth (in rebellion) under al-Faylakān. Al-Mughira b. Shu'ba gathered a troop of Muslims against them and marched until he encountered the local inhabitants in Maysān and routed them, taking its people captive by force. Al-Mughira wrote about this to 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. 'Umar therefore said to 'Utba, "Have nomads been given authority over settled people?"<sup>963</sup> and wrote to al-Mughira, saying: "You shall be 'Utba b. Ghazwān's deputy until 'Utba arrives." 'Utba left 'Umar's presence, but died on the way from Medina to Basra; 'Umar therefore wrote to al-Mughira appointing him governor of Basra. When the Battle of al-Qādisiyya occurred, al-Mughira went to Sa'd<sup>964</sup> and then returned to his governorship. Now al-Mughira used to frequent a woman of the Banū Hilāl named Umm Jamīl, the wife of al-Hajjāj b. 'Atīk al-Thaqafī.<sup>965</sup> A group of Muslims became suspicious of him: Abū Bakra,

959 16 A.H. = February 2, 637 – January 22, 638. The dating of the Battle of al-Qādisiyya presents problems. Al-Tabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 1:2377, following his main source, Sayf, places the narrative of the battle under 14 A.H., but notes that other authorities date it to 15 (Ibn Ishāq) or 16 (al-Madā'inī). The arguments were summed up by L. Vecchia Vaglieri in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Kādisiyā. She argued for a date in Muḥarram 15 (February–March 636).

960 That is, from the time of Muḥammad's first receiving the revelation of the Qur'ān, traditionally placed in his fortieth year.

961 That is, from the date of Muḥammad's migration from Mecca to Medina, which became year 1 of the Islamic calendar, called *hijrī* in Arabic after the word for migration (*hijra*).

962 Arabic *a'ājim* (plural of '*ajam*). The word usually means "Persians," but may have the more general meaning "people who do not speak Arabic," that is, the Aramaic- and Persian-speaking inhabitants of the areas mentioned.

963 Mujāshi' b. Mas'ūd, whom 'Utba had left in command, was of the tribe of Sulaym, a nomadic group originally from the region between Mecca and Medina; al-Mughira, on the other hand, was a townsman hailing from al-Tā'if.

964 That is, he came from Basra to the battlefield near Kufa with reinforcements.

965 According to the parallel account of al-Mughira b. Shu'ba's misconduct (al-Tabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 1:2529–2533), Umm Jamīl's husband died some time before the affair.

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Nāfi' b. al-Hārith, Shibl b. Ma'bād, and Ziyād b. 'Ubayd<sup>966</sup> lay in wait for him until he went in to see her; when the wind lifted the curtain, lo and behold, there he was on top of her. So they<sup>967</sup> went as a delegation to 'Umar. 'Umar heard the voice of Abū Bakra—there was a screen between them—and said, "Abū Bakra?" "Yes," he replied. 'Umar said, "Have you come bringing something evil?"<sup>968</sup> Abū Bakra replied, "It is only al-Mughīra who has brought it"—and he told him the story. 'Umar therefore sent Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī as governor in place of al-Mughīra, and he ordered Abū Mūsā to send al-Mughīra back to him. When al-Mughīra arrived, 'Umar brought him and the witnesses together. Three bore witness. Ziyād approached, and when 'Umar saw him he said, "I see the face of a man | through whom God will not disgrace a man who was a Companion of Muḥammad." When Ziyād drew near, 'Umar asked, "What do you have to say, O eagle's dung?"<sup>969</sup> Ziyād replied, "I saw something shameful, I heard heavy breathing, and I saw feet intertwined, but I did not see anything like the mascara-pencil in the mascara-pot."<sup>970</sup> So 'Umar had Abū Bakra, Nāfi', and Shibl b. Ma'bād whipped.<sup>971</sup> Afterward, Abū Bakra stood up and declared, "I bear witness that al-Mughīra b. Shu'ba is an adulterer." 'Umar wanted to have him whipped a second time, but 'Alī said to him, "Then your companion would die"<sup>972</sup> of stoning." And so, whenever 'Umar saw al-Mughīra, he would to say,

966 This is the first appearance in al-Yāqūbī of a man who would have a long and distinguished career later under both 'Alī and Mu'āwiya. Ziyād was the son of a slave woman named Sumayya; his paternity was uncertain, attributed for convenience to Sumayya's owner, 'Ubayd, but later attributed to Abū Sufyān, a claim which, if true, would have made him the half-brother of the caliph Mu'āwiya. Because of this uncertainty, he was often called Ziyād b. Abīhi (Ziyād, his father's son). See the article by I. Hasson in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ziyād b. Abīhi. Note that al-Mughīra's other accusers are related through Sumayya to each other and to Ziyād. Nāfi' b. al-Hārith and Abū Bakra (full brothers to each other) and Shibl b. Ma'bād were all half-brothers of Ziyād.

967 Reading with M, *fa-wafadū*; ed. Leiden (apparently following C) *fa-wafada* (he went as a delegate).

968 Reading with M *la-qadjīta bi-sharrin*; ed. Leiden (apparently following C) reads *la-qadjīta bi-bushrin*, "Have you brought good tidings?" but this makes no sense with what follows.

969 Arabic *yā salha l-'uqāb*; apparently a variation (or miscopying) of another expression attributed to 'Umar: *yā salha l-ghurāb* (O dung of the crow), said to mean "O foul, or filthy, man" (Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. *salh*).

970 The standard phrase in works of jurisprudence (*fīqh*) for fornication (*zīnā*).

971 That is, for perjury. Islamic law requires four eye-witnesses for accusations of adultery to be found valid. Fewer than four witnesses will be charged with false witness, punishable by flogging. Cf. Qur'ān 24:4.

972 Arabic *idhan tuwuffiya ṣāhibuka hijāratan*; thus ed. Leiden (apparently following C). For *tuwuffiya* (would die) M reads *tawaqqā* (would be cautious of, defend himself against).

"Mughīra, whenever I see you I fear that God will pelt me with stones." There were sixty-eight men in Basra who were Companions of the Messenger of God.

The report returns to the account of Abū 'Ubayda b. al-Jarrāḥ and his siege of the people of Bayt al-Maqdis (Jerusalem), because we have placed every report in its year and its time.

Abū 'Ubayda wrote to 'Umar informing him of how the people of Ḥilāyā (Jerusalem) had been contentious and held out. One authority has said that the people of Ḥilāyā asked that the caliph himself should be the one who made a peace agreement with them. Abū 'Ubayda therefore drew up the agreements and covenants that would be binding upon them and wrote to 'Umar. 'Umar departed for Syria,<sup>973</sup> leaving 'Uthmān b. 'Affān as his deputy over Medina. He reconciled with Khālid, drew him near, and appointed him commander, and so (the latter) marched out with the army in command of his vanguard. This took place in Rajab of the year 16.<sup>974</sup> He encamped at al-Jābiya in the territory of Damascus; then he made his way to Bayt al-Maqdis and took it by treaty. He wrote them a document, as follows:<sup>975</sup>

In the name of God, the Merciful and Compassionate: This is a document written by 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb for the people of Bayt al-Maqdis. You shall be secure in your lives, your property, and your churches, which will not be used for billeting<sup>976</sup> or destroyed, unless you cause public discord.

He summoned men to bear witness.

'Amr b. al-Āṣ brought him (a beverage called) *ṭilā'*. 'Umar asked, "How is it made?" 'Amr replied, "It is cooked until two-thirds of it go away and one-third of it remains." 'Umar said, "I see no harm in it."<sup>977</sup>

People have differed on | the treaty of Bayt al-Maqdis. Some have said that the Jews made the agreement; others have said the Christians.<sup>978</sup> The consensus is the Christians.

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973 Arabic *al-Shā'm*: the area to the north and west of the Arabian peninsula, including Syria, Jordan, and Palestine.

974 Rajab 16 began on July 29, 637.

975 Cf. the longer version in al-Tabarī, *Tarīkh*, 1:2405–2407.

976 Arabic *lā tuskan*, literally "will not be inhabited," referring apparently to requisition of them for billeting Muslim troops.

977 *Tilā'* apparently was wine boiled down into a kind of syrup (*tilā'* can also refer to pitch used to heal sores on the skin of camels). Its licitness or illicitness was a subject of debate; see the article by A. J. Wensinck in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Khamr, which cites a longer version of this incident; cf. al-Tabarī, *Tarīkh*, 1:2410.

978 Or, "that he ('Umar) made the agreement with the Jews"—the Arabic is ambiguous.

Bilāl went to ‘Umar and said, “Commander of the Faithful, the commanders of the Syrian forces are eating only fowls’ flesh and fine bread, but most of the men are not receiving that.” ‘Umar therefore required the Syrian commanders to guarantee him as food for the Muslims two loaves of bread a day for each man and a suitable quantity of vinegar and oil. ‘Umar ordered that the booty be divided equally among the army, excepting only Lakhm and Judhām, for he said, “I will not treat him who has come from far away to [his enemy]<sup>979</sup> like him who has (merely) come out of his house.”<sup>980</sup> Then a man went to him and said, “If God has made the emigration (*hijra*) to be toward us, and so we (simply) went out of our houses to our enemy, are we to be deprived of our share?”

On his return to Medina, ‘Umar passed by some people who had been stood up to be punished for (non-payment of) the land-tax (*kharāj*). ‘Umar said, “Leave them alone and don’t torment them, for I heard the Messenger of God say that those who torment people in this life will be tormented by God in the hereafter on the Day of Resurrection.” So he sent a messenger to them and let them go their way. Jabala b. al-Ayham came to him and said, “You should take the alms-tax (*sadaqa*) from me just as you do with the Arabs.”<sup>981</sup> “Nay, rather the poll-tax (*jizya*),” replied ‘Umar, “or else join those who follow your religion.” Jabala therefore left with 30,000 of his people and betook himself to Byzantine territory. ‘Umar regretted what he had done in his case.

<sup>2:169</sup> ‘Amr b. al-Āṣ came to him<sup>982</sup> and said to him: “Commander of the Faithful, you should allow me to go to Egypt. If we conquer it, it will be a strength for the Muslims, for it is among the richest of lands and the least capable of fighting.” He continued to stress to ‘Umar its importance and make its conquest seem easy to him until ‘Umar put him in charge of 4,000 men, all of them from (the tribe of) ‘Akk, and said to him: “A letter from me will reach you quickly. If my letter reaches you commanding you | to turn back from Egypt before you have entered any of its territory, then withdraw. But if you have entered it and then my letter reaches you, continue and ask for God’s help.” ‘Amr marched in haste. When he was in Rafah, which is the last district of Palestine, ‘Umar’s messenger

<sup>979</sup> Inserted by the Leiden editor to fill a visible lacuna in C; M similar.

<sup>980</sup> The point is that soldiers of Lakhm and Judhām, whose homes lay in the southern part of geographical Syria, should not get as much booty as soldiers who had come from distant Arabia.

<sup>981</sup> Cf. the incident involving Jabala narrated by al-Ya‘qūbī above, ed. Leiden, 2:161.

<sup>982</sup> The Leiden editor read the manuscript as *wajjaha Amru bnu l-Āṣ* (‘Amr b. al-Āṣ sent), but as there is no indication of whom he sent and the sentence continues with ‘Amr speaking to ‘Umar, the MS is probably to be read as a slip (or defective spelling) for *wa-jā’ahu Amru ...* (‘Amr came to him ...); M similar.

came to him with a letter, but 'Amr did not open it; he pushed ahead until he came to a village near al-'Arīsh and then read the letter. Then he asked, "Of what is this village part?" "Of Egypt," they replied. He said, "The Commander of the Faithful ordered me to forge ahead if his letter reached me after I had entered any part of Egypt and to ask God's help." [He went on]<sup>983</sup> until he came to al-Faramā'.<sup>984</sup> They fought him for about three months. Then God granted him victory, and he continued until he came to Umm Dunayn.<sup>985</sup> They fought him fiercely and the conquest was slow in coming, so he wrote to 'Umar for reinforcements. 'Umar sent 4,000 men and wrote to him that he had set over each thousand men one man who could take the place of a thousand. Among them were al-Zubayr b. al-'Awwām, al-Miqdād b. al-Aswad, 'Ubāda b. al-Şāmit, and Khārijah b. Hudhāfa. Some say that Maslama b. Mukhallad was one of them. They fought fiercely; then al-Zubayr said, "I give my life to God and hope that God will give victory to the Muslims." He put a ladder by night on the side of the fortress; a company of men assaulted it with him, and the Muslims called out, "God is most great!" When the killing reached fever pitch, they<sup>986</sup> called for a peace agreement. Some have said that 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ granted al-Muqawqis<sup>987</sup> a peace agreement against payment of two dinars for each man. Others have said that there was no peace agreement; rather, it was conquered by force.

Then 'Amr made his way to Alexandria. There were Byzantine troops in it and three fortresses overlooking it. The troops fought him fiercely, and the fighting between them went on for three months. Al-Muqawqis had asked 'Amr to make a peace agreement with him for Alexandria, on terms that whoever wanted to leave for | Byzantine territory would be released and whoever remained would owe two dinars as tribute (*kharāj*). He agreed to it, but when Heraclius, the Byzantine king, learned of it, ...<sup>988</sup> and grew angry. So

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983 Conjectural addition by the Leiden editor.

984 Al-Faramā' (Pelusium) was a town on the Mediterranean on the eastern edge of the Nile delta; its ruins (modern Tel El Farama) are about 25 km east of the Suez Canal.

985 C, M: *al-madīna* (the city); emended by the Leiden editor. Cf. al-Kindi, *Kitāb al-Wulāt*, 8. Umm Dunayn was a town on the Nile near the Byzantine fortress of Babylon, for which it served as harbor. It was thus near the site of later Cairo (Yāqūt, s.v.). A. J. Butler, *The Arab Conquest of Egypt* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1902), 217, located it near the site of the modern Ezbekiyya in Cairo, taking into account the shifting of the course of the Nile.

986 That is, the defenders of the fortress.

987 Al-Muqawqis is the Arabic designation for Cyrus, the Melchite Patriarch of Alexandria, transferred by Heraclius to Egypt from Colchis in the Caucasus in 631. The Arabic (al-Muqawqis) is derived through Coptic from Colchis or Caucasus. See the article by K. Öhrnberg in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Muḳawlīs.

988 There is a visible lacuna in M; ed. Leiden (apparently following C) displaces it until

al-Muqawqis said, “I gave them good advice, but they were suspicious of me; therefore do not grant them the favorable terms that you granted me.”

‘Umar left for Mecca in the year 17 and performed the lesser pilgrimage of Rajab.<sup>989</sup> He expanded the Station<sup>990</sup> and made it farther from the House.<sup>991</sup> He expanded the Hījrah,<sup>992</sup> and he did construction work on the Sacred Mosque and expanded it. He purchased houses from some people, but others refused, and so he razed their houses and put the equivalent of their houses’ value into the treasury. One of the houses demolished was the house of al-‘Abbās b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib, who said to him, “Will you raze my house?” ‘Umar replied, “In order to expand the sacred mosque!” Al-‘Abbās said: “I heard the Messenger of God say: ‘God ordered David to build a house for Him in Ḥiyā’, and so he built it in Bayt al-Maqdis,<sup>993</sup> but whenever the building rose, it fell down. So David said, ‘My Lord, you ordered me to build you a house, but whenever I build, the building falls down.’ God then sent him a revelation, saying, ‘I accept only that which is of pleasing odor,<sup>994</sup> but you have built for me on land wrongfully taken.’” David therefore looked, and lo there was a plot of land he had not purchased, and he bought it from its owner at his price.<sup>995</sup> Then he built, and the building was completed.” “Who,” asked ‘Umar “will bear witness that they heard this from the Messenger of God?” Some men stood up and bore witness. ‘Umar said, “Name us a price, Abū l-Fadl,<sup>996</sup> or else we will desist.” Al-‘Abbās replied, “I have left it to God.” Twenty days later ‘Umar set out to return. Al-‘Abbās was riding along with him, but on an intractable mount. ‘Umar got ahead of him, but stopped until al-‘Abbās caught up with him. ‘Umar said to him, “I got ahead of you, but it is not right for anyone to get ahead of you, people of the Banū

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after next word. The parallel in al-Balādhurī, *Futūh*, 215, reads: “When the Byzantine king learned of it, he became furious and dispatched the armies. They shut the gate of Alexandria and declared war on ‘Amr. Al-Muqawqis therefore came out to ‘Amr and said ...”

<sup>989</sup> Rajab 17 began on July 19, 638.

<sup>990</sup> That is, the Maqām Ibrāhīm (Abraham’s Standing Place), just off the east corner of the Ka’ba.

<sup>991</sup> That is, farther from the Ka’ba (the House, *al-Bayt*).

<sup>992</sup> The area just northwest of the Ka’ba, between its northwest wall and the low semicircular wall called *al-haṭīm*.

<sup>993</sup> The “house” is the temple, built according to 2 Samuel 7, not by David, but by his son Solomon.

<sup>994</sup> Arabic *tayyib* (good) often has the sense of “pleasant in taste or odor”—perhaps a reminiscence of the “pleasing odor” of the Old Testament sacrifices (e.g., Leviticus 1:9).

<sup>995</sup> Arabic *bi-ḥukmihi*, that is, at the owner’s judgment of its value.

<sup>996</sup> That is, al-‘Abbās b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib, addressing him by his *kunya*.

Hāshim, a people in whom there is weakness.”<sup>997</sup> (Al-‘Abbās) said, “Has God deemed us strong enough for prophecy, but too weak for the caliphate?”<sup>998</sup>

‘Umar left for Syria and reached Sargh.<sup>999</sup> He learned that the plague had spread, so he turned back. The commanders of Syria met him, and Abū ‘Ubayda b. al-Jarrāḥ spoke to him very bluntly, saying, “Are you fleeing from the decree of Almighty God?” “Yes,” replied ‘Umar, “I am fleeing from God’s decree to God’s decree.”

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In this year ‘Umar asked ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib for the hand of ‘Alī’s daughter Umm Kulthūm, whose mother was Fāṭima, the daughter of the Messenger of God. ‘Alī said that she was still young. ‘Umar replied: “I did not mean it in the way you thought. I heard the Messenger of God say, ‘Every descent and relationship will be broken on the Day of Resurrection, except relationship to me, descent from me, and relationship to me by marriage.’ So I desired to have a relationship and marriage-tie to the Messenger of God.” He then married her and gave her 10,000 dinars as dowry.

In this year—some say that it was at the beginning of the year 18<sup>1000</sup>—the Muslims settled Kufa, laid out plots in it, and built houses. Eighty of the Companions of the Messenger of God settled in it.

Drought, barrenness, and severe famine afflicted the people in the Year of Ashes, which was [the year] 18. ‘Umar went out to pray for rain. He had the people come out, took al-‘Abbās b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib by the hand, and said: “O God, we draw near to You by the uncle of Your Prophet. O God, do not disappoint their expectation in Your Messenger.” And they were granted rain.

997 ‘Umar is playing on the two senses of the Arabic verb *taqaddama*, which means both “get ahead of” and “take precedence over.” Although there is no indication of a lacuna in the mss, the Leiden editor inferred one and therefore printed a text that can be translated: “I got ahead of you, but it is not right for anyone to take precedence over you, people of the Banū Hāshim, a people ... in you/whom there is weakness.”

998 The Arabic original of the sentence lacks an initial interrogative particle, but it seems best to take it as a rhetorical question whose answer is no. Al-‘Abbās then would be affirming the claim of the Banū Hāshim, Muhammad’s clan (“God deemed us strong enough for prophecy”), to being qualified also for the succession (the caliphate). The prediction, a veiled prophecy attributed to al-‘Abbās, would be fulfilled, though after al-‘Abbās’s death, with the accession of ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib to the caliphate, and, after the Umayyad interregnum, by the accession of a descendant of al-‘Abbās to the caliphate and the establishment of the ‘Abbāsid dynasty.

999 According to Yāqūt, s.v., Sargh was thirteen days’ journey north of Medina and marked the border between the Ḥijāz and al-Sha’m (Syria).

1000 18 A.H. = January 12, 639 – January 1, 640.

'Umar appointed a food allowance for the dependents of certain Muslims in that year and ordered that the expenses of foundlings and their nursing should be paid from the treasury.

In this year 'Umar was styled Commander of the Faithful; he had been styled Successor (*Khalifa*) [of the Successor of the Messenger of God. Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī addressed a letter to him: "To the Servant of God 'Umar, Commander of the Faithful," and this became customary. Some have said that al-Mughīra b. Shu'ba came to see him and said, "Peace be upon you, Commander of the Faithful," whereupon 'Umar said, "You must not say such a thing!" "Aren't we Muslims?" asked al-Mughīra. "Of course," replied 'Umar. Al-Mughīra said, "And you are our commander." 'Umar said, "Yes, by God."

Abū 'Ubayda b. al-Jarrāḥ had sent 'Iyād b. Ghanm al-Fihri to the Jazīra. He kept besieging them, and then he conquered al-Raqqa, Sarūj, Edessa (al-Ruhā), Nisibis (Niṣibīn), and the other towns of the Jazīra—all of them by peace agreement. He imposed tax (*kharāj*) on the land, and (he imposed a poll-tax) on the necks of men: on each person four or five dinars, or six, in the year 18. Then he returned to Abū 'Ubayda.

The plague spread in Syria—it was the plague of 'Amwās.<sup>1001</sup> Abū 'Ubayda b. al-Jarrāḥ died. He appointed as successor 'Iyād b. Ghanm over Ḥimṣ and its dependencies of Qinnasrīn and Mu'ādh b. Jabal over Jordan, but it was only a few days before Mu'ādh b. Jabal died. Yazīd b. Abī Sufyān and Shurahbīl b. Ḥasana also died. 'Umar therefore confirmed Mu'āwiya over Yazīd's governorate. In that year 25,000 died in the 'Amwās plague, apart from those who were not encompassed.<sup>1002</sup> Prices rose and the people began hoarding; 'Umar therefore prohibited hoarding.

In this (year) al-Faḍl b. al-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib died in Palestine. Palestine had been conquered, except for Caesarea (al-Qaysāriyya); Mu'āwiya b. Abī Sufyān was stationed against it, and he conquered it in the year 18. It has been said that there were 80,000 fighting men in the city. Mu'āwiya sent two men from the tribe of Judhām to 'Umar with the good tidings; after them he sent a man named Zuhayr from the tribe of Khath'ām. He said to him, "If you can get

<sup>1001</sup> 'Amwās (or 'Amawās) is the Biblical Emmaus, about seven miles from Jerusalem (Luke 24:13). The plague was named for the place where it started. See the article by Justin K. Stearns in *EI*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. 'Amwās, plague of.

<sup>1002</sup> Arabic *sīwā man lam yuhṣar minhum* (apart from those of them who were not restrained) apparently refers to those who contracted the disease but did not die. Although Lane, *Lexicon*, records instances of the verb *haṣara* (restrain) referring to the debilitating effects of disease, one is tempted to emend one letter and read *sīwā man lam yuhṣā minhum* (apart from those who were not counted).

there before the two Judhāmīs, | do it." So the Khath'āmī overtook them while they were sleeping and passed them by. He arrived in Medina at night, came to 'Umar, and told him the news. 'Umar shouted, "God is most great!" and praised God. Then he went out to the mosque, ordered fire be brought and it was, and he praised God and informed them of the conquest of Caesarea.

Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ wrote from al-Madā'in to 'Umar three years after he had settled in, informing him that the Persians had gathered at Jalūlā', a village of the Sawād near Hulwān. 'Umar wrote to him to hasten against them with the men he had with him, and he dispatched 'Abdallāh b. Mas'ūd and put him in Sa'd's place. Some have said that he sent Salmān to be at al-Madā'in. Ibn Mas'ūd used to instruct them in religion and teach them. The battle of Jalūlā' was in the year 19;<sup>1003</sup> he<sup>1004</sup> continued fighting them until God made him victorious. A great many Persians were killed, and Yazdagird fled with those who remained with him and reached Isfahan; then he marched to the vicinity of al-Rayy. The ruler (*sāhib*) of Ṭabaristān came to him and informed him of the impregnability of his country, but Yazdagird refused his offer and went on to Marw. He had with him 1,000 of his cavalrymen, 1,000 crack troops,<sup>1005</sup> and 1,000 men of special valor.<sup>1006</sup> He corresponded with Nayzak Ṭarkhān, but the latter attacked him with a club.<sup>1007</sup> So he left in flight and entered the house of a miller; they overtook him and killed him in the miller's house. His cavalrymen made their way to Balkh, his valorous troops reached Herat, and his crack troops Marv. The hosts of the Persians dispersed; God made their kingdom pass away and scattered their assembly.

Sa'd returned to Kufa and laid out its mosque and its governor's palace.<sup>1008</sup> Al-Ash'ath laid out the Cemetery of Kinda, and the Kinda laid out plots around it; Yazīd b. 'Abdallāh laid out the desert side,<sup>1009</sup> and the Bajila laid out plots

<sup>1003</sup> 19 A.H. = January 2 – December 20, 640. Note that al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 1:2456, places the Battle of Jalūlā' in 16 A.H.

<sup>1004</sup> Apparently referring to Sa'd.

<sup>1005</sup> Ed. Leiden has *jabbār*, perhaps "toughs."

<sup>1006</sup> Ed. Leiden has *ṣannāja*.

<sup>1007</sup> Nayzak Ṭarkhān was the ruler of the Turks with whom, according to al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 1:2877–2882, Yazdagird hoped to ally himself. Al-Ya'qūbī offers here a fragment of a much longer narrative involving Yazdagird, the Persian prince Farrukhzād, and the ruler of Marv. In al-Ṭabarī's version, (*Ta'rīkh*, 1:2878–2879) it is Farrukhzād who attacks Yazdagird with a club.

<sup>1008</sup> Arabic, *qaṣr imāratihā*, lit. "its palace of command," the governor's residence, more commonly called *dār al-imāra*.

<sup>1009</sup> Arabic, *nāhiyat al-barriyya*, or "uncultivated district."

around it. ‘Umar consulted the Companions of the Messenger of God about the cultivated land (*sawād*) of Kufa. Some said to him, “You<sup>1010</sup> should divide it among us.” He consulted ‘Alī, who said, “If you divide it today, there will be nothing | for those who come after; instead, you should confirm it in their hands to work it,<sup>1011</sup> so that it will be there for us and for those after us.” ‘Umar said: “May God give you success! This is the right view.” He dispatched ‘Uthmān b. Ḥunayf and Ḥudhayfa b. al-Yamān, and they surveyed the cultivated lands. ‘Umar ordered them not to burden anyone beyond his ability, and so he levied 80 million dirhams as the land-tax (*kharāj*) of the Sawād. He provided ‘Uthmān b. Ḥunayf with a daily allowance of five dirhams and a leather bag of flour and ordered him not to include in the survey any hill,<sup>1012</sup> thicket, swamp, or anything that water could not reach. He was to measure using the “black” cubit, which consists of a cubit (*dhirā'*) and a hand’s-breadth (*qabḍa*), and he raised his thumb above his fist slightly.<sup>1013</sup> ‘Uthmān surveyed everything this side of the mountains of Ḥulwān up to the land of the west,<sup>1014</sup> which is the lower part of the Euphrates.<sup>1015</sup> Then he wrote to ‘Umar: “I have found out everything that water has ever reached, be it cultivated or uncultivated,<sup>1016</sup> as long as water has ever reached it, whether its owner has worked it or not.” [He assessed on every *jarīb* of land]<sup>1017</sup> one dirham and one *qafiz*; on vineyards, 10 dirhams; and on

<sup>1010</sup> Here and in the next sentence M appears to read the first person, “We should divide ...”

<sup>1011</sup> Arabic *ya'malūnahā*, perhaps in the sense of overseeing the working of the land and collecting taxes on it, but not owning it. The Arab tribesmen would thus remain a military caste ready to be deployed, rather than assimilating into the agricultural economy of the Sawād.

<sup>1012</sup> Arabic *tall*, perhaps referring to the ruins of ancient habitations (tells) that dot the Iraqi landscape. Such hills would not be suitable for agriculture.

<sup>1013</sup> On the various types of cubit (*dhirā'*), see the article by W. Hinz in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Dhirā'. The “black” cubit (*dhirā' sawdā'*) later was fixed at 54.04 cm, as against the shorter “legal” cubit (*dhirā' shar'iyya*) of 49.8 cm.

<sup>1014</sup> Thus M, *ard al-maghrib*; ed. Leiden *ard al-'arab* (the land of the Arabs).

<sup>1015</sup> The text is problematic. Literally, it says “and it (*wa-huwa*) is the lower part of the Euphrates.” The only possible antecedent for “it” (*huwa*, masculine in Arabic) is “land,” which is feminine. One is tempted to emend to *wa-ilā* (and up to), which would make good sense as defining the Sawād as extending from the Zagros Mountains around Ḥulwān, west to the Syrian Desert, and south to the lower reaches of the Euphrates.

<sup>1016</sup> Reading with M: *min 'āmirin aw ghāmirin*. Ed. Leiden (apparently following C), *min 'āmirin aw ghayri 'āmirin* (whether cultivated or uncultivated), is a copyist’s attempt to make sense out of the unusual word *ghāmir-* (desolate, unilled), which the scribe of M wrote without a dot on its initial letter.

<sup>1017</sup> There is a lacuna, although no gap is visible in M. The text can be restored from al-

fresh dates<sup>1018</sup> 5 dirhams. He imposed (a poll-tax) on their necks: 48 dirhams on the well-to-do, 24<sup>1019</sup> dirhams on those below that, and 12 dirhams on those who could not find (enough to pay more), saying, “A dirham a month will not make a man destitute.” In the first year, 80 million dirhams of tax revenue (*kharāj*) were taken from the Sawād; in the next year, 120 million dirhams were taken. The Persian landlords (*dihqāns*) met with ‘Uthmān b. Ḥunayf about the vineyards, saying, “A bunch of grapes from what is near the city sells for (only) a dirham.” ‘Uthmān therefore wrote to ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb about it. ‘Umar wrote to him to collect from the one and remit from the next, according to the capacity of each location. ‘Umar used to take the *jizya*<sup>1020</sup> from all of their tradesmen according to the value of what they owed. ‘Alī did likewise. ‘Umar wrote to Abū Mūsā to levy the same tax (*kharāj*) on the territory of Basra | as ‘Uthmān b. Ḥunayf levied on the territory of Kufa, and he wrote to ‘Uthmān b. Ḥunayf, saying, “Transport the stipends of the people of Medina to them, for they are their partners.”<sup>1021</sup> He used to transport between 20 million and 30 million (dirhams annually).

‘Umar drew up the (military) registers (*dawāwīn*, pl. of *dīwān*) and instituted the system of stipends (*‘atā’*) in the year 20.<sup>1022</sup> “Wealth has proliferated,” he said, and therefore he was advised to make a register. He summoned ‘Aqīl b. Abī Tālib, Makhrama<sup>1023</sup> b. Nawfal, and Jubayr b. Muṭ‘im b. Nawfal b. ‘Abd Manāf

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Balādhurī, *Futūh*, 269: *wa qā'a 'Umaru 'alā l-sawādi 'alā kulli jarībin 'āmirin aw ghāmirin yablughuhu l-mā'u dirhaman wa-qafzan.* ('Umar assessed on every *jarib* in the Sawād, whether cultivated or uncultivated, provided it was accessible to water, one dirham and one *qafiz*.) The *jarib* was a measure of land, originally the amount of land that could be sown with a certain amount of seed (also called a *jarib*, consisting of four *qafiz* measures). It was approximately 1,600 m<sup>2</sup>. See the articles by C. E. Bosworth in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Misāha; and by E. Ashtor, s.v. Mawāzīn. The *qafiz* was a Persian measure of grain.

<sup>1018</sup> Arabic *riṭāb*, which is ambiguous; it can be the plural of *ruṭab* (fresh dates), as opposed to varieties normally dried, or it can be the plural of *ratba* (clover), i.e., “fields of clover.” The parallel in al-Balādhurī, *Futūh*, 269–270, uses *ratba*, and thus refers to clover rather than date palms.

<sup>1019</sup> The MSS read 28; emended by the Leiden editor; cf. al-Balādhurī, *Futūh*, 269.

<sup>1020</sup> The MSS read *al-jibya*, which may be another word for “tax” (Lane, *Lexicon*, 2:378; Dozy, *Supplément*, 1:172); cf. Syriac *gbīta*, “contribution, gift” (Sokoloff, *Syriac Lexicon*, 201). The Leiden editor emended to *al-jizya*.

<sup>1021</sup> That is, partners of the Muslims living in Kufa.

<sup>1022</sup> 20 A.H. = December 21, 640 – December 9, 641. Curiously, al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 1:2411 dates the event to 15 A.H.; al-Balādhurī, *Futūh*, 450, dates it to 20 A.H. On these administrative developments, see the articles by A. A. Duri in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Dīwān, and by Cl. Cahen, s.v. ‘Atā’.

<sup>1023</sup> The MSS read “Waraqa” (in M an x has been written over the word, perhaps to indicate

and said: "Write down the people according to their standings."<sup>1024</sup> Begin with the Banū 'Abd Manāf." So he registered the first of the people, 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, at 5,000 (dirhams); al-Hasan b. 'Alī at 3,000; and al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī at 3,000. It is said that he put second<sup>1025</sup> al-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib at 3,000; everyone from Quraysh who had been present at the Battle of Badr (on the Muslim side) at 3,000; and those of the Anṣār who had been present at Badr at 4,000. As for the people of Mecca, he registered the chief men of Quraysh, such as Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb and Mu'āwiya b. Abī Sufyān, at 5,000; then came the Quraysh according to their standings, those who had not been present at Badr. He registered the Mothers of the Believers<sup>1026</sup> at 6,000 each; 'Āisha, [Umm] Ḥabība, and Ḥafṣa at 12,000 (each); and Ṣafiyya and Juwayriya at 5,000 each. He registered himself at 4,000, and his son 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar at 5,000. He registered the people of Mecca who did not emigrate (to Medina) at 600 and 700. He allocated the people of Yemen 400, the Muḍar 300, and the Rabī'a 200.

The first money he gave out as stipend ('aṭā') was money that Abū Hurayra brought from al-Baḥrayn in the amount of 700,000 dirhams. He said: "Register the people according to their standings."<sup>1027</sup> They registered the Banū 'Abd Manāf and followed them with Abū Bakr and his kinsmen, and then with 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb and his kinsmen, | according to the order of succession to the caliphate.<sup>1028</sup> When 'Umar looked at what they had done, he said, "I wish, by God, that I were so close to the Messenger of God! Begin rather

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that it is incorrect). The Leiden editor emended the reading, apparently on the basis of al-Balādhurī, *Futūh*, 449. In fact, the well-known Waraqā b. Nawfal, who had become a monotheist and recognized Muhammad's earliest revelations as authentic, died before Muhammad's death. Makhrāma b. Nawfal also appears in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 1:2529, as one of the men who assisted 'Umar in carrying out his construction projects around the Meccan sanctuary in 17 A.H.

<sup>1024</sup> Arabic, *alā manāzilihim*, presumably their priority in becoming Muslims, but, as al-Ya'qūbī's account, which shows marks of being pieced together from more than one source, makes clear, other factors were taken into account, with the result that the organization of the diwān became a matter of contention.

<sup>1025</sup> Reading with M, *thanā bi-*; ed. Leiden (apparently following C), *bada'a bi-* (he began with).

<sup>1026</sup> That is, the wives of the Prophet, three of whom were given higher allotments, and two lower ones.

<sup>1027</sup> This sentence, an exact repetition of 'Umar's words cited in the previous paragraph, seems to indicate that al-Ya'qūbī has begun to cite a different account.

<sup>1028</sup> This arrangement would place two minor clans within Quraysh, the Banū Taym b. Murra (Abū Bakr's clan) and the Banū 'Adi b. Ka'b ('Umar's clan) ahead of the clans more closely related to the Prophet through 'Abd Manāf.

with the Messenger of God, followed by those most closely related to him and then the next closest, so that you put 'Umar where God has put him.' He made allotments to the women Emigrants and other women according to their merit. His allotment to them was 2,000, 1,500, or 1,000 (dirhams): he allocated 2,000 to Asmā' bt. 'Umays, Umm Kulthūm bt. 'Uqba b. Abī Mu'ayt, and Khawla bt. Ḥakīm b. al-Awqaṣ, the wife of 'Uthmān b. Maz'ūn, and he allocated 1,500 to Umm 'Abd. He made awards to the Persian nobles: he allocated 2,000 (dirhams) each to Fayrūz, son of Yazdagird, *dihqān* of Nahr al-Malik, to al-Nakhīrjān, to Khālid and al-Jamīl, the sons of Buṣbuhrā, *dihqān* of al-Fallūja, to al-Hurmuzān,<sup>1029</sup> to Bisṭām b. Narsī, *dihqān* of Babylon, and to Jufayna al-'Ibādī. He said, "Noblemen by whom I wish to win over others!" 'Umar said in his last year: "I won people over by favoring some over others, but if I live out this year, I will treat people equally and not favor a ruddy person over a swarthy one<sup>1030</sup> or an Arab over a non-Arab. I will do as the Messenger of God and Abū Bakr did."

He established the garrison cities (*amṣār*, plural of *mīṣr*) in this year.<sup>1031</sup> "The *amṣār*," he said, "are seven: Medina is a *mīṣr*, al-Sha'm (Syria or Damascus) is a *mīṣr*, the Jazīra is a *mīṣr*, Kufa is a *mīṣr*, Basra is a *mīṣr*, [...]."<sup>1032</sup> He also

<sup>1029</sup> The Persian general al-Hurmuzān was captured at the Battle of Tustar and taken to Medina. He converted to Islam and became 'Umar's adviser on Persian affairs. After the assassination of 'Umar, which al-Ya'qūbī will describe below (ed. Leiden, 2:184–185), he fell victim to the wrath of 'Umar's son 'Ubaydallāh, who murdered him on suspicion that he had been involved with 'Umar's assassin, Abū Lu'lū'a, who, although a Christian, was also Persian; see the article by L. Veccia Vaglieri in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Hurmuzān.

<sup>1030</sup> Arabic *al-ahmar* (red), that is, those with light complexions, referring to the peoples to the north of the Arabs; *al-aswad* (black), referring to the Arabs and any other dark complexioned peoples. Here the idiom is used by way of inclusion, rather than specifically, to mean something like "all and sundry."

<sup>1031</sup> The word *mīṣr* denotes, in earliest Islam, "the settlements developing out of the armed encampments established by the Arabs in the conquered provinces outside Arabia and then, subsequently, the capital towns or metropolises of the conquered provinces" (C. E. Bosworth in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Miṣr). The Arabic phrase used here, *wa-maṣṣara l-amṣār*, does not imply that Arab forces were sent only at this time to these places; rather, it implies establishment (or reform) of the administrative framework for these cities. Indeed, the term *mīṣr*, as used here in the case of the Jazīra and probably also in the case of al-Sha'm, refers to military districts, not to the chief city of the district. On the internal organization of these cities, see the article by P. Crone in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Khitṭa*.

<sup>1032</sup> Lacuna in text, although the MSS show no break. The missing *amṣār* are probably Egypt (Fusṭāṭ) and possibly al-Yamāma (sometimes called al-Bahrayn) or Yemen.

established the military districts (*ajnād*, plural of *jund*):<sup>1033</sup> he made Palestine a *jund*, the Jazīra a *jund*, Mosul a *jund*, and Qinnasrīn a *jund*.

In this year ‘Amr b. al-Āṣ conquered Alexandria and the other districts of Egypt. He collected 14 million dinars in tax (*kharāj*) on their heads—| a dinar for every person—and tax on their crops, 2 *irdabbs* for every 100 *irdabbs*.<sup>1034</sup> He expelled the companions of Heraclius.<sup>1035</sup> Heraclius, the king of the Byzantines, died, which increased their incapacity and weakness. When ‘Amr b. al-Āṣ conquered Alexandria, he sent Mu‘āwiya b. Ḥudayj al-Kindī as a messenger to ‘Umar. Mu‘āwiya said to ‘Amr, “Send a written letter with me.” ‘Amr replied: “Why should I send a letter with you? Just tell him what you saw and convey the message to him.” When Mu‘āwiya reached ‘Umar and told him the news, ‘Umar bowed in prostration. ‘Umar wrote to ‘Amr b. al-Āṣ to ship to Medina by sea enough food for all the Muslims and to convey it to the coast of al-Jār.<sup>1036</sup> ‘Amr transported food to al-Qulzum, and then transported it by sea in twenty ships, each containing approximately 3,000 *irdabbs*, until it reached al-Jār. When ‘Umar learned of their arrival, he went out to al-Jār with many of the Companions of the Messenger of God and inspected the ships. He appointed agents to take possession of the food, and he built two storehouses<sup>1037</sup> there and put the food in them. Then he ordered Zayd b. Thābit to register the people according to their standings: he ordered him to write them vouchers of papyrus<sup>1038</sup> and to seal them at the bottom; thus he was the first to make vouchers and to seal them at the bottom.

<sup>1033</sup> The word *jund* meant “military district.” In practice it was used only for the military districts of formerly Byzantine lands of Syria, not those in Iraq or Egypt. See the article by D. Sourdel in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Djund*. Again, the language (*wa-jannada l-ajnād*) implies administrative action, rather than the initial deployment of troops.

<sup>1034</sup> The *irdabb*, originally a Persian measure of capacity, was used in Egypt as a measure for grain. It may have varied in size from district to district. The figure given by the geographer al-Muqaddasī (4th/10th century) is the equivalent of 72.3 kg of wheat. See the article by E. Ashtor in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Mawāzin*.

<sup>1035</sup> Arabic *ashāb Hiraql*; a vague expression applicable to anyone who supported the Byzantine emperor.

<sup>1036</sup> Al-Jār was a port on the Red Sea one day from Medina.

<sup>1037</sup> The text has *qaṣrayn* (two palaces), but clearly storehouses or warehouses are meant.

<sup>1038</sup> Arabic *ṣikāk min qarāṭis*. *Ṣakk* (plural *ṣikāk*) is the origin of the word “cheque/check” in English and other European languages. The documents were sealed vouchers issued by the *dīwān* (registry bureau) enabling the bearer to collect a salary, allowance, or pension (see the article by C. E. Bosworth in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Ṣakk*). *Qirṭās* (plural *qarāṭis*) at this early period referred to papyrus.

Resumption of the account of Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ: [Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ returned] to Kufa and stayed there. Settlement plots (*khiṭat*) were laid out, and houses and quarters<sup>1039</sup> were built. Then the people of Kufa complained about Sa'd and said that he did not pray properly, so 'Umar dismissed him from command over them. Sa'd cursed them, praying that God—may He be glorified and exalted—would not make them pleased with any commander, or any commander pleased with them. In place of Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ, 'Umar appointed 'Ammār b. Yāsir.<sup>1040</sup> Afterward, the people of Kufa came to 'Umar. | He asked, "How did you leave your commander, 'Ammār b. Yāsir?" They replied, "A weak Muslim!" So 'Umar dismissed him and sent Jubayr b. Muṭ'im. Then al-Mughīra (b. Shu'ba) used cunning against Jubayr: he carried a report about him to 'Umar and said to him, "Appoint me, Commander of the Faithful." 'Umar said, "You are a dissolute man." He replied: "You need not worry about me. My competence and forcefulness will be yours; my dissoluteness mine alone." So 'Umar appointed him governor of Kufa. Then he asked the Kufans about al-Mughīra. They said, "You are the one who knows him and his immorality best." So 'Umar said, "What a trial you are to me, people of Kufa! If I appoint you a God-fearing Muslim, you say he is weak; and if I appoint you someone experienced,<sup>1041</sup> you say he is dissolute." Some say that 'Umar reinstated Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ.

'Umar expelled the Jews of Khaybar from the Ḥijāz when Muẓahhir<sup>1042</sup> b. Rāfi' al-Ḥārithī was killed.<sup>1043</sup> He said, "I heard the Messenger of God say, 'Two religions shall not coexist in the peninsula of the Arabs.'" So he divided Khaybar into sixteen shares.<sup>1044</sup>

<sup>1039</sup> Arabic *mahāll* (plural of *mahalla*), literally means "resting place," a place where pack animals could be unloaded. It could also designate a quarter of a city. It is not clear which of these meanings is intended here, although "built" suggests the latter.

<sup>1040</sup> Ed. Leiden indicates a lacuna in C; M shows no break.

<sup>1041</sup> Reading with M, *mujarraban* (the *jīm* is undotted); ed. Leiden reads *mujriman* (a criminal).

<sup>1042</sup> Following the vocalization of the name in ed. Leiden; the *Taj al-'arūs* vocalizes the name as Mužhir, but Mužahhir is the common form; see W. Caskel, *Čamharat annasab*, 2:439.

<sup>1043</sup> He was killed by the slaves working his lands in Khaybar; the Jews of Khaybar were said to have incited them; see Ibn Hajar, *al-Isāba*, s.n. (no. 8035).

<sup>1044</sup> Reports about the Prophet's conquest of Khaybar in A.H. 7 became the battleground for later contending views on how lands should be handled for taxation. Some reports say that the Prophet divided the lands among his followers; others that the lands remained in the hands of the Jews, who were reduced to the status of serfs on the land and paid half the annual crop to the Muslims. See the article by L. Veccia Vaglieri in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Khaybar.

He sent Maysara b. Masrūq al-‘Absī against Byzantine territory; the first army to enter it was the army of Maysara in this year—the year 20. He sent Ḥabīb b. Maslama al-Fihri<sup>1045</sup> to raid, and set a deadline for him. When Ḥabīb exceeded that time, ‘Umar became very worried until he arrived. “What,” he asked, “delayed you beyond the deadline I set for you?” Ḥabīb replied, “One of the Muslims fell ill, so we stayed with him until God decreed what He decreed.” ‘Umar did not raid Byzantine territory after Ḥabīb. Whenever the Byzantines were mentioned, ‘Umar would say, “By God, I wish the mountain pass were a burning coal between us and them, we having everything this side of it and the Byzantines everything beyond it”—because of how much he disliked fighting them. He dispatched ‘Alqama b. Mujazziz | al-Mudlījī with about twenty ships, but all the men were killed, and so ‘Umar vowed that he would never send anyone off by sea.

In this year there were earthquakes the like of which had never been seen.

Nihāwand<sup>1046</sup> was conquered in the year 21.<sup>1047</sup> The commander of the men was al-Nu‘mān b. Muqarrin al-Muzanī. The Persians had gathered from Rayy, Qūmis, İsbahān, and a number of other places and had come to Nihāwand. “Our land,” they said, “has been wrested from us, and we have been humiliated in our own homeland.” ‘Umar sent al-Nu‘mān with an army, and he made his way to Nihāwand. The Persians had set over themselves a king named D\_\_\_\_n.<sup>1048</sup>

<sup>1045</sup> See the article by Michael Lecker in *EI*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. Ḥabīb b. Maslama al-Fihri. The mountain pass (*al-darb*) to which ‘Umar will refer is the Cilician Gates, in the Taurus Mountains between Anatolia and Syria. The word may be derived from the town of Derbe near the pass; see Lane, *Lexicon*, 3:866.

<sup>1046</sup> Nihāwand is a town in the Zagros Mountains of western Iran (the modern town preserves the name). See the article by V. Minorsky in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Nihāwand. Cf. also al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:2596–2633 (trans. Juynboll, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, XIII, 179–217). For a detailed discussion of the sources, see Albrecht Noth, “İsfahān–Nihāwand: Eine quellenkritische Studie zur frühislamischen Historiographie.” See also the article by C. E. Bosworth in *Encyclopædia Iranica*, s.v. Nehavand.

<sup>1047</sup> 21 A.H. = December 10, 641 – November 29, 642.

<sup>1048</sup> The name, as written in M, consists of four letters, of which the first and last are unambiguous. Ed. Leiden, based on C, is of no help. The Leiden editor calls attention to a Persian named Dīnār, mentioned in al-Balādhurī, *Futūh*, 306; but he is never identified as a “king,” or even as a commander. However, in al-Balādhurī, *Futūh*, 303, the Persian commander is called Dhū l-Ḥājibayn (He of the Eyebrows), a well-known epithet for the Sasanian commander Mardānshāh b. Hurmuz, and perhaps the original reading of al-Ya‘qūbī was Dhū l-Ḥājibayn, miscopied by the omission of its middle letters. The phrase *mallakū ‘alayhim malikan* (they set over themselves a king) is also puzzling. Perhaps *malik* should be taken in the sense of “prince” or “grandee.” Indeed, al-Balādhurī’s account stresses the pomp of the Persian commander, who sits on a throne (*sarūr*).

There was fierce fighting; al-Nu'mān b. Muqarrin was killed, but then God routed the Persians, and Nihāwand was conquered. During the Nihāwand raid 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb was on the pulpit of the Messenger of God delivering a sermon. Suddenly, while he was speaking, he said, "Sāriya, the mountain, the mountain!"—Sāriya was with the army of Nihāwand.<sup>1049</sup> When Sāriya returned from Nihāwand, he said, "The enemy had surrounded us, but when we heard your voice, Commander of the Faithful, saying 'Sāriya, the mountain, the mountain!' we fled to the mountain and were saved."

'Amr b. al-'Āṣ conquered Barqa<sup>1050</sup> and granted its people a peace agreement against payment of 13,000 dinars, with provision that they should sell such of their children as they wished in order to pay their *jizya* in this year. Then he marched on until he came to Tripoli of Africa and conquered it. He wrote to 'Umar asking his permission to raid the rest of Africa, but 'Umar wrote to him, "It is widely dispersed, and no one shall raid it as long as I remain alive." He sent Busr b. [Abī] Artāt, who made terms with the people of Waddān and the people of Fazzān.<sup>1051</sup> He sent 'Uqba b. Nāfi' al-Fihrī—he was the brother of al-'Āṣ | b. Wā'il al-Sahmī on his mother's side—to the land of the Nūba. The Muslims encountered intense fighting from the Nūba. When the Muslims returned from the land of the Nūba, they laid out settlement plots in Giza. When 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ wrote to 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb about it, 'Umar wrote to him, "Don't put any water between me and you; encamp in a place such that whenever I want to get on my camel and come to you, I can do it."<sup>1052</sup>

Azerbaijan was conquered in the year 22.<sup>1053</sup> The commander of the men was al-Mughīra b. Shu'bā—according to others it was Hāshim b. 'Utba b. Abī Waqqāṣ. Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī conquered the villages of al-Ahwāz and Iṣṭakhr in the year 23.<sup>1054</sup> 'Umar wrote to him to impose tax (*kharāj*) on them as he had on the rest of the land of Iraq, and he did so.<sup>1055</sup> 'Abdallāh b. Budayl b. Warqā<sup>2:180</sup>

<sup>1049</sup> He appears in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 1:2569, as Sāriya b. Zunaym al-Kinānī, a commander appointed by 'Umar on another occasion.

<sup>1050</sup> Barqa is the name both of a region (Cyrenaica in modern Libya) and of a town in it (modern al-Marj) on the Mediterranean coast between modern Benghazi and al-Baydā'. See the article by J. Despois in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Barka.

<sup>1051</sup> On Waddān and Fazzān (modern Fezzan), both in modern Libya, see the articles by J. Despois in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Djufra and s.v. Fazzān.

<sup>1052</sup> 'Umar disapproved of Giza as the site of an Arab garrison city because Giza, on the west bank of the Nile, was separated from the Arabian peninsula by the river; this was not the case with Fustāt, which was located east of the Nile.

<sup>1053</sup> 22 A.H. = November 30, 642 – November 18, 643.

<sup>1054</sup> 23 A.H. = November 19, 643 – November 6, 644.

<sup>1055</sup> "On the rest of the land of Iraq"—al-Ahwāz in Khūzistān, with its riverine agriculture

al-Khuza‘ī conquered Hamadhān and Isfahan in this year, and Qaraṣa b. Ka‘b al-Anṣārī conquered al-Rayy. Mu‘āwiya b. Abī Sufyān conquered ‘Asqalān. ‘Umar appointed Khālid b. al-Walīd governor of Edessa, Ḥarrān, Raqqā, Tall Mawzan, and Āmid; he stayed there for a year and then asked to be relieved of his post, so ‘Umar relieved him of it. Khālid came to Medina and resided there for a few days; then he died in Medina. According to al-Wāqidī, Khālid b. al-Walīd died in Ḥimṣ and appointed ‘Umar to be his executor. When the news of his death came to ‘Umar, Ḥafṣa and ‘Umar’s family lamented him and wept a great deal over him. ‘Umar said, “The women are right to weep over Abū Sulaymān,” and he grieved openly over him. He dispatched Ḥabīb b. Maslāma al-Fihri to Armenia and sent Salmān b. Rabī‘a after him to reinforce him, but he did not reach him until after the murder of ‘Umar.

‘Umar allowed the wives of the Prophet to make the pilgrimage in this year, and he made the pilgrimage with them. One (authority) says: “I saw the wives of the Messenger of God in the howdahs, wearing blue shawls, | in the year 23. ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. ‘Awf was in front of them and ‘Uthmān b. ‘Affān behind them, and they allowed no one to come near them.”

‘Umar confiscated half of the wealth of a group of his governors.<sup>1056</sup> It is said that among them were Sa‘d b. Abī Waqqāṣ, his governor over Kufa; ‘Amr b. al-Āṣ, his governor over Egypt; Abū Hurayra, his governor over al-Baḥrāyn; al-Nu‘mān b. ‘Adī b. Hurthān, his governor over Maysān; Nāfi‘ b. ‘Amr al-Khuza‘ī, [his governor] over Mecca; and Ya‘lā b. Munya, his governor over Yemen. Abū Bakra refused the division, saying, “By God, if this wealth belongs to God, it is not permissible for you to take part of it and leave us part; and if it belongs to us, you have no right to take it.” ‘Umar said to him: “Either you are a Believer who does not defraud people, or a hypocrite. Which are you?”<sup>1057</sup> He replied, “Nay, a Believer who does not defraud.”

Some people of Quraysh asked ‘Umar for permission to go out on jihād. He said: “You have already been through that with the Messenger of God, who said, ‘I will hold the Quraysh by their throats at the extremes of this tract of stones.’<sup>1058</sup> Do not go out, lest you disperse the people right and left.” ‘Abd al-

along the Kārūn River, could be considered an extension of Iraq, which is not the case with Iṣṭakhr, which lay to the east in Fārs, slightly to the north of the ruins of Persepolis.

<sup>1056</sup> Literally, “divided in half,” but the sense is clearly that half of the wealth was taken from them.

<sup>1057</sup> Reading with M, *ayyuka*; L’s conjectural readin *ifk* (lie) makes no sense.

<sup>1058</sup> Arabic *ḥarra*, a tract of desert covered with sharp basalt stones in the vicinity of Medina. The implication is that the Prophet did not allow the Quraysh to go any further afield.

Rahmān b. 'Awf said, "I said, 'Yes, Commander of the Faithful; but why do you bar us from jihād?' He replied, 'It is better for you that I keep silent with you and not respond to you than for me to respond to you.'" Then he began talking about Abū Bakr; finally he said, "The oath of allegiance to Abū Bakr was a fluke<sup>1059</sup> whose evil consequence God warded off; if anyone does something like it again, kill him."

The following has been related on the authority of Ibn 'Abbās, who said:<sup>1060</sup> "Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb came knocking at my door in the middle of the night and said, 'Let us go out to keep watch over the open spaces<sup>1061</sup> of Medina.' He went out, barefoot, with his whip on his neck, until he came to Baqī' al-Gharqad.<sup>1062</sup> Then he lay down on his back and began to beat the soles of his feet with his hand | and to moan grievously. 'Commander of the Faithful,' I asked, 'what has brought you to this state?' He said, 'The affair of God,<sup>1063</sup> Ibn 'Abbās.' [I] said, 'If you wish, I'll inform you of what is in your soul.' He said: 'Dive in!<sup>1064</sup> And if you are going to say something, may it be good!' I mentioned precisely this affair and to whom he should give it. He replied, 'Right.' So I said to him, 'Where do you stand on 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf?' He replied, 'He is a man who is tight-fisted, and this affair is only suitable for one who is open-handed without extravagance, and restrained without niggardliness.' I said, 'Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ?' He replied, 'A believer, (but) weak.' I said, 'Talḥa b. 'Ubaydallāh?<sup>1065</sup> He said,

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<sup>1059</sup> Arabic *falta* (an unexpected event, accident, mishap; something done hastily without thorough consideration) became a code-word in Shī'i discourse about Abū Bakr's election, which they rejected as illegitimate.

<sup>1060</sup> In the following long account from Ibn 'Abbās, numerous breaks in the narrative to reiterate "Ibn 'Abbās said" have been removed and the pronouns adjusted accordingly.

<sup>1061</sup> Reading with M, *sawāḥī*, an unusual plural of *sāḥa* (open spaces, level areas); ed. Leiden reads *nawāḥī* (precincts, outskirts).

<sup>1062</sup> The cemetery of Medina.

<sup>1063</sup> That is, the succession to the caliphate.

<sup>1064</sup> The text is uncertain. M reads '*ud 'awwād*', which normally would mean, "give a substitute, O substituter!"—but might mean simply, "Give, O giver!" The Leiden editor read *ghuṣ ghawwāṣ* (dive in, O diver), which makes a certain sense as *ghawwāṣ* (diver) could be used metaphorically to mean "skilled in obtaining sustenance" (Lane, *Lexicon*, 6:2309).

<sup>1065</sup> Following M; ed. Leiden has Ṭalḥa b. 'Abdallāh. Ṭalḥa b. 'Ubaydallāh was a prominent Companion of the Prophet and, like Abū Bakr with whom he was closely associated, a member of the Taym b. Murra clan of Quraysh. He was appointed by 'Umar as one of the six electors to choose his successor, but, being away from Medina, did not take part in the deliberations. For his later career and death in the Battle of the Camel, see below, and the article by W. Madelung in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ṭalḥa b. 'Ubayd Allāh.

'He is a man who hands things over (only) to get honor and praise; he gives his wealth (only) in order to reach the wealth of others; and he is boastful and haughty.' So I said, 'What about al-Zubayr b. al-'Awwām?—for he is the knight of Islam.' He replied, 'He is a human being one day and a devil the next; and (he is so) abstemious<sup>1066</sup> (that) if there were a measure of dates<sup>1067</sup> in it for him, he would work from morning to noon and even miss the prayer.' I said, "Uthmān b. 'Affān?" He said: 'If he is appointed he will load Ibn Abī Mu'ayt<sup>1068</sup> and the Banū Umayya on the necks of the people; he will give them God's wealth. If he is appointed, by God, he will do it; and, if he does, the Arabs will march against him and kill him in his home.' He fell silent, and then said: 'Keep going, Ibn 'Abbās. Do you think *your* man is the right one for it?'<sup>1069</sup> I said, 'Why should you find it strange for him, given his virtue, his precedence, his relationship (to the Prophet), and his knowledge?' He replied: 'By God, he is as you describe. If he should rule them, he would carry them over the clear path and take the clear route with them.'<sup>1070</sup> Yet he has some other traits: jesting during audiences, following his own opinion exclusively, and reproaching people—besides his youthfulness.' I said, 'Commander of the Faithful, then why did you<sup>1071</sup> not consider him too young at the Battle of the Trench, when 'Amr b. 'Abd Wudd went out and heroes were muzzled by fear of him and grown men hesitated to meet his challenge?<sup>1072</sup> And at the Battle of Badr, when | he was cutting his opponents to pieces? Moreover, you did not precede him in Islam. If the people and Quraysh appoint him, he will give you full measure.'<sup>1073</sup> He said: 'See to your own affairs, Ibn 'Abbās! Do you want to do to me the like of what your father

<sup>1066</sup> Ed. Leiden has *wa-'iffatu nafsin*; M has *wa-'iffatun li-qassīn* (chastity is for priests [?]), perhaps an idiom.

<sup>1067</sup> Reading with M, *min al-tamr* (of dates); omitted in ed. Leiden.

<sup>1068</sup> Al-Walid b. 'Uqba b. Abī Mu'ayt, uterine half-brother of 'Uthmān and appointed by the latter as his governor of Kufa, from which he was dismissed for drunkenness—hence a figure of opprobrium among the pious.

<sup>1069</sup> Literally, "do you think your companion is a place for it?" A reference to 'Ali, Ibn 'Abbās's fellow Hāshimite. W. Madelung, in *The Succession to Muhammad*, 72–73, describes this report of Ibn 'Abbās in al-Yā'qūbī as similar to one found in al-Māwardī, but "revised with a Shi'ite bias."

<sup>1070</sup> Reading with M, *bihim* (with them); omitted by ed. Leiden.

<sup>1071</sup> Plural, meaning 'Umar and Muhammad's other followers.

<sup>1072</sup> 'Ali's single combat in which he killed the Meccan pagan 'Amr b. 'Abd Wudd at the Battle of the Trench has been narrated above by al-Yā'qūbī, ed. Leiden, 2:50–51.

<sup>1073</sup> The text is unclear. Ed. Leiden has *idh kāna ja'alathu al-s.'b.* with a note that the text is corrupt. M appears to have *in kāna ja'alathu al-sha'bū*. The translation follows M.

and 'Alī did to Abū Bakr on the day the two of them visited him?<sup>1074</sup> I did not want to anger him, and so I fell silent. Then he said: 'By God, Ibn 'Abbās, your uncle's son 'Alī is indeed the person most worthy of it,<sup>1075</sup> but the Quraysh will not abide him. If he becomes their ruler, he will hold them to the path of truth; they will find no leniency with him; and if he does so, they will break their oath of allegiance to him, and they will fight each other.'

'Umar performed the pilgrimage in every year of his rule except the first year, which was the year 13. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf led the people on pilgrimage (in that year). The persons with the greatest influence over 'Umar were 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās, 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf, and 'Uthmān b. 'Affān.

One informant has related that 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās was in charge of 'Umar's security forces (*shurat*); his chamberlain (*hājib*) was his *mawlā* Yarfa'.

'Umar was stabbed on Wednesday, four nights remaining of Dhū l-Hijja 23, corresponding to the non-Arab month of Tishrīn II (November).<sup>1076</sup> The one who stabbed him was Abū Lu'lū'a, a slave of al-Mughīra b. Shu'ba. He came to him with a poisoned dagger. 'Umar's age at that time was 63 years—other say 54 years. His rule lasted 10 years and 8 months.

When 'Umar was stabbed he said to his son, "I borrowed 80,000 (dirhams) from the treasury of the Muslims; let it be returned from the property of my children; if their property is not sufficient, then from the property of the family of al-Khaṭṭāb; if that does not suffice, then from the property of the Banū 'Adī; otherwise, from the Quraysh generally, but do not go beyond them." When his death drew near, the people gathered around him. He said: "I have established | the garrison cities (*amṣār*), set up the registers (*dīwāns*), implemented the stipends, and raided by land and sea; if I perish, God is the one who takes my place for you. You will make your own decisions. I have left you on the clear (path). I fear for your sake only two kinds of men: a man who deems himself more entitled to rule than his fellow and fights him over it ...<sup>1077</sup> I have

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<sup>1074</sup> This refers to the episode (above, ed. Leiden, 2:140) in which the two brought arguments showing that not Abū Bakr, but only 'Alī, was entitled to lead the community.

<sup>1075</sup> Text has *bihā* ("of it," feminine); the word that until now has been used to refer to the leadership of the community (*amr*) is masculine; perhaps one should understand *al-khilāfa* (the succession). The Arabic, *al-ahaqqu l-nāsi bihā*, can also be translated, "the person with the most right to it."

<sup>1076</sup> That is, 25 Dhū l-Hijja = November 2, 644 (a Tuesday, but the day and date will correspond if one assumes that the event took place after sunset; al-Tabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 2:2726, says that he was stabbed the eve of Wednesday and buried Wednesday morning). Other dates are given.

<sup>1077</sup> One must assume a lacuna in the text, although M shows no break.

recited<sup>1078</sup> in the Book of God: *The old man and the old woman, [when they have fornicated] stone the two of them definitely as an exemplary punishment from God; and God is all-knowing, wise.* Do not turn away from stoning.<sup>1079</sup> the Messenger of God stoned, and we stoned; were it not that people would say, ‘Umar added something to the book of God,’ I would write it down with my own hand, for I have recited it in the book of God.”

‘Umar put the matter of leadership in the hands of a consultative council (*shūrā*) composed of six of the Companions of the Messenger of God: ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, ‘Uthmān b. ‘Affān, ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. ‘Awf, al-Zubayr b. al-‘Awwām, Ṭalḥā b. ‘Ubaydallāh,<sup>1080</sup> and Sa‘d b. Abī Waqqāṣ. He said, “I have excluded Sa‘id b. Zayd because of his close relationship to me.”<sup>1081</sup> Asked about his son ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Umar, he said, “The family of al-Khaṭṭāb has borne enough of it<sup>1082</sup>—and ‘Abdallāh was not even up to divorcing his wife.”<sup>1083</sup>

‘Umar ordered Şuhayb<sup>1084</sup> to lead the people in prayer until they reached a consensus on one of the six. He appointed Abū Ṭalḥā Zayd b. Sahl al-Anṣārī and said, “If four (of the six) agree (on a candidate) and two oppose, cut off the heads of the two; if three agree and three oppose, cut off the heads of the three among whom ‘Abd al-Rahmān is not (numbered); and if three days pass and they do not reach a consensus on one (of the candidate), cut off all their heads.” The *shūrā* took place in the remaining (days) of Dhū l-Hijja, 23; Şuhayb led the

<sup>1078</sup> Arabic *qara’tu* means both “I read” and “I recited.” As the following verse is not present in the canonical written text of the Qur’ān, it is logical to infer that ‘Umar is referring to a verse transmitted orally, rather than to one already written down. This is the usual interpretation of ‘Umar’s words, and it is reinforced by ‘Umar’s expressed fear of what people might say if he wrote the verse down. For a discussion of how Islamic scholars dealt with the implications of ‘Umar’s reference to a Qur’ānic verse not in the written text of the Qur’ān, see the article by J. Burton in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Naskh*.

<sup>1079</sup> M and ed. Leiden read *lā tahlikū ‘an al-rajm* (do not perish/fall away from stoning), but the correct reading would appear to be *lā tuhallilū ‘an al-rajm*, which the translation follows. For this meaning, see *Lisān al-‘Arab*, s.v. *h-l-l*.

<sup>1080</sup> As in M; ed. Leiden has ‘Abdallāh.

<sup>1081</sup> ‘Umar was his brother-in-law and embraced Islām in the house of Sa‘d, who was a very early convert; see Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Isāba*, s.n.

<sup>1082</sup> That is, of the caliphate, or of authority over the community.

<sup>1083</sup> ‘Umar uses similar language in the parallel, al-Ṭabarī, *Tarīkh*, 1:2777.

<sup>1084</sup> Şuhayb b. Sinān was a Byzantine slave emancipated after his move to Mecca; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 3:414–415. His appointment as prayer-leader appears to have been intended to avoid the controversy that might have ensued on the appointment of someone who was a possible candidate for the caliphate.

people in prayer, and he | was the one who prayed over 'Umar.<sup>1085</sup> Abū Ṭalḥā would stick his head in on them and say, "Hurry, hurry! The time has drawn near and the period is almost over."

'Umar was buried beside Abū Bakr. He left six sons: 'Abdallāh, 'Ubaydallāh, 'Abd al-Rahmān, 'Āsim, Zayd, and Abū 'Ubaydallāh. His son 'Ubaydallāh assaulted Abū Lu'lu'a and killed him and his daughter and wife, and al-Hurmuzān was not on his guard, so that he killed him, too. 'Ubaydallāh used to relate that he followed al-Hurmuzān and that when al-Hurmuzān felt the sword he said, "I bear witness that there is no god but God and that Muḥammad is the Messenger of God." One authority has related that 'Umar (on his deathbed) ordered that vengeance should be executed on 'Ubaydallāh for killing al-Hurmuzān and that 'Uthmān desired that it be done. Before coming to power, 'Uthmān had been the most severe of all God's creatures against 'Ubaydallāh—he had even pulled his hair and said: "You enemy of God, you killed a Muslim man and a little girl and a woman who had no fault. May God kill me if I don't kill you!" However, when he came to rule, he sent 'Ubaydallāh back to 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ. One authority has cited 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar as having said: "May God forgive Hafṣa! It was she who encouraged 'Ubaydallāh to kill them."

### Description of 'Umar b. al-Khattāb

'Umar was very tall, bald, squint-eyed, very dark, and ambidextrous—he could do things with both his hands. He dyed his beard yellow—some say that he colored it with henna and *katam*.<sup>1086</sup>

The religious scholars (*fuqahā'*) from whom knowledge was acquired during his days were 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, 'Abdallāh b. Mas'ūd, Ubayy b. Ka'b, Mu'ādh b. Jabal, Zayd b. Thābit, Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī, Abū l-Dardā', Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī, and 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās.

'Umar's governors at the time of his death were Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ, over Kufa |—some say al-Mughīra; Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī, over Basra; 'Umayr b. Sa'd al-Anṣārī, over Ḥimṣ; Mu'āwiya b. Abī Sufyān, over part of Syria; 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ, over Egypt; Ziyād b. [Labīd] al-Bayāḍī, over part of Yemen; Abū Hurayra, over Oman; Nāfi' b. al-Hārith, over Mecca; Ya'lā b. Munya al-Tamīmī, over Ḫanṭā'; al-

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<sup>1085</sup> That is, over his body at the funeral.

<sup>1086</sup> *Katam*, a vegetable dye, has already been mentioned in connection with Abū Bakr; see above, ed. Leiden 2:157 and note.

Ḩārith b. Abī l-Āṣ al-Thaqafī, over al-Baḥrayn; and ‘Abdallāh b. Abī Rabī‘a, over al-Janad.

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### The Days of ‘Uthmān b. ‘Affān

Then ‘Uthmān b. ‘Affān b. Abī l-Āṣ b. Umayya b. ‘Abd Shams became caliph; his mother was Arwā bt. Kurayz b. Rabī‘a b. Ḥabīb b. ‘Abd Shams.

When ‘Umar died and they<sup>1087</sup> met for the *shūrā*, ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. ‘Awf al-Zuhri asked to withdraw himself from consideration for the caliphate, on condition that he would select someone from among them; and they did that. He waited for three days; then he met with ‘Alī alone and said, “We need your assurance by God that if you take charge of this matter,<sup>1088</sup> you will lead us in accordance with God’s Book, the *sunna* of His Prophet, and the conduct (*sīra*) of Abū Bakr and ‘Umar.” ‘Alī said, “I will lead you in accordance with God’s Book and the *sunna* of His Prophet to the best of my ability.” ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. ‘Awf met with ‘Uthmān alone and said, “We need your assurance by God that if you take charge of this matter, you will lead us in accordance with God’s Book, the *sunna* of His Prophet, and the conduct of Abū Bakr and ‘Umar.” ‘Uthmān said, “I promise to lead you in accordance with God’s Book, the *sunna* of His Prophet, and the conduct of Abū Bakr and ‘Umar.” Then he met with ‘Alī alone and said to him what he had said the first time, and ‘Alī answered him as he had answered the first time. He met with ‘Uthmān alone and said to him what he had said the first time, and ‘Uthmān answered him as he had answered the first time. Then he met with ‘Alī alone and said to him what he had said the first time. ‘Alī said, “Along with God’s Book and the *sunna* of His Prophet, no one’s | custom is needed; you are striving to deflect this matter away from me.” Then he met with ‘Uthmān alone and repeated the statement to him, and ‘Uthmān answered him with that answer. So ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. ‘Awf clasped his hand.<sup>1089</sup>

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‘Uthmān came out and the people congratulated him. It was Monday, the first day of Muḥarram of the year 24, corresponding to the non-Arab month of Tishrīn II (November).<sup>1090</sup> On that day the Sun was in Scorpio, 13°; Saturn in

<sup>1087</sup> That is, the six members of the *shūrā* listed above (ed. Leiden, 2:184). Parallels: al-Ṭabarī, *Tarikh*, 1:2776–2796; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, IV/1, 500–511 (especially the account of ‘Alī’s responses to the questions of ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. ‘Awf on p. 508).

<sup>1088</sup> That is, the caliphate.

<sup>1089</sup> That is, he gave him his oath of allegiance (*bay‘a*).

<sup>1090</sup> November 7, 644. The day was a Sunday, not a Monday, as in the text.

Aries,  $21^{\circ} 30'$ , retrograde; Jupiter in Capricorn,  $4^{\circ} 40'$ ; Mars in Libra,  $50^{\circ}$ ; Venus in Scorpio,  $11^{\circ}$ , retrograde; and the Ascending Node in Taurus,  $24^{\circ}$ .

'Uthmān ascended the pulpit and sat in the place where God's Messenger used to sit and where neither Abū Bakr nor 'Umar had sat: Abū Bakr had sat one step below it and 'Umar one step below Abū Bakr. The people started to talk about that, and one of them said, "Today evil has been born." A shy man, 'Uthmān was at a loss for words and remained silent for a long time. Then he said:

Abū Bakr and 'Umar used to prepare a speech for such an occasion, but you are in greater need of a just ruler than of one who can make fine speeches. If you live long enough, the speech will come to you.

Then he descended.

Someone has related that on the eve of the day he was given the oath of allegiance 'Uthmān went out to pray the evening prayer with a candle before him. Al-Miqdād b. 'Amr ran into him and exclaimed: "What is this innovation?"<sup>1091</sup>

Some people sided with 'Alī b. Abī Tālib and spoke disparagingly of 'Uthmān. Someone has related: I entered the mosque of God's Messenger and saw a man kneeling and lamenting like someone who had owned the world | and had been robbed of it. He was saying: "How strange that the Quraysh have deflected this matter from their Prophet's family, when among them is the first believer, the cousin of God's Messenger, one who best knows and understands God's religion, the most steadfast in Islam, the most discerning of the way, and the best-guided to the straight path! By God, they have pushed it away from the rightly-guiding, rightly-guided, immaculate, and pure one. They have not sought the welfare of the community or the correct course of action; rather, they have preferred this world to the next. A far removal, and away with the wrongdoing folk!"<sup>1092</sup> I approached the man and said, "Who are you, may God have mercy upon you, and who is this man?" He said, "I am al-Miqdād b. 'Amr,"<sup>1093</sup> and the man is 'Alī b. Abī Tālib." So I said, "Will you not stand up for this matter, in which case I will help you with it?" He said, "Nephew, this is a

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<sup>1091</sup> Arabic *mā hādhīhi l-bid'a*. Al-Miqdād means that 'Uthmān's conduct—having a candle carried before him or himself carrying a candle (the Arabic is ambiguous)—is an objectionable innovation (*bid'a*), because neither his two predecessors nor the Prophet had engaged in such conduct.

<sup>1092</sup> Cf. Qur'ān 23:41, 11:44, and 67:11.

<sup>1093</sup> Al-Miqdād b. 'Amr has been mentioned above (ed. Leiden, 2:138) as having favored 'Alī

matter in which one man or two men are not enough." I left and ran into Abū Dharr.<sup>1094</sup> I mentioned it to him, and Abū Dharr said, "My brother al-Miqdād has spoken the truth." Then I went to 'Abdallāh b. Mas'ūd and mentioned it to him. He said, "We have been informed and have not been remiss."<sup>1095</sup>

The people talked much about the blood of al-Hurmuzān and 'Uthmān's withholding of 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Umar.<sup>1096</sup> 'Uthmān therefore ascended the pulpit and addressed the people. He said:

I am indeed the guardian (*wālī*) of al-Hurmuzān's blood: I have granted it to God and to 'Umar, and have relinquished it for 'Umar's blood.

Al-Miqdād b. 'Amr rose and said: "Al-Hurmuzān was a client (*mawlā*) of God and His Messenger. It is not up to you to grant that which belongs to God and His Messenger." 'Uthmān said, "We see things our way and you see things your way." 'Uthmān then sent 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Umar out of Medina to Kufa and settled him in a residence; the place came to be called "Kuwayfat Ibn 'Umar" after him.<sup>1097</sup> A certain poet therefore said:

Abū 'Amr,<sup>1098</sup> 'Ubaydallāh is responsible  
—have no doubt about it—for the killing of al-Hurmuzān.

over Abū Bakr as successor to Muḥammad. See the article by J. H. A. Juynboll in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Miqdād b. 'Amr.

<sup>1094</sup> Abū Dharr al-Ghfārī, a very early convert to Islam, has also been mentioned above (ed. Leiden, 2:138) as having favored 'Alī over Abū Bakr. See the article by J. Robson in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Abū Dharr.

<sup>1095</sup> Arabic *la-qad ukhbirnā fa-lam na'lū*. The sense is, "... and we have not been negligent or remiss in giving advice." Cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, cxvii.

<sup>1096</sup> That is, his withholding of 'Ubaydallāh from punishment for having killed al-Hurmuzān, the Persian general who had been granted protection as a Muslim. 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Umar killed al-Hurmuzān because he suspected him of involvement with his father's assassin. Because al-Hurmuzān's involvement was not proved, and because he had no heirs to take vengeance on his behalf, the onus fell on 'Uthmān as head of the community. 'Uthmān's decision not to exact blood vengeance by killing 'Umar's son, and to accept blood-money (which he paid himself), caused controversy. On al-Hurmuzān, see above, ed. Leiden 2:176, 185; cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 1:2795–2797, and al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, iv/1, 510 (where 'Alī is mentioned explicitly as demanding the death of 'Ubaydallāh).

<sup>1097</sup> The name means "Little Kufa of Ibn 'Umar," see Yāqūt, *Buldān*, 4:496.

<sup>1098</sup> The addressing of 'Uthmān by his original *kunya*, Abū 'Amr, rather than by his more common *kunya*, Abū 'Abdallāh (on the basis of his son from the Prophet's daughter

Al-Mughīra b. Shu'ba conquered Hamadhān. He wrote to 'Uthmān that he had entered al-Rayy and had settled the Muslims there. Al-Rayy had been conquered in 'Umar's lifetime—some, however, have said that it had not been conquered, but had been besieged, and that it was conquered in the year 24.<sup>1099</sup>

'Uthmān wrote to al-Ḥakam b. [Abī] l-Āṣ that he should come to him. Al-Ḥakam had been a man expelled by God's Messenger.<sup>1100</sup> When Abū Bakr came to power, 'Uthmān and a group of the Banū Umayya came to Abū Bakr and petitioned him concerning al-Ḥakam, but Abū Bakr would not grant permission for him to return. When 'Umar came to power, they did the same thing, but 'Umar would not grant him permission. Therefore the people disapproved of 'Uthmān's permission to al-Ḥakam. One of them said: I saw al-Ḥakam b. Abī l-Āṣ the day he arrived in Medina; he was wearing a tattered old garment and driving a billy goat. He entered 'Uthmān's residence while people gazed at his evil state and that of his companions; he came out wearing a silk tunic (*jubba*) and a shawl (*taylasān*).

Alexandria rebelled in the year 25.<sup>1101</sup> 'Amr b. al-Āṣ fought its people until he conquered it. He took the children captive and sent them to Medina, but 'Uthmān returned them to their previous treaty status.<sup>1102</sup> 'Uthmān dismissed 'Amr b. al-Āṣ<sup>1103</sup> and appointed 'Abdallāh b. [Sa'd b.] Abī Sarḥ; this was the cause of the animosity between 'Uthmān and 'Amr. When 'Amr arrived (in Medina), 'Uthmān said to him, "How was 'Abdallāh b. Sa'd when you left?" 'Amr said, "Just as you would like him to be." 'Uthmān said, "What does this mean?"

Ruqayya), may be due to metrical necessity, but may also indicate hostility. Cf. al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, IV/1, 481.

<sup>1099</sup> That is, during the caliphate of 'Uthmān. For a list of the varying dates for these conquests, see al-Tabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 1:2650.

<sup>1100</sup> The reason for the Prophet's expulsion of al-Ḥakam to al-Tā'if is given variously as his eavesdropping on the Prophet and relaying to his Qurayshī opponents his sayings about them or his mocking imitation of the Prophet's gait. Al-Ḥakam had accepted Islam after the conquest of Mecca in 8/30. He was 'Uthmān's paternal uncle. See al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, 5:27; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-ghāba*, 2:35.

<sup>1101</sup> 25 A.H. = October 28, 645 – October 16, 646. Cf. al-Tabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 1:2809; al-Kindī, *Kitāb al-Umarā'*, 10–12.

<sup>1102</sup> Reading with M, *fa-raddahum 'Uthmānu ilā dhimmatihimu l-ūlā*. That is, rather than receiving them as slaves, 'Uthmān returned them to their previous status as *ahl al-dhimma*, non-Muslims who had accepted Muslim rule in return for a promise of protection. Houtsma's reading *damihimu l-ūlā* (their former blood, their former life), is grammatically impossible.

<sup>1103</sup> That is, from the governorship of Egypt. Al-Tabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 1:2813–2819, places the event in the year 27.

'Amr said, "Strong in matters pertaining to himself, weak in matters pertaining to God." 'Uthmān said, "I ordered him to follow in your footsteps!" 'Amr said, "You asked too much of him." When 'Abdallāh [b. Sa'd] levied 12,000,000 dinars in taxes from Egypt, 'Uthmān said to 'Amr [b. al-'Āṣ], "The milch-camels have produced an abundance." 'Amr said, "If this is carried out, it will harm the sucklings."

2:190 'Uthmān enlarged the Sacred Mosque (in Mecca) and added to it in the year 26.<sup>1104</sup> He bought houses from one group of people, but others refused to sell; so he had their houses pulled down over them, and he placed the funds in the treasury. When they shouted at 'Uthmān, he ordered that they be imprisoned, saying: "It was only my forbearance that emboldened you against me. 'Umar did the same thing, but you did not cry out." 'Uthmān also renovated the pillars marking the sacred territory.<sup>1105</sup>

In this year, 'Uthmān b. Abī l-'Āṣ al-Thaqafī conquered Sābūr.<sup>1106</sup>

In it, 'Uthmān appointed al-Walīd b. 'Uqba b. Abī Mu'ayt<sup>1107</sup> over Kufa in place of Sa'd [b. Abī Waqqāṣ]. Al-Walīd led the people in the morning prayer while drunk, making four prostrations; then he vomited in the *mihrāb* and turned to those praying behind him and said, "Shall I give you more?"<sup>1108</sup> Then he sat down in the courtyard of the mosque. A magician from Kufa called Baṭrāwī<sup>1109</sup> was brought to him, and the people gathered round him. The magician would stick (something) into a camel's anus and extract (it) from its

<sup>1104</sup> 26 A.H. = October 17, 646 – October 6, 647. Parallel: Al-Tabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 1:2810–2811.

<sup>1105</sup> The whole of Mecca, not merely the area around the Ka'bā, was considered a sacred area (*haram*). 'Uthmān's enlargement of the Sacred Mosque also included renewing the pillars (*ansāb*) marking the boundaries of the sacred area.

<sup>1106</sup> Persian, Shāpūr: a town and district in the western part of Fārs province on the river of the same name. See Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 262–263. Parallel: Al-Tabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 1:2810.

<sup>1107</sup> Al-Walīd b. 'Uqba was 'Uthmān's half brother on his mother's side, and this fact along with his wine drinking made him unpopular with pietistic elements. See al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, IV/1, 516–524, and the article by C. E. Bosworth in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Walīd b. 'Uqba b. Abī Mu'ayt.

<sup>1108</sup> The dawn or morning prayer normally consists of two prostrations, as opposed to the four prostrations of the noon and three prostrations of the mid-afternoon prayers. Al-Walīd added two to the canonical number, but was too drunk to know what he was doing.

<sup>1109</sup> The name is uncertain, but this is how it appears in both MSS. Houtsma refers to a Leiden MS that reads Naṭrūqī; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, IV/1, 519, has "Naṭrūy, also known as Busānī" (see n. 1, and also Goitein's note in his edition of volume V of the *Ansāb*, 31); Ibn Durayd, *al-Ishtiqāq*, 495, reads Bushtātī; al-Mas'ūdi, *Murij*, 3:82 (§ 1591), reads

mouth and would perform wonders.<sup>1110</sup> Jundab b. Ka'b al-Azdi<sup>1111</sup> saw him. He went to a sword-dealer and took a sword from him. Then made his way forward in the crowd, hiding the sword, and struck off the magician's head; then he said to him, "Revive yourself if you are truthful!" Al-Walid took Jundab and wanted to strike off his head. But some people from the Azd rose up and said, "By God, you shall not kill our kinsman!" So al-Walid put him in jail, where he would pray all night. The jailer, whose *kunya* was Abū Sinān, looked at him and said, "What is my excuse before God if I hold you in custody for al-Walid to kill you?" So he set him free. Jundab went to Medina. Al-Walid took Abū Sinān and gave him two hundred lashes. Jarīr b. 'Abdallāh, 'Adī b. Hātim, Ḥudhayfa b. al-Yamān, and al-Ash'ath b. Qays rose up against al-Walid and wrote to 'Uthmān with messengers of theirs. 'Uthmān therefore dismissed al-Walid and replaced him with Sa'id b. al-'Āṣ. When al-Walid arrived (in Medina), 'Uthmān said, "Who will flog him?"<sup>1112</sup> The people held back due to al-Walid's kinship—he was 'Uthmān's half-brother on his mother's side. 'Alī then rose up and flogged him. Later 'Uthmān sent al-Walid to be in charge of collecting the alms payments (*sadaqāt*) from the tribes of Kalb and Balqayn.

'Uthmān sent the people on a campaign against Ifrīqiya in the year 27<sup>1113</sup> under the command of 'Abdallāh b. Sa'd b. Abī Sarh. 'Abdallāh encountered Jurjir<sup>1114</sup> and called upon him to accept Islam or to pay the poll-tax (*jizya*). Jurjir refused. He had a large army with him, but God broke up that army. Jurjir therefore sued for peace, but was denied it. The Muslims drove Jurjir back until he reached the city of Subayṭila.<sup>1115</sup> The battle raged until Jurjir was killed. The

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Baṭrūnī (and see n. 3 for still another form) and identifies him as a Jew. See also Pellat's comments in his edition of al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, 6:198.

<sup>1110</sup> Exactly what he did is unclear. Another possible translation: "The magician would enter into the camel's anus and come out from its mouth." The parallel in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 1:2845–2846, suggests the latter, although the animal mentioned is a donkey.

<sup>1111</sup> Both MSS read al-Asadī; but the word is corrected in the margin of M to al-Azdi. On Jundab and the magician, see Ibn Durayd, *al-Ishtiqāq*, 495 (in the section on the Azd).

<sup>1112</sup> That is, inflict the prescribed *hadd* punishment for drinking.

<sup>1113</sup> 27 A.H. = October 7, 647 – September 24, 648.

<sup>1114</sup> The MSS read Jirjir (or Jurjir, unpointed), which Houtsma corrected to Jirjis, the usual Arabic rendering of the Greek name Γεώργιος. However, the person meant is evidently the Patrician (a military title) Gregory—see Theophanes, *Chronicle* (tr. H. Turtledove, 43; tr. C. Mango and R. Scott, 478)—whose name is Arabicized as Jurjir in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 1:2814–2818, and who is identified as a "patrician (*bīṭrīq*) whose domain extended from Tripoli to Tangier," in al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, 227. It is therefore best to retain Jurjir as the Arabic form closest to the Greek.

<sup>1115</sup> On the history of Subayṭila (modern Sbeitla in west-central Tunisia) see the article by Fethi Béjaoui in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Subayṭila.

spoils were abundant, amounting to 2,520,000 dinars. Someone has related that when ‘Uthmān married his daughter to Marwān b. al-Hakam,<sup>1116</sup> he ordered that one-fifth of this sum be given to Marwān.<sup>1117</sup> ‘Abdallāh b. Sa‘d b. Abī Sarḥ sent ‘Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr<sup>1118</sup> to ‘Uthmān with the good news. Ibn al-Zubayr traveled twenty nights until he arrived in Medina. He informed ‘Uthmān, and ‘Uthmān ascended the pulpit and informed the people about it.

‘Abdallāh b. Sa‘d sent an army to Nubia. The Nubians asked for conciliation (*muwāda‘a*) and peace (*sulh*), on terms that they would owe three hundred “heads” every year, and that he would send them the equivalent value of food and drink.<sup>1119</sup> ‘Abdallāh wrote to ‘Uthmān about it, and ‘Uthmān acceded to it.

Mu‘awiya b. Abī Sufyān conquered Cyprus.

In this year, ‘Uthmān built his house and built al-Zawrā<sup>1120</sup>

He enlarged the Mosque of God’s Messenger (in Medina) in the year 29.<sup>1121</sup> The stones for it were carried from Baṭn Nakhl;<sup>1122</sup> he put lead in its pillars, and

<sup>1116</sup> Marwān b. al-Hakam b. Abī l-Āṣ (d. 65/685) was an influential and controversial member of the Umayyad family; he became the fourth Umayyad caliph, reigning briefly in 64–65 (684–685). See the article by C. E. Bosworth in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Marwān b. al-Hakam.

<sup>1117</sup> According to Qur‘ān 8:41, one-fifth (*khums*) of the booty taken in battle is “God’s, and the Messenger’s, and the near kinsman’s, and the orphans’, and for the needy, and the traveler.” After Muḥammad’s death, the interpretation of the verse became controversial: some jurists saw it as implying a mandatory further division of this fifth into five parts (for God, the Messenger, the near kinsman, the orphans, and the travelers, respectively); other jurists (particularly Mālik ibn Anas) saw these further divisions as merely advisory, with the Prophet (and his successors) free to deal with their fifth as they wished. In any case, ‘Uthmān’s gift of the full *khums* to his cousin and prospective son-in-law Marwān was widely seen as a violation of this Qur‘ānic provision and an example of his nepotism (cf. al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, iv/1, 512–516), and the article by R. Gleave in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Khums*.

<sup>1118</sup> ‘Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr (d. 73/692), a distinguished Companion of the Prophet, later claimed the caliphate after the death of Mu‘awiya and took control of Mecca. He was eventually killed by ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān. See the article by Sandra Campbell in *EI*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. ‘Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr.

<sup>1119</sup> Cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:2593, under the year 22, where the pronouns make it clear that the “heads” are people, i.e., slaves. See a similar notice in al-Balādhurī, *Futūh*, 236–237 (trans. Hitti, 1:379). Ibn ‘Abd al-Hakam, *Futūh Misr*, 188, reads “captives” (*min al-saby*).

<sup>1120</sup> According to al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:2827, this took place in the year 28 (September 25, 648 – September 13, 649). Yāqūt, *Mujam al-buldān*, 3:156, gives al-Zawrā (“the bent” or “slanting”) as a name for ‘Uthmān’s residence in Medina.

<sup>1121</sup> 29 A.H. = September 14, 649 – September 3, 650.

<sup>1122</sup> Baṭn Nakhl is near Medina, on the road to Basra. See Yāqūt, *Mujam al-buldān*, 1:449–450.

he made its length 160 cubits and its width 150 cubits. Its doors were six, just as they were during the time of 'Umar.

He dismissed Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī<sup>1123</sup> and replaced him with 'Abdallāh b. 'Āmir b. | Kurayz,<sup>1124</sup> who was twenty-five years old at the time. When the news of 'Abdallāh b. 'Āmir's appointment reached Abū Mūsā, he stood up to preach. Having praised and extolled God and blessed His Prophet, he said:

A young man with many paternal and maternal aunts and grandmothers among the Quraysh has come to you. He will pour money on you profusely.

When Ibn 'Āmir came to Basra, he sent out armies to conquer Sābūr, Fasā, Darābjird, and Iṣṭakhr in the land of Fārs. The commander of the army that conquered Iṣṭakhr was 'Ubaydallāh b. Ma'mar al-Taymī.<sup>1125</sup> 'Ubaydallāh was killed at the foot of the wall of the city of Iṣṭakhr, and (his son) 'Umar b. 'Ubaydallāh<sup>1126</sup> took his place and conquered the city. Then 'Abdallāh b. 'Āmir himself marched to Iṣṭakhr. He sent out 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Samura<sup>1127</sup>—who had been a Companion (of the Prophet)—to Sijistān. 'Abd al-Rahmān conquered Zaranj after great adversity.

When 'Uthmān had appointed 'Abdallāh b. 'Āmir over Basra and Sa'īd b. al-Āṣ over Kufa, he wrote to them, saying, "Whichever of you reaches Khurāsān first shall be its governor (*amīr*)."<sup>1128</sup> So 'Abdallāh b. 'Āmir and Sa'īd b. al-Āṣ set out. One of the *dihqāns*<sup>1129</sup> of Khurāsān came to 'Abdallāh b. 'Āmir and said, "What will you give me if I get you there first?" He answered, "You shall

<sup>1123</sup> That is, as governor of Basra.

<sup>1124</sup> 'Abdallāh b. 'Āmir b. Kurayz al-'Abshamī was 'Uthmān's cousin on his mother's side. On his career, see the article Michael G. Morony in *EI*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. 'Abdallāh b. 'Āmir.

<sup>1125</sup> On 'Ubaydallāh b. Ma'mar al-Taymī, see Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta'rīkh*, 162; al-Balādhurī, *Futūh*, 390; al-Tabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 1:2696–2700, 2828–2833; Ibn 'Asākir, *Dimashq*, 8:122.

<sup>1126</sup> 'Umar b. 'Ubaydallāh b. Ma'mar al-Taymī (d. 82/702–703) later became governor of Basra for Ibn al-Zubayr, then governor of Fārs, and fought the Khārijites on behalf of 'Abd al-Malik. See Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta'rīkh*, 297; al-Muśāb al-Zubayrī, *Nasab Quraysh*, 189, 288; Ibn Qutayba, *al-Ma'ārif*, 289, 414; al-Balādhurī, *Futūh*, 51, 364, 396; al-Tabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, index; Ibn 'Asākir, *Dimashq*, 14:286.

<sup>1127</sup> On his career see the article by H. A. R. Gibb in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Samura.

<sup>1128</sup> *Dihqān*, pl. *dahāqīn* (Middle Persian: *dēhkān* or *dahigān*, pl.: *dēhkānān*): a villager, landlord, or member of the local class of Persian landlords in Iraq who administered subdistricts. See the article by Ann K. S. Lambton in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Dihkān; Jürgen Paul in *EI*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. Dihqān; and Morony, *Iraq after the Muslim Conquest*, 529.

have your own and your family's land-tax (*kharāj*) until the Day of Judgment." The *dihqān* led him [on] a shortcut to Qūmis, with 'Abdallāh b. Khāzim al-Sulamī<sup>1129</sup> heading his vanguard. 'Abdallāh b. Khāzim marched to Nishapur<sup>1130</sup> and besieged the city. 'Abdallāh b. Āmir met him, conquered Nishapur by force in the year 30,<sup>1131</sup> and made peace with the people of the two Ṭabas<sup>1132</sup> districts on terms of 75,000 (dirhams). He then marched on until he arrived at the city of Abarshahr.<sup>1133</sup> He besieged its people for months, then conquered it and made peace with them. He wrote to the people of | Herat. They wrote back, saying, "If you conquer Abarshahr, we will agree to what you have asked." At that time, Būshanj and Bādhghīs belonged to Herat, while Ṭūs and Nishapur belonged to Abarshahr. Then he conquered it,<sup>1134</sup> and he made peace with the people on terms of 1,000,000 dirhams.

He<sup>1135</sup> sent al-Āhnaf b. Qays<sup>1136</sup> to Herat and Marw al-Rūdh. Al-Āhnaf marched to Herat, where its ruler met him with provisions and obedience. Al-Āhnaf then proceeded to Marw al-Rūdh and conquered it by force. He also conquered al-Tālaqān, al-Fāriyāb, and Ṭukhāristān, and did not return to 'Abdallāh b. Āmir until he had drunk from the river of Balkh.<sup>1137</sup>

One of the people of Khurāsān said: Having conquered Nishapur, 'Abdallāh b. Āmir sent out armies. He sent al-Āhnaf b. Qays to Marw al-Rūdh; he sent

<sup>1129</sup> 'Abdallāh b. Khāzim al-Sulamī (d. c. 73/692–693) later became governor of Khurāsān. See the article by Abdulhadi Alajimi in *EI*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. 'Abdallāh b. Khāzim.

<sup>1130</sup> Arabic, Nishābūr or Naysābūr, one of the most important of the cities of Khurāsān. See the article by E. Honigmann in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Nishāpūr.

<sup>1131</sup> 30 A.H. = September 4, 650 – August 23, 651.

<sup>1132</sup> Arabic, al-Ṭabasān, "the two Ṭabases"—the name of two places in Kuhistān in Eastern Persia. The district was connected to Nishāpūr. See the article by C. E. Bosworth in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ṭabas.

<sup>1133</sup> Abarshahr (also vocalized as Abrashahr) was another of the districts connected to Nishāpūr (Naysābūr), but Nishāpūr was also at times called "the city of Abrashahr." Two accounts may have been merged here. See the article by Touraj Daryaee in *EI*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. Abarshahr.

<sup>1134</sup> The reference of the pronouns is ambiguous. That the city is Herat is clear from Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 3:125.

<sup>1135</sup> That is, 'Abdallāh b. Āmir.

<sup>1136</sup> Al-Āhnaf b. Qays (d. 67/686–687) was leader of the tribe of Tamīm in Basra. Active in the conquest of Khurāsān, he sided with 'Ali in the battle of Ḳiffīn, but made his peace with Mu'āwiya. He died in Kufa fighting al-Mukhtār al-Thaqafī on the side of Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr. See the article by Ch. Pellat in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Āhnaf b. Қays.

<sup>1137</sup> That is, the Oxus, known in Arabic as Jayḥūn, but also as Nahr Balkh.

Aws b. Thā'labā al-Taymī<sup>1138</sup> to Herat; he sent Ḥātim b. al-Nu'mān al-Bāhili<sup>1139</sup> to Marw; and he sent 'Abdallāh b. Khāzim al-Sulamī to Sarakhs. All these people conquered what they were sent to conquer, except Marw: it made peace with Ḥātim on terms of 2,200,000 full (*wāfiya*) (dirhams)<sup>1140</sup> and that they make room for the Muslims in their dwellings.

Having conquered these districts (*kuwar*), 'Abdallāh b. Āmir returned to 'Uthmān. He had alternately attacked the Turks and the Daylamites,<sup>1141</sup> and he had divided Khurāsān into four quarters. He appointed Qays b. al-Haytham al-Sulamī<sup>1142</sup> over a quarter; Rāshid b. 'Amr al-Judaydī<sup>1143</sup> over a quarter; 'Imrān

<sup>1138</sup> Thus in M; ed. Leiden (erroneously), al-Tamīmī. Aws b. Thā'labā b. Zufar al-Māzinī al-Taymī (from the tribe of Taym Allah; see Caskel, *Gamharat al-nasab*, 2:215) participated in the conquest of Herat and became its governor, but then had to flee it. Under Mu'āwiya, he was governor of Sijistān, and under Yazid I, he returned to Herat as governor, only to be ousted by the governor of Khurāsān, 'Abdallāh b. Khāzim. He died of his wounds in 64/683–684 near Sijistān. See al-Balādhurī, *Futūh*, 355; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 2:178, 489–491, 494–496, 593; Ibn 'Asākir, *Dimashq*, 9:405.

<sup>1139</sup> Ḥātim b. al-Nu'mān al-Bāhili, conquered Marw, fought on Mu'āwiya's side at the battle of Ṣifīn, and during Ziyād's governorship of Iraq was appointed finance director in Khurāsān. In 99/717–718, Umar II sent him to fight the Turks in Azerbaijan. See Naṣr b. Muzāḥīm al-Minqarī, *Waq'at Ṣifīn*, 207; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, index; Ibn 'Asākir, *Dimashq*, 11:379.

<sup>1140</sup> Thus apparently in M, although the word is unpointed. Ed. Leiden emends to *wuqīyya*, ounce(s), sc. of silver or gold. Al-Balādhurī, *Futūh*, 405, gives three differing reports about the amount that the people of Marw agreed to pay: 2,200,00 dirhams; 1,000,000 dirhams and 200,000 *jarībs* of wheat and barley; and 1,100,000 *wuqīyya*.

<sup>1141</sup> Arabic, al-Daylam. On this people of the highlands of northwest Iran, see the article by V. Minorsky in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Daylam.

<sup>1142</sup> Qays b. al-Haytham b. al-Ṣalt al-Sulamī was later ousted from his governorship of one of Khurāsān's quarters by 'Abdallāh b. Khāzim. He later was vocal in support of 'Uthmān in Basra, became deputy-governor and head of the police of the city during Mu'āwiya's caliphate, but sided with the Zubayrids against al-Mukhtār and 'Abd al-Malik. He died after 71/690–691. See Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta'rīkh*, 166, 207, 404; al-Yāqūbī, *Buldān*, 77; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, index.

<sup>1143</sup> Rāshid b. 'Amr al-Judaydī al-Azdī served as deputy-finance director of Basra and later, during Ziyād's governorship of Iraq, as governor of Makrān on the border of India, where he was killed during an incursion into Sind in 50/670–671. See Ibn Sa'd, *Tabaqāt*, 5:32 (in the biography of 'Abdallāh b. Āmir b. Kurayz); Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta'rīkh*, 211; al-Balādhurī, *Futūh*, 433; and the article by Y. Friedmann and D. Shulman in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Mēd.

b. al-Faṣīl al-Burjumī<sup>1144</sup> over a quarter; and ‘Amr b. Mālik al-Khuza‘ī<sup>1145</sup> over a quarter.

When ‘Uthmān sent ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Āmir back, ('Abdallāh) sent out Umayr b. Ahmar al-Yashkūrī<sup>1146</sup> to Khurāsān. ('Abdallāh)<sup>1147</sup> then went to Marw and encamped there. When winter overtook him |, the people of Marw let him into the city, but then he learned that they were planning to revolt against him; so he put them to the sword until he exterminated them. He then returned to ‘Uthmān. When ‘Uthmān saw him, he threatened him, so ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Āmir left ‘Uthmān in anger. ‘Uthmān had rebuked him for killing the people of Marw.<sup>1148</sup>

‘Abdallāh b. ‘Āmir returned to Basra, then went to Kirmān and encamped there. Such a severe famine struck them that a loaf of bread cost one dinar. Then news reached him that ‘Uthmān had been besieged, so he went back (to Medina), leaving as his deputy in Khurāsān Qays b. al-Haytham b. al-Ṣalt.<sup>1149</sup> Qays then conquered Ṭukhāristān.<sup>1150</sup>

‘Uthmān sent Ḥabīb b. Maslama al-Fihri to Armenia, and then dispatched Salmān b. Rabī‘a al-Bāhilī after him to reinforce him. When Salmān came to Ḥabīb, the two men fell out with each other. They were still at odds when

<sup>1144</sup> ‘Imrān b. al-Faṣīl al-Burjumī participated in the conquest of Sijistān and was its governor during the caliphates of ‘Uthmān and ‘Alī. In 61/680–681, he accompanied Salm b. Ziyād, the newly appointed governor of Khurāsān and Sijistān. See Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta’rīkh*, 182, 199; al-Balādhurī, *Futūh*, 395; al-Tabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:2830–2831, 2:392, 1191.

<sup>1145</sup> ‘Amr b. Mālik al-Khuza‘ī is not mentioned in al-Tabarī, Khalifa b. Khayyāt, or Ibn al-Kalbi’s *Ǧamharat an-nasab*.

<sup>1146</sup> Umayr b. Ahmar al-Yashkūrī was appointed by ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Āmir during the caliphate of ‘Uthmān over Tüs and Sijistān, and conquered several places in Qūhistān and around Abarshahr until he reached Sarakhs, with whose people he concluded a peace settlement. He also was appointed deputy-governor of Zaranj, but its people ousted him from their city. Later Ziyād put him, among others, in charge of taxation in Khurāsān, and appointed him governor of Marw; he became the first to settle Arabs in Marw. See Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta’rīkh*, 164, 180; al-Balādhurī, *Futūh*, 395, 403, 407, 409; al-Tabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:2830–2831, 2887, and 2:79–81.

<sup>1147</sup> The pronouns are ambiguous, but the context indicates that ‘Abdallāh is the subject.

<sup>1148</sup> This story is not mentioned in the parallels. Khalifa, *Ta’rīkh*, 164, and al-Tabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:2884–2888, 2904, 2907, mention only a peace settlement with Marw and report no incident between ‘Abdallāh and ‘Uthmān.

<sup>1149</sup> Qays b. al-Haytham b. al-Ṣalt is the same person mentioned above (ed. Leiden, 2:193) as Qays b. al-Haytham al-Sulamī.

<sup>1150</sup> Ṭukhāristān is a region in present-day Afghanistan located along the southern banks of the middle and upper Oxus river. See the article by W. Barthold and C. E. Bosworth in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ṭukhāristān.

'Uthmān was killed. Ḥabīb b. Maslama had already conquered part of Armenia. 'Uthmān wrote to Salmān appointing him governor over Armenia, and so Salmān marched until he came to al-Baylaqān.<sup>1151</sup> Its people went out to meet him and made peace with him. He marched on until he came to Bardha'a,<sup>1152</sup> and its people made peace with him on terms of a given sum.

It is said that Ḥabīb b. Maslama conquered Jurzān.<sup>1153</sup> Salmān then penetrated as far as Shirwān,<sup>1154</sup> and its king made peace with him. He then marched on until he reached the land of Masqat, and made peace with its people. The king of al-Lakz,<sup>1155</sup> the people of al-Shābirān, and the people of Filān did the same. The Khāqān, king of the Khazars, with a large host, met him with his army beyond the river of al-Balanjar,<sup>1156</sup> and Salmān and those with him—four thousand men—were killed. 'Uthmān appointed Ḥudhayfa b. al-Yamān al-'Absī (in his place). Then he dismissed Ḥudhayfa and appointed al-Mughīra b. Shu'ba.

'Uthmān married his daughter to 'Abdallāh b. Khālid b. Asīd,<sup>1157</sup> and he ordered | him to be given 600,000 dirhams; he wrote to 'Abdallāh b. Āmir to pay them to him from the treasury of Basra. 2:195

<sup>1151</sup> Baylaqān is an ancient town in Arrān (Albania), south of the Caucasus, said to have been founded by the Sāsānid Qubād. See the article by D. M. Dunlop in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Baylaqān.

<sup>1152</sup> Bardha'a, Armenian Partav, modern Barda, is a town south of the Caucasus. It was the capital of Arrān, the ancient Albania. See the article by D. M. Dunlop in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Bardha'a.

<sup>1153</sup> Jurzān (also Jurz, al-Kurj, Gurj, Gurjistān) is the region of Georgia in the Caucasus. See the article by V. Minorsky and C. E. Bosworth in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Kurdj, Gurdj, Gurdjistān. However, al-Ya'qūbī, *Geography*, ed. Leiden, 364, speaks of *madinat Jurzān* (the city of Jurzān) as forming part of the third division of Armenia, implying that al-Ya'qūbī took Jurzān to be the name of a city.

<sup>1154</sup> Shirwān (also Shirwān or Sharwān) is a region in the eastern Caucasus known by these names in medieval Islamic and modern times. Masqat (Maskat) is in the north of this area. See the article by W. Barthold and C. E. Bosworth in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Shirwān, Shirwān or Sharwān.

<sup>1155</sup> Al-Lakz (the country of the Lezgins) is an area of southern Daghestan in the Caucasus. See the article by Michael Kemper in *EI*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. Daghestan.

<sup>1156</sup> Balanjar was an important Khazar town located on a river of the same name north of the pass of Darband, i.e., Bāb al-Abwāb, at the eastern extremity of the Caucasus. After Salmān's defeat in 32/625, it was not captured by the Arabs until 104/722–723; see al-Ya'qūbī's notice below at ed. Leiden, 2:376–377. See the article by D. M. Dunlop in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Balandjar.

<sup>1157</sup> 'Abdallāh b. Khālid b. Asīd b. Abī al-Īṣ al-Qurashī al-Umawī, according to al-Balādhurī, *Futūh*, 46, had interceded for those who refused to give up their houses to 'Uthmān

Abū Ishāq<sup>1158</sup> narrated from ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Yasār,<sup>1159</sup> who said: I saw how the Muslims’ alms-collector in charge of the market of Medina, when evening came, took the alms to ‘Uthmān, and ‘Uthmān told him, “Hand them to al-Ḥakam b. Abī l-Āṣ.” Whenever ‘Uthmān granted a present to a member of his family, he would give it as a loan<sup>1160</sup> from the treasury. (The alms-collector) tried to put him off,<sup>1161</sup> saying to him, “It will come to pass, and we shall give it to you, God willing!” But (‘Uthmān) persisted and said: “You are only *our* treasurer! If we give you something, take it; and if we say nothing to you (about paying), shut up!” The alms-collector said: “You lie, by God! I am neither your treasurer nor your family’s; I am the Muslims’ treasurer!” On Friday, while ‘Uthmān was delivering the sermon, the alms-collector brought the key (of the treasury) and said: “People! ‘Uthmān has claimed that I am his treasurer and his family’s; but I am only the Muslims’ treasurer. Here are the keys of your treasury!”—and he threw them down. ‘Uthmān took them and handed them to Zayd b. Thābit.

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in order to enlarge the Meccan Sanctuary. During the dispute which led to the Battle of the Camel he remained neutral, but later had strong ties to Ziyād. Ziyād appointed him in some capacity in Fārs, and when he came to die he deputized him over Kufa, in charge of which he remained until the following year, leading the prayer over Ziyād when the latter died in 53/672–673. See Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta’rikh*, 219; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh*, 1:2811, 2949, 3102–3102, 2:162–163, 166, 170, 172; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, 3:149.

<sup>1158</sup> Abū Ishāq appears several times as a source in al-Ya‘qūbī’s history. He could be the Kufan traditionist Abū Ishāq ‘Amr b. ‘Abdallāh al-Sabīlī (d. c. 129/746–747). See Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, 3:459. The identification is uncertain.

<sup>1159</sup> ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Yasār, one of al-Ya‘qūbī’s narrator-sources, appears in the history only in this report. He could be the Kufan traditionist ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Yasār Ibn Abī Laylā, a partisan of ‘Alī who died fighting with Ibn al-Ash’ath in 82/701–702 or 83/702–703. See Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, 3:126. The identification is uncertain.

<sup>1160</sup> Following M, *qard*; ed. Leiden reads *fard*, “an appointed gift or stipend” (Lane, *Lexicon*, 6:2374). Cf. the similarly worded anecdote in al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, IV/1, 518, where the governors of Kufa are said to have asked for loans regularly from the public treasury and then repaid them. When the egregious al-Walid b. Uqbā arrived, he requested and received such a loan; when the treasurer Ibn Mas‘ūd asked for repayment, al-Walid complained to ‘Uthmān, resulting in an angry confrontation during which Ibn Mas‘ūd threw the keys of the treasury at the new governor, with almost exactly the same words that al-Ya‘qūbī puts into the mouth of the official in Medina.

<sup>1161</sup> Ed. Leiden reads *yudāfi’uhu* (he would put him off, attempt to repel him); M, *yadfa’uhu* (he would push him away), meaning, apparently, that the alms-collector/treasurer tried to put ‘Uthmān off, but ‘Uthmān would accept no delay. The pronouns are so ambiguous that it is unclear who said what to whom.

In this year, Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb died, and 'Uthmān prayed over him. It was the year 31.<sup>1162</sup>

'Uthmān sent an army commanded by Mu'āwiya for the summer campaign in the year 32.<sup>1163</sup> They reached the strait of Constantinople and made many conquests. 'Uthmān put Mu'āwiya in charge of the campaigns against the Byzantines, [on the understanding] that he would dispatch whomever he chose to lead the summer campaign. Mu'āwiya appointed Sufyān b. 'Awf al-Ghāmidi,<sup>1164</sup> he continued to be in charge of the summer campaigns throughout the days of 'Uthmān. [...]<sup>1165</sup> due to a dispute that broke out between the two of them during 'Uthmān's caliphate.

It has been related: 'Uthmān became severely ill. He summoned Ḥumrān b. Abān<sup>1166</sup> and wrote a testament to his successor, leaving a space for the name.<sup>1167</sup> Then 'Uthmān wrote "Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf" in his own hand, tied up the testament, and sent it to Umm Ḥabība bt. Abī Sufyān.<sup>1168</sup> Ḥumrān read it on the way and went to 'Abd al-Rahmān and told him. 'Abd al-Rahmān became very angry and said, "I put him in charge in public and he puts me in charge in secret!" The news about this became known and spread in Medina, and the Banū Umayya became angry. 'Uthmān called his client Ḥumrān, gave

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<sup>1162</sup> 31 A.H. = August 24, 651 – August 11, 652.

<sup>1163</sup> 32 A.H. = August 12, 652 – August 1, 653.

<sup>1164</sup> Sufyān b. 'Awf al-Azdi al-Ghāmidi (both MSS mistakenly write "al-Āmirī," corrected by Houtsma to "al-Ghāmidi") participated in the conquest of Damascus with Abū 'Ubayda. A partisan of Mu'āwiya, he led summer and winter campaigns during the latter's caliphate, and died while garrisoned in Byzantine territory in 52/672–673 or 54/673–674 or 55/674–675 or 58/677–678. See Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta'rikh*, 180, 218, 223; al-Balādhuri, *Futūh*, 188; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:2825, 3445, and 2:87, 157, 170; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, 3:213–214 (§ 1818–1819); Ibn 'Asākir, *Dimashq*, 21:347.

<sup>1165</sup> Although there is no blank in the MSS, some words must be missing here, as noted by Houtsma.

<sup>1166</sup> Ḥumrān b. Abān al-Namarī, originally a war captive of 'Ayn al-Tamr, was 'Uthmān's client and later his chamberlain and scribe. 'Uthmān banished him to Basra after the misdeed described here, but later he was put in charge of Sābūr. He was close to the Umayyads and twice tried to seize power in Basra. He died after 80/699–700. See Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta'rikh*, 179, 269; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, index; al-Jahshiyārī, *Kitāb al-wuzarā' wa l-kuttāb*, 21; Ibn 'Asākir, *Dimashq*, 15:172.

<sup>1167</sup> Al-Ya'qūbī probably means that it was Ḥumrān b. Abān who wrote the testament on 'Uthmān's behalf; 'Uthmān only filled in the blank, as the next sentence indicates.

<sup>1168</sup> Umm Ḥabība Ramla bt. Abī Sufyān, Mu'āwiya's sister, was one of the Prophet's wives. She died in 42/662–663, or 44/664–665, or 59/678–679. See Ibn Sa'd, *Tabaqāt*, 8:68; Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta'rikh*, 79, 86; Ibn Qutayba, *al-Ma'ārif*, 136, 344; Ibn 'Asākir, *Dimashq*, 69:130, 70:207.

him a hundred lashes, and banished him to Basra. That was the cause of the enmity between ('Uthmān) and 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf.

'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf sent his son to 'Uthmān and told him, "Say to him: 'By God, I gave you my oath of allegiance at a time when I had three qualifications that placed me ahead of you: I participated in the Battle of Badr, while you did not; I attended the Pledge of Good Satisfaction, while you did not; and I stood firm at the Battle of Uhud, while you ran away.'" When his son delivered the message to 'Uthmān, 'Uthmān said to him: "Tell him: 'As for my absence from Badr, I stayed watching over the daughter<sup>1169</sup> of God's Messenger, and so God's Messenger assigned me my share and reward.'<sup>1170</sup> As for the Pledge of Good Satisfaction, God's Messenger clasped for me with his right hand over his left one, and God's Messenger's left hand is better than (all of) your right ones.<sup>1171</sup> As for the Battle of Uhud, what you have mentioned did happen, but God has forgiven me; indeed we have done things which we do not know whether God has forgiven us them or not.'

'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf divorced his wife Tumādir bt. al-Asbagh al-Kalbiyya when he became severely ill, but 'Uthmān allowed her to inherit.<sup>1172</sup> She was given in the ensuing agreement a quarter of the eighth (of 'Abd al-Rahmān's inheritance).<sup>1173</sup> 100,000 dinars—others say 80,000 dinars.<sup>1174</sup>

'Uthmān collected and assembled the Qur'ān;<sup>1175</sup> he put the long sūras with the long sūras and the short sūras with the short ones. He wrote ordering that

<sup>1169</sup> Reading with M, *bint*; ed. Leiden reads *bayt* (family, household). The reference is to Ruqayya, the Prophet's daughter and 'Uthmān's wife, who died during the battle of Badr (see al-Şafadī, *al-Wāfi*, 14:140).

<sup>1170</sup> That is, the Prophet gave him a share in the booty from Badr despite his not having participated in the fighting.

<sup>1171</sup> This background of this statement is as follows. 'Uthmān had been sent to Mecca to negotiate a truce, and the Pledge was the direct result of a false report that he had been killed by the Meccans. The Prophet included him in the pledge symbolically, in absentia, in case he was still alive (as he indeed was). See the article by W. Montgomery Watt in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Bay'at al-Ridwān.

<sup>1172</sup> Vocalizing *warrathahā*. This presumably was because deathbed divorce was invalid.

<sup>1173</sup> This is because 'Abd al-Rahmān had four wives (including Tumādir) who divided the eighth that the wife or wives inherit according to Islamic law.

<sup>1174</sup> On the inheritance of Tumādir al-Kalbiyya, see Ibn Sa'd, *Tabaqāt*, III/1, 97 and 90. The report shows the great wealth of 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf: four, or three, of his wives outlived him, and each of them received of his estate as much as Tumādir did. He died in 32/652–653.

<sup>1175</sup> Virtually every book on the Qur'ān discusses 'Uthmān's role in collecting and standardizing the text. For a summary of the literature, see the articles by John Burton, "The

the copies of the Qur'ān should be collected from everywhere, so they were collected. He then boiled them in hot water and vinegar—he is also said to have burned them. There remained no copy of the Qur'ān | to which he did not do this, except the copy of Ibn Mas'ūd. Ibn Mas'ūd was in Kufa, and he declined to hand over his copy to 'Abdallāh b. Āmir. 'Uthmān wrote to 'Abdallāh: "Send him to me! For this religion shall not fall into confusion, and this community shall not fall into corruption."<sup>1176</sup> Ibn Mas'ūd entered the mosque while 'Uthmān was giving the sermon. 'Uthmān said, "Truly, an evil beast has come to you!" When Ibn Mas'ūd spoke harshly to 'Uthmān, 'Uthmān gave orders and he was dragged away by his foot, so that two of his ribs were broken. When 'Āisha spoke up and said many things, 'Uthmān sent her to the Anṣār.<sup>1177</sup>

'Uthmān sent a copy of the Qur'ān to Kufa, one to Basra, one to Medina, one to Mecca, one to Egypt, one to Syria, one to al-Baḥrāyn, one to Yemen, and one to the Jazīra. He ordered the people to recite the Qur'ān according to a single version. The reason for this was that it had reached him that the people were saying, "the Qur'ān of the family of so-and-so," and so he wanted the Qur'ān to be one version.

Some have said that Ibn Mas'ūd had written to him to do this.<sup>1178</sup> However, when word reached him that 'Uthmān was burning the copies of the Qur'ān, he said, "I did not mean that!" Others have said that Ḥudhayfa b. al-Yamān wrote to 'Uthmān about the matter.

When Ibn Mas'ūd became ill, 'Uthmān went to visit him and asked him, "Behold, certain sayings ascribed to you have reached me."<sup>1179</sup> Ibn Mas'ūd said, "I mentioned what you did to me: that you gave orders concerning me, and my body was trampled so that I was not conscious for the noon prayer or the afternoon prayer, and that you deprived me of my stipend." 'Uthmān said: "I will allow you to retaliate against me. Do to me as was done to you." Ibn Mas'ūd said,

Collection of the Qur'ān," and Gabriel Said Reynolds, "'Uthmān," in *The Encyclopaedia of the Qur'ān*, and the article by A. T. Welch, R. Paret, and J. D. Pearson in *EI<sup>2</sup>*, s.v. al-Ķurān.

<sup>1176</sup> Following M, *fa-innahu lan yakun ...* despite the faulty grammar. Ed. Leiden reads *in lam yakun*, i.e., "Send him to me, if this religion is not confusion, and this community corruption." But the Leiden reading might also mean, "Send him to me! If not, this religion will be confusion, and this community corruption."

<sup>1177</sup> A more detailed account of the hostility between 'Uthmān and Ibn Mas'ūd can be found in al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, IV/1, 524–526.

<sup>1178</sup> That is, to standardize the Qur'ān.

<sup>1179</sup> Following M, *hā kalāmun balaghāni 'anka*; ed. Leiden, *mā kalāmun balaghāni 'anka* (What are certain sayings ascribed to you that have reached me?).

"I am not the one to initiate retribution against caliphs." 'Uthmān said, "Here is your stipend; take it!" Ibn Mas'ūd said: "You deprived me of it when I needed it, and you give it to me when I have no need for it. I do not need it." So 'Uthmān left, and Ibn Mas'ūd remained angry at 'Uthmān until he died.<sup>1180</sup> 'Ammār b. Yāsir prayed over him—['Uthmān] was | away, and the matter was concealed (from him).<sup>1181</sup> When he returned, ['Uthmān] saw the grave and asked whose it was. He was told, "The grave of 'Abdallāh b. Mas'ūd." He asked, "How was he buried before I knew?" They said, "'Ammār b. Yāsir took charge of his affair; he mentioned that he had been instructed not to tell about it." Soon afterward, al-Miqdād (b. 'Amr) died<sup>1182</sup>—he had appointed 'Ammār as his executor—and 'Ammār prayed over him without notifying 'Uthmān. 'Uthmān became very angry at 'Ammār and said: "Woe to me from that son of a black woman! Yes, I know him very well."<sup>1183</sup>

'Uthmān learned that Abū Dharr was sitting in the Mosque of God's Messenger; people were gathering around him, and he was relating things to discredit 'Uthmān.<sup>1184</sup> Abū Dharr had stood at the door of the mosque and had said:

People! Those who know me know me indeed; as for those who know me not, I am Abū Dharr al-Ghfārī: I am Jundub b. Junāda al-Rabādhī. *God chose Adam and Noah and the family of Abraham [and the family of Imrān] above all beings, the descendants one of another; and God is all-hearing, all-knowing.*<sup>1185</sup> Muḥammad is the choice descendant from Noah, the foremost descendant from Abraham, and the scion from Ishmael; and the guiding household is from Muḥammad: the nobility of their noble ones, and those who have deserved precedence among their people.<sup>1186</sup> They are among us like the uplifted sky, or like the covered Ka'ba, or

<sup>1180</sup> Ibn Mas'ūd died in 32/652–653.

<sup>1181</sup> The sentence is shaky, and there may be a lacuna after "[Uthmān] was away." The reading "the matter was concealed" (*fa-sutira amruhu*) is Houtsma's conjecture; the mss have eight unpointed letters that do not form a recognizable word or words.

<sup>1182</sup> Al-Miqdād died in 33/653–654.

<sup>1183</sup> That is, I know of his hidden antagonism towards me. On Sumayya, 'Ammār's mother, who was a slave woman, see Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *al-Iṣṭī'āb*, 4:1863; al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfi*, 15:457.

<sup>1184</sup> The mistreatment of Abū Dharr, one of the earliest and most pious converts to Islam, by 'Uthmān and the Umayyads is presented as an epitome of 'Uthmān's misgovernance. The accounts of the episode are quite diverse. A summary may be found in the article by Asma Afsaruddin in *EI*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. Abū Dharr al-Ghfārī.

<sup>1185</sup> Qur'ān 3:33–34.

<sup>1186</sup> Following M, *qawmihim*; ed. Leiden *qawm hum* (among a people who are among us like ...).

like the erected *qibla*,<sup>1187</sup> or like the bright-shining sun, or like the night-traveling moon, or like the guiding stars, or like the olive tree whose oil glows and whose froth<sup>1188</sup> has been blessed.<sup>1189</sup> Muḥammad is the heir to Adam's knowledge and that by which the prophets were distinguished, and 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib is Muḥammad's trustee (*waṣī*) and the heir to his knowledge. O community | perplexed after the death of your Prophet! Truly, if you had put forward him whom God put forward and had put back him whom God put back, and had established the guardianship and inheritance in your Prophet's family, you would have eaten from above your heads and from beneath your feet: God's friend (*walī Allāh*) would not have been reduced to poverty; no share of God's ordinances would have gone astray; and no two people would have disagreed about God's judgment without your finding knowledge of it with them—from God's Book and the *sunna* of His Prophet. Now that you have done what you have done, taste the evil effects of your conduct!<sup>1190</sup> *Those who do wrong shall surely know by what overturning they will be overturned!*<sup>1191</sup>

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'Uthmān again learned that that Abū Dharr was defaming him, saying that he had changed and altered the practices (*sunna*) of God's Messenger and those of Abū Bakr and 'Umar. So 'Uthmān banished him to Syria, to Mu'āwiya. There he would sit in the mosque and talk as he used to talk, and people would gather round him, until those who gathered and listened to him became numerous. When he prayed the morning prayer, he would stand at the gate of Damascus and say: "The rain-cloud<sup>1192</sup> has come carrying fire! God curse those who command the good but neglect to do it! God curse those who forbid evil but do it!"<sup>1193</sup>

<sup>1187</sup> The *qibla* is the direction to which Muslims turn when they pray.

<sup>1188</sup> Reading *zabaduhā* (its froth), as suggested by Landberg, in *Critica Arabica* 1:47. The word is not pointed in the MSS; ed. Leiden prints *zayduhā* (its increase), which does not make sense.

<sup>1189</sup> The language is taken from the Qur'ān's so-called Verse of Light (*Ayat al-Nūr*), Qur'ān 24:35.

<sup>1190</sup> The language (*fa-dhūqū wabāla amrikum*) echoes Qur'ān 59:15, 64:5, 65:9.

<sup>1191</sup> Qur'ān 26:227.

<sup>1192</sup> The reading is uncertain. M has an undotted word that can be read as *al-qutār* (the rain-cloud) or as *al-qitār* (the caravan of camels); both readings make sense.

<sup>1193</sup> Thereby violating the Qur'ānic injunction (Qur'ān 3:100) to command good and forbid evil.

Mu‘āwiya wrote to ‘Uthmān: “You have spoiled Syria for yourself by means of Abū Dharr.” ‘Uthmān wrote back to Mu‘āwiya: “Put him on a pack-saddle without a pad.”

Abū Dharr was brought to Medina with the flesh of his thighs gone. When he came before ‘Uthmān—a group of people were present—‘Uthmān said: “I have learned that you are saying that you heard God’s Messenger say, ‘When the Banū Umayya become a full thirty men, they will rotate God’s lands among themselves, make God’s servants slaves, and corrupt God’s religion.’” Abū Dharr answered, “Yes, I heard God’s Messenger say that.” ‘Uthmān asked those present whether they had ever heard God’s Messenger say that. Then he sent for ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭalib, and when ‘Alī came to him, ‘Uthmān asked him, “Abū l-Ḥasan, did you ever hear God’s Messenger say what | Abū Dharr has related?”—and he told him the report, whereupon ‘Alī said, “Yes.” ‘Uthmān said, “So how do you testify?” Citing the words of God’s Messenger, ‘Alī said, “Green earth has not shaded or dusty earth carried a person more truthful in speech than Abū Dharr.”

Before Abū Dharr had been in Medina more than a few days, ‘Uthmān sent a message to him, saying, “By God, you shall leave Medina!” Abū Dharr said, “Will you expel me from the sanctuary of God’s Messenger?” ‘Uthmān said, “Yes, and with your nose in the dust!” Abū Dharr said, “How about Mecca?” ‘Uthmān said, “No.” Abū Dharr said, “How about Basra?” ‘Uthmān said, “No.” Abū Dharr said, “How about Kufa?” ‘Uthmān said: “No, but to al-Rabadha,<sup>1194</sup> whence you came and where you shall stay until you die. Marwān,<sup>1195</sup> take him away, and let no one talk to him until he leaves.”

Marwān took Abū Dharr away on a camel, along with his wife and daughter. As he left, ‘Alī, al-Ḥasan, al-Ḥusayn, ‘Abdallāh b. Ja‘far,<sup>1196</sup> and ‘Ammār b. Yāsir were watching. When Abū Dharr saw ‘Alī, he went up to him and kissed his hand. Then he wept and said, “When I see you and your children, I remember the words of God’s Messenger and cannot keep myself from weeping.” ‘Alī began to talk to him, but Marwān said to ‘Alī, “The Commander of the Faithful has forbidden anyone to talk to him.” Whereupon ‘Alī lifted his whip, hit the face of Marwān’s camel, and said, “Back off—may God take you away to Hellfire!” ‘Alī then saw Abū Dharr off and spoke words to him that would be too long to explain here, and everyone in the group also spoke to him; then they went back.

<sup>1194</sup> Al-Rabadha was a village in the Hijāz, some 124 miles east of Medina. See the article by S. A. A. al-Rashid in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Rabadha.

<sup>1195</sup> That is, Marwān b. al-Ḥakam.

<sup>1196</sup> That is, ‘Alī’s nephew, ‘Abdallāh b. Ja‘far b. Abī Ṭalib.

Marwān went back to 'Uthmān, and a certain estrangement occurred between him<sup>1197</sup> and 'Alī on account of this, and they exchanged insulting words.

Abū Dharr remained in al-Rabadha until he died.<sup>1198</sup> When he was on his deathbed, his daughter said to him, "I am alone in this place, and I fear that the beasts of prey will get to you before I can (bury you)." He said: "No, a band of believers will attend me. Look: do you see anyone?" She said, "I see no one." He said, "The time has not come." Then he said, "Look: do you see anyone?" "Yes," she said. | "I see riders coming." He said: "God is great! God and His Messenger have spoken the truth. Turn my face to the *qibla*. When the men come, greet them for me. When they have finished with my affair, slaughter this sheep for them, and say to them, 'I adjure you not to leave until you have eaten.'" Then he expired. And so when the men came, the girl said to them, "This is Abū Dharr, the Companion of God's Messenger; he has died." They dismounted: they were seven persons, among them Ḥudhayfa b. al-Yamān and al-Ashtar.<sup>1199</sup> They wept copiously, washed Abū Dharr, shrouded him, prayed over him, and buried him. Then she said to them, "He adjures you not to leave until you have eaten." They slaughtered the sheep and ate; then they took Abū Dharr's daughter and brought her to Medina.

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When 'Uthmān learned of Abū Dharr's death, he said: "May God have mercy on Abū Dharr." 'Ammār (b. Yāsir) said: "Yes, may God have mercy on Abū Dharr more than all of us!"<sup>1200</sup> This annoyed 'Uthmān. Sayings attributed to 'Ammār reached 'Uthmān, and so he wanted to banish him, too. But the Banū Makhzūm went together to 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib and asked for his help. 'Alī said, "We will not let 'Uthmān carry out his decision." So 'Ammār stayed in his house. When word of what the Banū Makhzūm had said reached 'Uthmān, he desisted from 'Ammār.

<sup>1197</sup> That is, between 'Uthmān and 'Alī; cf. the parallel in al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, IV/1, 544: "Words were exchanged between 'Alī and 'Uthmān on account of this, so much so that 'Uthmān said, 'As far as I am concerned, you are no better than he!'—and they spoke coarse words to each other. People criticized what 'Uthmān had said and intervened between the two until they made peace."

<sup>1198</sup> According to al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:2895, Abū Dharr died in Dhū l-Hijja 32 (July 653); the account (from al-Wāqidī) cited by al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, IV/1, 545, dates his death at the end of Dhū l-Qa'da 31 (July 652).

<sup>1199</sup> That is, Mālik b. al-Ḥārith al-Ashtar al-Nakha'i.

<sup>1200</sup> The MSS and ed. Leiden read *min k-l anf-s-nā*, the vocalization and meaning of which are unclear. The same phrase occurs in the account in al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, IV/1, 544. In his 1936 Jerusalem edition of the *Ansāb*, 5:54, Goitein conjectures that it is to be read *min kulli anfusinā*, meaning "more than all of us"—that is, may God be more merciful to him than we have been.

‘Uthmān banished ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Ḥanbal,<sup>1201</sup> the Companion of God’s Messenger, to al-Qamūs<sup>1202</sup> in Khaybar. The reason for his banishing him was that word had reached him that ‘Abd al-Rahmān had disapproved of the misdeeds of ‘Uthmān’s son and maternal uncle, and that he had composed abusive poetry against him.<sup>1203</sup>

‘Uthmān was generous and munificent with money. He gave preference to his relatives and blood-relations, but put the people on an equal footing in stipends. The people who had influence over him were Marwān b. al-Ḥakam | b. Abī l-Āṣ and Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb. His chief of police was ‘Abdallāh b. Qunfudh al-Taymī; his chamberlain (*hājib*) was Ḥumrān b. Abān, his client (*mawlā*).<sup>2:202</sup>

The people became full of rancor against ‘Uthmān six years into his rule, and there was much talk about him. They said that he had preferred his relatives; had prohibited public use of grazing reserve; had [re-]built the House; had appropriated estates and fortunes with God’s and the Muslims’ money; had banished Abū Dharr, the Companion of God’s Messenger, and ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Ḥanbal; had given refuge to al-Ḥakam b. Abī l-Āṣ and ‘Abdallāh b. Sa‘d b. Abī Sarḥ, two men who had been expelled by God’s Messenger; had allowed the blood of al-Hurmuzān to be shed and had not killed ‘Ubaydallāh b. ‘Umar for it; had appointed al-Walid b. ‘Uqba as governor of Kufa, who then introduced innovations into the prayer ritual, yet this did not prevent ‘Uthmān from protecting him; and he had permitted stoning. That took place when he stoned a woman from the Juhayna who gave birth six months after her marriage to her husband; ‘Uthmān ordered that she should be stoned. When she was taken out, ‘Alī b. Abī Tālib went before ‘Uthmān and said: “God, may He be glorified and exalted, says, *his bearing and his weaning are thirty months.*<sup>1204</sup> God says about its suckling, *two full years.*<sup>1205</sup> ‘Uthmān sent after the woman, but she was found to have been stoned and to have died. The man acknowledged the child as his own.

<sup>1201</sup> Correcting the reading of the MSS, ‘Abdallāh b. Shuraḥbil, on the basis of Ibn Qutayba, as suggested by the Leiden editor. ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Ḥanbal had participated in the battle of Ajnādayn in Syria and in the conquest of Damascus. Later he fought on ‘Alī’s side at Ṣifīfīn. See Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, *al-Iṣtī‘āb*, 2:829; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, 3:288.

<sup>1202</sup> Al-Qamūs is written with a *sīn* in C and ed. Leiden, and is unclear in M—the final letter could be read as *sīn* or *ṣād*. Yāqūt, 4:398, writes it with *ṣād* and identifies it as a mountain near Khaybar.

<sup>1203</sup> On the basis of the parallel in Ibn Qutayba, *Ma‘ārif*, 101, Houtsma identified the son as al-Walid, and the maternal uncle as ‘Āmir b. Kurayz.

<sup>1204</sup> Qur’ān 46:15.

<sup>1205</sup> Qur’ān 2:233.

The people of the provinces came to him and protested. When 'Uthmān learned that the people of Egypt had come armed with weapons, he sent 'Amr b. al-Āṣ to them, who talked to them and told them that 'Uthmān "would go back to doing what you approve." 'Uthmān set this in writing for them, and so they left.

'Uthmān said to 'Amr b. al-Āṣ, "Go out and give excuses for me to the people." 'Amr went out, ascended the pulpit, and summoned to congregational prayer. When the people had gathered, he praised and extolled God; then he spoke of Muḥammad as befits him, and said:

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God sent him out of compassion and mercy. He imparted | the message, gave sincere advice to the community, and strove in God's way with wisdom and good admonition.<sup>1206</sup> Is that not so?

They said: "Yes! May God give him the best reward He has given to a prophet on behalf of his community." Then 'Amr said:

After him, a man<sup>1207</sup> took charge who was just to the subjects (*ra'iyya*) and ruled rightly. Is that not so?

They said: "Yes! May God reward him well."

He said:

Then the left-handed, squint-eyed son of Ḥantama took charge.<sup>1208</sup> Earth showed him her hidden riches and uncovered for him her concealed treasures, and he departed from this world after a noble career. Is that not so?

They said: "Yes! May God reward him well."

He said:

Then 'Uthmān took charge. You said things and he said things; you blamed him, and he proffered excuses for himself. Is that not so?

"Yes!" they said.

<sup>1206</sup> The language echoes Qur'ān 16:125.

<sup>1207</sup> That is, Abū Bakr.

<sup>1208</sup> Ḥantama bt. Hāshim b. al-Mughīra was the mother of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb.

He said:

Then be patient with him, for the small becomes big, the lean becomes fat, and delaying a matter may be better than bringing it forward.

Then he descended.

‘Uthmān’s family members then went to ‘Uthmān and said to him, “Has anyone ever censured you as ‘Amr has?” So when ‘Amr came to him, ‘Uthmān said to him: “Son of al-Nābigha!”<sup>1209</sup> By God, you have done nothing but incite people against me!” ‘Amr said: “By God, I said about you the best I know about you. But you have done things against the people, and they have responded in kind.<sup>1210</sup> So step aside if you will not straighten up!” ‘Uthmān said: “Son of al-Nābigha! Your coat of mail has become full of lice<sup>1211</sup> since I dismissed you from (the governorship of) Egypt!”

The troop of riders who had come from Egypt left. Somewhere along the way they came across a man riding on a camel. Not recognizing him, they searched him and found with him a note from ‘Uthmān to his deputy (in Egypt), ‘Abdallāh b. Sa‘d: “When the men come to you, cut off their hands and feet.” So they turned back and decided to rebel. The people from whom they took their cues were Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr, Muḥammad b. Abī Hudhayfa,<sup>1212</sup> Kināna b. Bishr,<sup>1213</sup> and Ibn ‘Udays al-Balawī.<sup>1214</sup> So they returned to Medina.

<sup>1209</sup> According to Ibn Qutayba, *Ma‘ārif*, 285, ‘Amr’s mother was called al-Nābigha and was from the tribe of ‘Anaza.

<sup>1210</sup> The Arabic, *rakibta min al-nās wa rakibūhā minka*, is terse and enigmatic. The parallel in al-Tabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:2933, *qad rakibta l-nās bi-mā yakrahūn* (you have done to people what they loathed), is more straightforward.

<sup>1211</sup> Arabic *qamila dir‘uka*, a metaphor for changing for the worse. The parallel in al-Tabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:2933, reads, “May your scalp crawl with lice!” (trans. Humphreys, *The History of al-Tabarī*, xv, 137).

<sup>1212</sup> Muḥammad b. Abī Ḥudhayfa al-‘Abshamī was a Companion of the Prophet who was brought up by ‘Uthmān after his father’s death at the battle of al-Yamāma, but ‘Uthmān refused to appoint him to office and he became active in the revolt against ‘Uthmān. Later, he was appointed by ‘Ali as governor of Egypt. He refused to hand over ‘Uthmān’s killers to Mu‘āwiya, but was tricked by the latter into leaving Egypt. He was killed in Palestine in Dhū l-Hijja 36/May–June 657. See the article by Ch. Pellat in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Muḥammad b. Abī Ḥudhayfa.

<sup>1213</sup> Kināna b. Bishr b. ‘Attāb al-Tujibī, one of the leaders of the Egyptian rebels, was reportedly the one who stabbed him and burned down his house. He was killed in 36/656–657 in Palestine after fighting ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ in Egypt. See the article by Ch. Pellat in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Mu‘āwiya b. Ḥudaydj.

<sup>1214</sup> ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. ‘Udays al-Balawī was a Companion of the Prophet who was at the

There was mutual aversion between 'Uthmān and 'Āisha | because he had decreased the stipend that 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb used to give her and had put her on the same footing as the other wives of God's Messenger. One day when 'Uthmān was addressing the people, 'Āisha displayed the shirt of God's Messenger and called out: "Assemblage of Muslims, this is the garment of God's Messenger. It has not become worn, but 'Uthmān has made the *sunna* of God's Messenger worn." 'Uthmān said: "O Lord, turn away women's guile from me; surely their guile is great."<sup>1215</sup>

Ibn 'Udays al-Balawī besieged 'Uthmān in his house. 'Uthmān implored them by God. He<sup>1216</sup> then sought the keys of the treasuries, and they brought them to Ṭalḥa b. 'Ubaydallāh while 'Uthmān was besieged in his house.

The people who incited most against 'Uthmān were Ṭalḥa, al-Zubayr, and 'Āisha.

'Uthmān wrote to Mu'āwiya, asking him to come quickly to him. Mu'āwiya headed toward him with 12,000 men, but then he said to them, "Stay in place at the borders of Syria until I go to the Commander of the Faithful to find out the truth about his situation." When he came to 'Uthmān and 'Uthmān asked him about the reinforcements, he said, "I have come to find out your opinion first, then return to them and bring them to you." 'Uthmān said: "No, by God! Rather, you wanted me to be killed, so that you could say, 'I am the one responsible for taking vengeance.' Go back and bring me the troops!" Mu'āwiya went back, but he did not return to 'Uthmān until the latter had been killed.

Marwān went to 'Āisha and said, "Mother of the Faithful, if only you would stand up and set things right between this man and the people!" She said, "I have just finished preparing and am about to make the pilgrimage." He said, "He will pay you two dirhams for every dirham you have spent." She said: "Perhaps you think that I am of two minds about your friend. By God, I would like to see him chopped up in pieces inside one of my straw-sacks, so I could carry him off and throw him into the sea!"

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head of the rebellious troops against 'Uthmān. He was imprisoned by Mu'āwiya and was killed in 36/656–657 while running away from prison. See the article by M. J. Kister in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Kudā'a*.

<sup>1215</sup> The language echoes Qur'ān 12:28, 33, the words of Joseph when he was tempted by Potiphar's wife.

<sup>1216</sup> Probably referring to Ibn 'Udays. On the rebels' interest in, and eventual looting of the treasury after 'Uthmān was killed, see al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 1:3018, 3020; on the secret discussions between Ibn 'Udays and Ṭalḥa during the siege of 'Uthmān, see *ibid.*, 1:3000.

‘Uthmān remained besieged for forty days. He was killed at the age of eighty-three—others say eighty-six—twelve nights remaining in Dhū l-Hijja of the year 35.<sup>1217</sup> Those who carried out his murder were Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr,  
 2:205 Muḥammad | b. Abī Ḥudhayfa, and Ibn Ḥazm<sup>1218</sup>—according to others: Kināna b. Bishr al-Tujibī, ‘Amr b. al-Ḥāmiq al-Khuzā‘ī,<sup>1219</sup> ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. ‘Udays al-Balawī, and Sūdān b. Ḥumrān.<sup>1220</sup> He remained unburied for three nights. Present at his burial were Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām, Jubayr b. Muṭ‘im, Ḥuwayṭib b. ‘Abd al-‘Uzzā, and ‘Amr b. ‘Uthmān, his son.<sup>1221</sup> He was buried in Medina at night in a place known as Ḥashsh Kawkab.<sup>1222</sup> These four prayed over him. Some say that he was not prayed over; and others say that one of the four had already prayed over him, so that he was interred without being prayed over.

The days (of his rule) were twelve years.

‘Uthmān led the people at the pilgrimage throughout his reign, except in the first year, which was the year 24<sup>1223</sup>—‘Abd al-Rahmān b. ‘Awf led the people at that pilgrimage—and in the year he was killed—‘Abdallāh b. ‘Abbās led the people at that pilgrimage; it was in the year 35.<sup>1224</sup>

‘Uthmān had seven sons: ‘Amr, ‘Umar, Khālid, Abān, al-Walīd, Sa‘īd, and ‘Abd al-Malik.

<sup>1217</sup> June 17, 656.

<sup>1218</sup> ‘Amr b. Ḥazm b. Zayd al-Anṣārī al-Najjārī fought in some of the Prophet’s battles and was appointed by the Prophet over the people of Najrān. His house was next to ‘Uthmān’s in Medina, and he allowed the rebels to enter the latter’s house through his. He died between 51/671–672 and 54/673–674. See al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, index.

<sup>1219</sup> ‘Amr b. al-Ḥāmiq al-Khuzā‘ī, a Companion of the Prophet, fought on ‘Ali’s side at Ṣifīn. He fled when Ziyād pursued the partisans of Hujr b. ‘Adī and was killed in the Jazīra in 51/671–672. See Ibn Sa‘d, *Tabaqāt*, 6:15; Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta’rīkh*, 194, 212; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, index.

<sup>1220</sup> Sūdān b. Ḥumrān, who had participated in the battle of al-Qādisiyya, was the one who won over ‘Ammār b. Yāsir to the side of the rebels against ‘Uthmān when ‘Ammār was sent by ‘Uthmān to Egypt to explore the situation of the rebels there. See Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta’rīkh*, 175; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, index.

<sup>1221</sup> ‘Uthmān’s son ‘Amr was married to Mu‘āwiya’s daughter Ramla and died c. 80/699–670. See Ibn Sa‘d, *Tabaqāt*, 5:11; Ibn Qutayba, *Ma‘ārif*, 99; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:3056.

<sup>1222</sup> Ḥashsh Kawkab (Kawkab’s Garden) was located near the Baqī‘ al-Gharqad, the cemetery inside the city. According to Yāqūt, *Buldān*, 2:262, ‘Uthmān bought it and added it to al-Baqī‘. However, a report in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:3048 (from al-Wāqidī) says that the plot was not formally added to the cemetery until the time of the Umayyads.

<sup>1223</sup> Dhū l-Hijja 24 began on 28 September 645.

<sup>1224</sup> Dhū l-Hijja 35 began on 31 May 656.

'Uthmān's appearance: He was of medium height, with a handsome face, delicate skin, and a big bushy beard. He was tawny, stocky, broad-shouldered, with an abundant head of hair, and his teeth were braced with gold. He used to dye his beard yellow.

'Uthmān's governors:<sup>1225</sup> over Yemen, Ya'lā b. Munya al-Tamīmī; over Mecca, 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr al-Ḥadramī;<sup>1226</sup> over Hamadhān, Jarīr b. 'Abdallāh al-Bajalī; over al-Ṭā'if, al-Qāsim b. Rabī'a al-Thaqafī;<sup>1227</sup> over Kufa, Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī; over Basra, 'Abdallāh b. 'Āmir b. Kurayz; over Egypt, 'Abdallāh b. Sa'd b. Abī Sarḥ; and over Syria, Mu'āwiya b. Abī Sufyān b. Ḥarb.

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The religious scholars (*fuqahā'*) during 'Uthmān's days were the Commander of the Faithful 'Alī b. Abī Tālib,<sup>1228</sup> 'Abdallāh b. Mas'ūd, Ubayy b. Ka'b; Zayd b. Thābit, Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī, 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās, Abū l-Dardā', Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī, 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar, and Salmān b. Rabī'a al-Bāhilī.

### The Caliphate of the Commander of the Faithful 'Alī b. Abī Tālib<sup>1229</sup>

'Alī b. Abī Tālib b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib—his mother was Fāṭima bt. Asad b. Hāshim b. 'Abd Manāf—was made caliph on Tuesday, seven nights remaining in Dhū l-Hijja of the year 35, corresponding to the non-Arab month of Ḥazīrān (June).<sup>1230</sup> On that day the Sun was in Gemini, 26° 40'; the Moon in Aquarius, 18° 40'; Saturn in Virgo, 25°; Mars in Capricorn, 7° ...<sup>1231</sup>

Ṭalḥa, al-Zubayr, the Muḥājirūn and the Anṣār pledged allegiance to him. The first to pledge allegiance to him and to clasp his hand was Ṭalḥa b. 'Ubaydallāh, whereupon a man from the Banū Asad said, "The first hand to pledge allegiance was a withered hand"<sup>1232</sup>—or, "a deficient hand." Al-Ashtar stood

<sup>1225</sup> Similar lists with additional details in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 1:3057–3058.

<sup>1226</sup> 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr al-Ḥadramī, born during the Prophet's lifetime, was an ally of the Banū Umayya. See al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 1:3413–3417, 3430, 3449.

<sup>1227</sup> Cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 1:3057.

<sup>1228</sup> Because the Arabic lacks punctuation, the title "Commander of the Faithful" could conceivably be read as referring to 'Uthmān, although al-Ya'qūbī's usual practice is to place this title before the caliph's name, as he does in the section heading immediately following. The translation therefore connects the title to 'Alī.

<sup>1229</sup> The MSS add a benediction: May God honor him (*karrama Allāhu wajhahu*).

<sup>1230</sup> 23 Dhū l-Hijja 35 = June 23, 656.

<sup>1231</sup> There is a lacuna in the MSS.

<sup>1232</sup> Ṭalḥa's finger was injured at the Battle of Uhud while he was fending off arrows with his hand in order to protect the Prophet; see al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfi*, 16:474.

and said, “I pledge allegiance to you, Commander of the Faithful, on condition that I shall be in charge of securing the oath of allegiance of the people of Kufa.” Then Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr stood and said, “We pledge allegiance to you, Commander of the Faithful, on condition that we shall be in charge of securing the oath of allegiance of the Muhājirūn.” Then Abū l-Haytham b. al-Tayyihān,<sup>1233</sup> ‘Uqba b. ‘Amr,<sup>1234</sup> and Abū Ayyūb<sup>1235</sup> stood and said, “We pledge allegiance to you on condition that we shall be in charge of securing the oath of allegiance of the Anṣār and the rest of the Quraysh.”

The people pledged allegiance except for three persons from the Quraysh:  
 2:207 Marwān b. al-Hakam, Sa‘id b. al-Āṣ, and al-Walīd b. ‘Uqba, who was the spokesman of the group. He said to ‘Alī: “You! You have put us all in a position of seeking revenge.<sup>1236</sup> As for me, you deliberately killed my father at the Battle of Badr off the battlefield;<sup>1237</sup> as for Sa‘id, you killed his father at the Battle of Badr, and his father was of the light<sup>1238</sup> of the Quraysh; as for Marwān, you abused his father and reproved Uthmān when he attached him to himself. The Banū ‘Abd Manāf [...]<sup>1239</sup> for that. So we give you our oath of allegiance on condition

<sup>1233</sup> Abū l-Haytham Mālik b. Bālī Ibn al-Tayyihān al-Khazrajī al-Anṣārī was a Companion of the Prophet who participated in all his battles. There are reports that he died in 20/640–641 or 21/641–642, and others that he died later, fighting on ‘Alī’s side at Ḫiṭṭ in 37/657. See Ibn Sa‘d, *Tabaqāt*, 111/2, 21; Khalīfa b. Khayyāt, *Ta’rīkh*, 149; Ibn Qutayba, *Ma‘ārif*, 270; al-Balādhurī, *Futūh*, 29; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:1213, 1220, 1222, 3095, 3:2537.

<sup>1234</sup> ‘Uqba b. ‘Amr al-Khazrajī, better known as Abū Mas‘ūd al-Badrī, a Companion of the Prophet, was a partisan of ‘Alī, who appointed him deputy governor of Kufa when he went to Ḫiṭṭ. He died c. 40/660–661. See Ibn Sa‘d, *Tabaqāt*, 6:9; Khalīfa b. Khayyāt, *Ta’rīkh*, 202; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, index; Ibn ‘Asākir, *Dimashq*, 40:507.

<sup>1235</sup> On Abū Ayyūb Khālid b. Zayd al-Anṣārī, a Companion of the Prophet and supporter of ‘Alī, see the article by Michael Lecker in *EI*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī.

<sup>1236</sup> Arabic *watartanā*, literally, “you have killed kinsmen of ours, leaving us with the burden of taking vengeance.”

<sup>1237</sup> “Off the battlefield” translates *ṣabran*, the emendation in ed. Leiden and the text as found in al-Mas‘ūdī, *Muṛūj*, 3:98 (§1622). It accords with the story of how ‘Uqba b. Abī Mu‘ayṭ was killed at Badr (Ibn Ishāq, *Sīra*, trans. Guillaume, 308). The MSS have *ṣabīyan* (as a young boy), which is improbable.

<sup>1238</sup> The word *nūr* (light) is unpointed in the MSS and is uncertain.

<sup>1239</sup> Following ed. Leiden. Houtsma, its editor, assumed that a word or words had fallen out of the text, and emended the MS reading *ṣamada* to *ḍamma*, following al-Mas‘ūdī, which is what has been translated. However, the evidence of M seems to indicate that the copyist left out a word, crossed out the word he had written, and resumed copying correctly. If that is the case, the passage should read: “as for Marwān, you abused his father and reproved Uthmān when the Banū ‘Abd Manāf betook themselves (*ṣamada*) to him over that.”

that you remove from us that whereby we have been afflicted,<sup>1240</sup> allow us to retain what is in our possession, and kill the killers of our friend."<sup>1241</sup> 'Alī became angry and said: "As for your mentioning that I have put you in a position of seeking revenge, it is the Truth<sup>1242</sup> that has done so. As for removing from you that whereby you have been afflicted, it is not up to me to put aside the right of Almighty God. As for allowing you to retain what is in your possession—as to that which belongs to God and the Muslims, you will be accommodated with justice. As for my killing the killers of 'Uthmān, if it were incumbent upon me to kill them today, I should have to fight them tomorrow. But I give you this: that I will govern you in accordance with the Book of God and the *sunna* of His Prophet. Anyone who considers the truth to be confining for him will find falsehood to be more confining for him. If you wish, join your hangers-on." Marwān said, "Rather, we will pledge allegiance to you and stay with you; then you will see and we shall see."

Some people<sup>1243</sup> rose and spoke. The first to speak was Thābit b. Qays b. Shammās al-Anṣārī, who was the spokesman of the Anṣār. He said: "By God, Commander of the Faithful, if they have preceded you in ruling, they have not preceded you in religion; and if they came ahead of you yesterday, you have caught up with them today. They have been, and you have been: your station is not hidden, and your position not unknown. They need you in what they do not know, and you, given your knowledge, do not need anyone."

Then Khuzayma b. Thābit al-Anṣārī—he is Dhū l-Shahādatayn<sup>1244</sup>—rose and said: "Commander of the Faithful, we have found | no one for this affair of ours<sup>1245</sup> other than you, and there is no recourse but to you. If our souls speak rightly to us concerning you, you are indeed the oldest in accepting the faith, the most knowledgeable concerning God, and the most deserving of the

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<sup>1240</sup> Arabic *an taqā'a 'annā mā uṣibnā* (reading the second verb as passive and taking a direct object, cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, Glossary, cccxxviii). The phrase apparently refers to the loss of kinsmen just mentioned, for which they want redress. If one reads the active, *aṣabnā*, the phrase means, "that you take from us (exempt us?) from what we have acquired."

<sup>1241</sup> That is, 'Uthmān.

<sup>1242</sup> That is, God (*al-Haqq*).

<sup>1243</sup> Houtsma added here between brackets: *min al-anṣār* (from the Anṣār), but the MSS lack the words.

<sup>1244</sup> Thābit b. Khuzayma al-Anṣārī was called Dhū l-Shahādatayn (he of the two testimonies/martyrdoms) because the Prophet had promised him double the normal martyr's rewards. He died fighting on 'Alī's side at Ṣiffin. On this type of nickname, see C. E. Bosworth's article in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Laḳab.

<sup>1245</sup> Arabic *li-amrinā hādhā*, that is, for the caliphate.

faithful to succeed God's Messenger. You have what they have, but they do not have what you have."

Şa'şa'a b. Şühān<sup>1246</sup> rose and said: "By God, Commander of the Faithful, you have adorned the caliphate rather than its adorning you; you have elevated it rather than its elevating you. It is more in need of you than you of it."

Then Mālik b. al-Ḥārith al-Ashtar rose and said: "People! This is the trustee (*waṣī*) of trustees; the heir to the prophets' knowledge; the one with great deeds and admirable resourcefulness; the one to whose faith the Book of God has testified, and God's Messenger to his place in the Garden of Satisfaction (*jannat al-riḍwān*); the one in whom the virtues have been completed, and whose precedence, knowledge, and merit neither the later people nor the earlier ones have doubted."

Then 'Uqba b. 'Amr rose and said: "Who has to his credit a day like the Day of al-'Aqaba<sup>1247</sup> and a pledge like the Pledge of Good Satisfaction?<sup>1248</sup> He is the most truly guiding<sup>1249</sup> imam, from whom there is no fear of oppression, and the man of knowledge, from whom there is no fear of ignorance."

'Alī dismissed 'Uthmān's governors of the provinces, except Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī: al-Ashtar talked to 'Alī about him, so 'Alī confirmed him in his position.<sup>1250</sup> He appointed Qutham b. al-'Abbās<sup>1251</sup> over Mecca, 'Ubaydallāh b. al-'Abbās<sup>1252</sup> over Yemen, Qays b. Sa'd b. 'Ubāda<sup>1253</sup> over Egypt, and 'Uthmān b. Hunayf al-Anṣārī over Basra.

<sup>1246</sup> Şa'şa'a b. Şühān al-'Abdī (d. c. 60/679–680) a Kufan orator whom 'Uthmān had expelled to Syria, fought on 'Alī's side at the Battle of the Camel. See Naṣr b. Muzāhim, *Waqtat Siffin*, index; Ibn Sa'd, *Tabaqāt*, 6:154; Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Tarikh*, 171, 195; Ibn Qutayba, *Maṭārif*, 402; al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-tiwāl*, 168; al-Ṭabarī, *Tarikh*, index; Ibn 'Asākir, *Dimashq*, 24:79.

<sup>1247</sup> On the Day of al-'Aqaba, see al-Ya'qūbī above, ed. Leiden, 2:38.

<sup>1248</sup> On the Pledge of Good Satisfaction (*Bay'at al-Ridwān*), see al-Ya'qūbī above, ed. Leiden, 2:64.

<sup>1249</sup> Or, "the most truly guided Imam"; the Arabic *al-imām al-ahdā* has both senses.

<sup>1250</sup> That is, as governor of Kufa.

<sup>1251</sup> On Qutham b. al-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib al-Hāshimī, see the article by C. E. Bosworth in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Qutham* b. al-'Abbās.

<sup>1252</sup> On 'Ubaydallāh b. al-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib al-Hāshimī (d. 58/677–678 or 87/705–706) see the article by C. E. Bosworth in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. 'Ubayd Allāh b. al-'Abbās.

<sup>1253</sup> Qays b. Sa'd b. 'Ubāda al-Anṣārī, son of an important leader of the Anṣār, was appointed by 'Alī as governor of Egypt in 36/656–657, but dismissed in the following year. He died c. 59/678–679. See Ibn Sa'd, *Tabaqāt*, 6:34; Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Tarikh*, 197, 201, 227; al-Ṭabarī, *Tarikh*, index; al-Kindī, *al-Wulāt*, 20; Ibn 'Asākir, *Dimashq*, 49:396.

Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr came to 'Alī and said, "We were treated with harshness after the death of God's Messenger, so make us partners in your affair." He said, "You shall be my partners in strength and uprightness, and my helpers against weakness and crookedness."<sup>1254</sup>

Someone has narrated that 'Alī appointed Ṭalḥa over Yemen and al-Zubayr over al-Yamāma and al-Baḥrayn. When he handed them their commissions, they said to him, "You are good to your relations!"<sup>1255</sup> He said, "Rather, I have bestowed upon you the management of the affairs | of the Muslims!"—and he took back their commissions. They were angry about it and said, "You have preferred others to us!" He said, "Had it not been for your manifest greed, I would have been able to depend on your judgment."

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Someone has narrated that al-Mughīra b. Shu'ba said to 'Alī: "Commander of the Faithful, send Ṭalḥa over Yemen and al-Zubayr over al-Baḥrayn, and write a letter appointing Mu'āwiya over Syria. Once things fall into line for you, you can do with them what you like." 'Alī answered him with an answer.<sup>1256</sup> Al-Mughīra said, "By God, I never gave him advice before this, and I will not give him any after this."

Ā'isha was in Mecca, having left before 'Uthmān was killed. When she had completed her pilgrimage, she set out to return. At a certain point along the road, the son of Umm Kilāb<sup>1257</sup> met her. She asked him, "How is 'Uthmān?" "He has been killed," he said. "Good riddance!" she said. Then she asked, "To

<sup>1254</sup> The language echoes the words of Moses in Qur'ān 20:25–35, asking God to grant him a helper, his brother Aaron, to assist him in confronting Pharaoh.

<sup>1255</sup> Arabic *waṣalatka rāḥim*. Cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, Glossarium, dlvii. Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr, who were not close relatives of 'Alī, seem to have meant this in a general way, although 'Alī had in fact just appointed two of his cousins, Qutham and 'Ubaydallāh, to governorships. Calling attention to the fact was, to say the least, impolitic, since nepotism was one of the misdeeds for which 'Uthmān had been criticized. This would explain 'Alī's angry response of withdrawing the appointment and telling them that rather than doing them a favor—and providing them an opportunity to enrich themselves—he was assigning them the responsibility of caring for the affairs of the Muslims.

<sup>1256</sup> That is, with an answer that al-Mughīra did not like. The accounts in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:3082–3086, and al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, 3:99–101 (§1625–1627), 119 (§1656–1657), are more detailed. A marginal note in the MSS indicates that the answer was to quote from Qur'ān 18:49, "I would never take as support those who lead others astray." The source of the note is not clear.

<sup>1257</sup> Arabic *Ibn Umm Kilāb*, referring to 'Ubayd b. Abi Salima al-Laythī. He is known in the historical sources for his meeting with Ā'isha. The literary sources memorialize him as the husband of Ḥubbā l-Madaniyya, whom he married as a young man when she was middle-aged. She had married several times and was so outspoken about her sexual

whom have the people pledged allegiance?" "Talha," he said. "Ha!" she said, "the man with the finger!"<sup>1258</sup> Then another man met her. She asked, "How are the people?" He said, "They have pledged allegiance to 'Ali." She said, "By God, I would not care if this fell on this!"<sup>1259</sup> Then she returned to Mecca.

'Ali stayed put for a few days; then Talha and al-Zubayr came to him and said, "We want to perform the lesser pilgrimage; give us permission to leave." Someone has narrated that 'Ali, referring to the two of them or to certain of his companions, said, "By God, the two of them did not want to perform the lesser pilgrimage; rather, they wanted to betray."<sup>1260</sup>

Talha and al-Zubayr joined 'Aisha in Mecca and incited her to revolt. 'Aisha then went to Umm Salama bt. Abi Umayya, the wife of God's Messenger, and said: "My cousin and my sister's husband"<sup>1261</sup> have told me that 'Uthmān was killed unjustly, that most people were not pleased with the oath of allegiance given to 'Ali, and that the majority of those in Basra have opposed this. Were you to lead us in revolt, perhaps God would mend the situation of Muhammad's community at our hands." Umm Salama said to her: "Religion's pillar is not raised up by women. | The praiseworthy things about women consist of their lowering the eyes, casting down the extremities, and dragging the trains of their garments."<sup>1262</sup> God has relieved me and you of this thing. What would you say if God's Messenger encountered you on the outskirts of the deserts having ripped off the veil which he imposed on you?" So 'Aisha's crier called out: "Lo, the Mother of the Faithful is staying here; so stay!" But Talha and al-Zubayr came to her, changed her mind, and incited her to revolt.

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interests that a proverb was coined: *ashbaq min Ḥubbā* (more lustful than Ḥubbā). See al-Maydānī, *Majma' al-amthāl*, 1:537 (no. 2049).

<sup>1258</sup> Referring to Talha's withered finger. See note to ed. Leiden, 2:206, above.

<sup>1259</sup> The Arabic (*an taqa'a hādhīhi 'alā hādhīhi*) is enigmatic. The feminine singular demonstratives (*hādhīhi*) make it certain that 'this' does not refer to an individual male human being. The parallel in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 1:311, (*layta anna hādhīhi ntabaqat 'alā hādhīhi*, literally, "Would that this were made to cover this") is translated by Adrian Brockett (*The History of al-Tabarī*, XVI, 52), "Would that the sky were overturned if the command is decided in favor of your leader." This makes good sense as 'sky' and 'earth' are feminine in Arabic.

<sup>1260</sup> The sentence contains a play on words: "They did not want *al-'umra*; rather, they wanted *al-ghudra*."

<sup>1261</sup> By 'cousin' 'Aisha means Talha, whose father, 'Ubaydallāh, was Abū Bakr's cousin, making Talha 'Aisha's second cousin (see al-Zubayrī, *Nasab Quraysh*, 280). By 'sister's husband' 'Aisha means al-Zubayr, who was married to her sister, Asmā' (ibid., 275–276).

<sup>1262</sup> The language alludes to the "verse of the veil" addressed to female believers (Qur'an 24:31) and the verses addressed specifically to the Prophet's wives (Qur'an 33:32–33).

'Āisha headed to Basra, breaking away from 'Alī, and with her went Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr with a large host. Ya'lā b. Munya arrived with some revenues that had been collected in Yemen, said to have amounted to 400,000 dinars. Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr took the money from him, made use of it, and marched toward Basra. At night, the company passed a watering place called Mā' al-Ḥaw'ab,<sup>1263</sup> and its dogs barked at them. 'Āisha asked what that watering place was. Someone said it was Mā' al-Ḥaw'ab. 'Āisha said: "*We are God's and to Him we shall return!*"<sup>1264</sup> Take me back! Take me back! This is the watering place about which God's Messenger told me: 'Do not be the one barked at by the dogs of al-Ḥaw'ab!'"<sup>1265</sup> The people brought her forty men who swore by God that it was not Mā' al-Ḥaw'ab.

The company arrived in Basra. 'Alī's governor there was 'Uthmān b. Ḥunayf. He prevented 'Āisha and those with her from entering. Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr said, "We have not come for war, but for peace." So they drew up a document between them and him, that they would provoke no mischief until 'Alī came and that each side would be safe from the other. Then they separated, and 'Uthmān b. Ḥunayf laid down [his weapons].<sup>1266</sup> They plucked out his beard,

<sup>1263</sup> Reading according to M; ed. Leiden (following C) has Marr al-Ḥaw'ab (but emended in the notes). Mā' al-Ḥaw'ab (Ḥaw'ab's Water Hole) was on the road to Basra; the fortress of 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Zurāra al-Kilābī was located there. Al-Ḥaw'ab was the name of a woman: al-Ḥaw'ab bt. Kalb b. Wabara. See Yāqūt, *Buldān*, 2:314.

<sup>1264</sup> Qur'ān 2:156: words normally recited on the occasion of death.

<sup>1265</sup> This saying attributed to the Prophet appears in the historical and geographical literature; see Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Nihāya*, 1:456.

<sup>1266</sup> Al-Ya'qūbī has condensed; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 1:3122–3126, gives details. The Basrans agreed to send a messenger to Medina and await his return, to investigate whether Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr had sworn allegiance to 'Alī under duress or willingly. If they had sworn under duress, 'Uthmān b. Ḥunayf would evacuate Basra for them; if they had sworn willingly, Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr would retreat. The discussions in Medina were chaotic—according to the account only one man dared to speak up—but implied that Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr had given their allegiance unwillingly, and the messenger returned to Basra with this report. Meanwhile, news of the events in Medina reached 'Alī, who sent a letter to 'Uthmān b. Ḥunayf accusing him of indecisiveness and stating that if Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr wanted to depose him—'Alī—they had no justification, but if they wanted something else, he—'Alī—would discuss the matter with them. Basing themselves on the messenger's report, the Basrans asked 'Uthmān b. Ḥunayf to leave Basra. He, however, basing himself on 'Alī's letter, refused to do so. When Ibn Ḥunayf arrived at the mosque later than usual to lead the evening prayer, Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr had already sent their own men, who started the prayer but were attacked in the mosque by Ibn Ḥunayf's guard. A fight ensued in which the men stood their

mustache, eyelashes, and eyebrows and plundered the treasury, taking all that was in it.

When the time for prayer came, Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr quarreled, each pulling 2:211 at the other, until the time for prayer passed. | The people cried out: “To prayer, to prayer, O Companions of Muḥammad!” ‘Ā’isha said: “Muḥammad b. Ṭalḥa<sup>1267</sup> shall lead the prayer one day, and ‘Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr shall lead it the next.” So they were reconciled in accordance with that.

When the news reached ‘Alī, he set out for Basra, deputizing over Medina Abū Ḥasan b. ‘Abd ‘Amr, one of the Banū l-Najjār.<sup>1268</sup> He left Medina accompanied by four hundred horsemen, Companions of the Prophet. When they reached the territory of the Asad and Ṭayyi’, six hundred of them followed him. ‘Alī then went to Dhū Qār.<sup>1269</sup> He dispatched al-Ḥasan<sup>1270</sup> and ‘Ammār b. Yāsir, who called upon the people of Kufa to fight. ‘Alī’s governor over Kufa at that time was Abū Mūsā al-Ash’arī; he discouraged the people from joining ‘Alī, so (only) six thousand of them came to him. ‘Uthmān b. Ḥunayf met ‘Alī and said, “Commander of the Faithful, you sent me out a bearded man and I have come to you beardless!”—and he told him the story.

Then the Commander of the Faithful came to Basra. The Battle of the Camel took place in a place called al-Khurayba<sup>1271</sup> in Jumādā I of the year 36.<sup>1272</sup> Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr and those with them went out and stood in their ranks. ‘Alī sent

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ground. They took Ibn Ḥunayf to Ṭalha and al-Zubayr, where he was humiliated and mistreated.

<sup>1267</sup> Ṭalḥa’s son Muḥammad was known as *al-Sajjād* (the prostrating one), since he reportedly prayed one thousand prostrations each day. See Ibn Sa’d, *Ṭabaqāt*, 5:37.

<sup>1268</sup> The name of Abū Ḥasan b. ‘Abd ‘Amr al-Najjārī al-Anṣārī was Tamīm b. ‘Amr. He was a Medinan Companion of the Prophet. See Ibn al-Athīr, *Uṣd*, 5:171; Ibn Ḥajar, *Isāba*, 4:43 (no. 273).

<sup>1269</sup> Dhū Qār, a watering place between Kufa and Wāsiṭ, was the site of a famous pre-Islamic battle between the tribe of Bakr and the Persians (mentioned above by al-Ya‘qūbī, ed. Leiden 1:245–246, 257–258, and 2:47). See the article by L. Veccia Vaglieri in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Dhū Kār.

<sup>1270</sup> Al-Ḥasan (d. 49/669–670, but other dates are given) was ‘Alī’s eldest son and the one who succeeded him in the caliphate and, according to Shi‘ites, the imamate. He abdicated the caliphate before his death. See the article by L. Veccia Vaglieri in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. (al-)Ḥasan b. ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib.

<sup>1271</sup> Al-Khurayba (the Little Ruin) was near Basra and received its name from the ruined palace of a Sasanian marzpān (military governor). See Yāqūt, *Buldān*, 2:363. For a list of the historical sources for the battle, see the article by L. Veccia Vaglieri in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Djāmal.

<sup>1272</sup> Jumādā I 36 began on October 26, 656.

to them, asking, "What do you seek and what do you want?" They said, "We seek to avenge the blood of 'Uthmān." 'Alī said, "May God curse the killers of 'Uthmān."

'Alī's followers formed their ranks. 'Alī said to them: "Shoot no arrow, thrust no spear, and strike with no sword. Render yourselves excused."<sup>1273</sup> Then a man from the enemy camp shot an arrow, killing one of the supporters of the Commander of the Faithful. He was brought to 'Alī, and 'Alī said, "O God, bear witness!" Then another man shot and killed another of 'Alī's supporters. 'Alī said, "O God, bear witness!" Then another man shot and hit 'Abdallāh b. Budayl b. Warqā' al-Khuzā'ī, killing him. His brother, 'Abd al-Rahmān,<sup>1274</sup> carried him to 'Alī, who said, "O God, bear witness!"

And then it was war. The Banū Dabba, who were carrying the banner,<sup>1275</sup> encircled the camel, | and 2,000 of them were killed. The Azd surrounded<sup>1276</sup> the camel, and 2,700 of them were killed: no one could seize the nose rein of the camel without losing his life.

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Talḥa b. 'Ubaydallāh was killed in the battle: Marwān b. al-Hakam shot an arrow at him, felling him, and said, "By God, I no longer seek vengeance for 'Uthmān after this day, it being you who killed him!"<sup>1277</sup> Talḥa said as he fell: "By God, never have I seen an elder of Quraysh more lost than I am today! By God, never have I stood in a place but that I knew where to set my feet in it—except this place!"

<sup>1273</sup> That is, by not attacking first (reading the verb as an imperative, *a'dhirū*). Al-Ya'qūbī has so heavily abbreviated the report that the Leiden editor assumed a lacuna before "Render yourselves excused," adducing al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, 3:107 (§ 1634), as evidence. However, the MSS show no lacuna, and such abbreviations of reports are part of al-Ya'qūbī's method.

<sup>1274</sup> 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Budayl b. Warqā' al-Khuzā'ī and his brother 'Abdallāh had served the Prophet as messengers to the people of Yemen, and both fought on 'Alī's side in the battles of the Camel and Ṣifīn. See Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta'rīkh*, 161, 194; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, index, s.v. 'Abdallāh b. Budayl. By saying that it was 'Abdallāh who was killed at the Battle of the Camel, which took place before Ṣifīn, al-Ya'qūbī is citing a report of very limited circulation and acceptance. In fact, Naṣr b. Muẓāḥīm, *Waqt Ṣifīn* (see index), gives 'Abdallāh b. Budayl a prominent role in the battle of Ṣifīn and, like Khalifa b. Khayyāt and al-Ṭabarī, does not mention 'Abd al-Rahmān.

<sup>1275</sup> That is, of the rebels. The camel was the one on which 'A'isha was mounted.

<sup>1276</sup> Reading with ed. Leiden *wa-haffat bihi*. M appears to read *wa-khaffat fihī* (though the *kh* is undotted), "rushed up to it."

<sup>1277</sup> Reading with M, *wa-anta qataltahu*; ed. Leiden reads *wa-ana qataltuhu*, i.e., "now that I have killed *him*," that is, Talḥa, whom Marwān singles out as 'Uthmān's killer.

'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib said to al-Zubayr, "Abū 'Abdallāh, come near me and I will remind you of words that you and I heard from God's Messenger." Al-Zubayr said to 'Alī, "Am I safe?" 'Alī said, "You are safe." Al-Zubayr then came out to 'Alī, and 'Alī reminded him of the words. Al-Zubayr said, "O God, only now do I remember this!"—and he turned the reins of his horse to depart. But (his son) 'Abdallāh said to him, "Where are you going?" He said, "'Alī reminded me of some words that God's Messenger spoke." 'Abdallāh said, "No; you just saw that the swords of the Banū Hāshim were sharp and carried by strong men." Al-Zubayr said: "Woe to you! Is someone like me to be reproached for cowardice? Come, bring me the spear!" He took the spear and attacked 'Alī's followers. 'Alī said (to his men), "Make way for the old man, for he has been hard pressed!"<sup>1278</sup> Al-Zubayr broke through the right flank, the left, and the center, then he returned and said to his son: "May you become motherless! Does a coward do this?" Then he left. He passed by al-Aḥnaf b. Qays. Al-Aḥnaf said: "Never have I seen anything like this. He brought the wife of God's Messenger, driving her on, and ripped from her the veil (ordained) by God's Messenger. Yet he concealed his own wife in his house, and then deserted her and went away.

2:213 Is there no | man who will avenge God on him?" 'Amr b. Jurmūz al-Tamīmī<sup>1279</sup> therefore followed him and killed him in a place called Wādī l-Sibā'.<sup>1280</sup>

<sup>1278</sup> Arabic *afrijū li-l-shaykh innahu muḥarraj*. The meaning of *muḥarraj* is ambiguous. It literally means, "straightened, narrowed," but also can refer to a state of mind, "annoyed, vexed." 'Alī's words may simply be a command to stand back from him because he is in a difficult position, spoken out of reluctance to endanger a man to whom safe-conduct has been promised. Something else, however, may be implied. In two accounts in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:3176 and 3185, al-Zubayr, speaking to his son, first cites his oath of allegiance to 'Alī as reason not to fight. When his son attributes his reluctance to cowardice, al-Zubayr ("angered and shaking with rage," as one account puts it) releases himself from his oath of allegiance by vowing to free one of his slaves. One of the meanings of *muḥarraj* is "placed under oath" (cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v.) and that may be the case here. 'Alī would then be saying that the old man is fighting only to fulfill an oath. In al-Mas'ūdi, *Murij*, 3:108 (§1635), 'Alī says, *afrijū lahu fa-qad hājūhu*, "Make way for him, for they have incited him (i.e., to fight)"—that is, he is not acting completely of his own volition.

<sup>1279</sup> 'Amr b. Jurmūz al-Tamīmī al-Mujāshi'i was a Bedouin who is portrayed negatively in the sources for killing al-Zubayr. 'Alī is reported to have been angry at his deed and predicted that he would go to hell. Ibn Jurmūz was later pardoned by Muṣ'ab, al-Zubayr's son, when Muṣ'ab conquered Iraq for the Zubayrids in 67/686–687. He died shortly thereafter. See Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta'rikh*, 181, 186, 187; Ibn Qutayba, *Ma'rif*, 209; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:3171–3172, 3187–3188, 3218; 2:83; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamhara*, 221.

<sup>1280</sup> Wādī l-Sibā' was five miles from Basra. See Yāqūt, *Buldān*, 5:343.

The battle lasted four hours of the day. Someone has reported that on that day more than 30,000 people were killed. Then 'Alī's crier called out that no wounded man (of the enemy) should be finished off,<sup>1281</sup> no runaway should be pursued, and no one fleeing with his back turned should be reproached;<sup>1282</sup> furthermore, whoever laid down his arms would be safe, and whoever shut his door would be safe. 'Alī then guaranteed the safety of all and sundry.<sup>1283</sup>

'Alī dispatched Ibn 'Abbās to 'A'isha, ordering her to return (to Medina). When Ibn 'Abbās came into her presence, she said, "You have missed the *sunna* twice, Ibn 'Abbās: you entered my house without my permission, and you sat on my furniture without my invitation." Ibn 'Abbās said: "It was we who taught you the *sunna*. This is not your house; your house is the one in which God's Messenger left you, and in which the Qur'ān ordered you to stay."<sup>1284</sup> Words flowed between them whose place is in a book other than this one.<sup>1285</sup>

'Alī came to her while she was in the house of 'Abdallāh b. Khalaf al-Khuza'ī<sup>1286</sup>—[his son was the one known]<sup>1287</sup> as Ṭalhat al-Ṭalahāt.<sup>1288</sup> He said: "Ho, little red one!<sup>1289</sup> Weren't you forbidden to make this journey?" She said, "Son of Abū Tālib, you have power; so forgive with goodness." He said, "Leave for

<sup>1281</sup> That is, killed.

<sup>1282</sup> That is, attacked verbally. See al-Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, s.v. w.j.h.

<sup>1283</sup> Arabic *al-aswad wa-l-ahmar* (the black and the red), referring to the Arabs (dark complexioned) and the Persians (light complexioned), but used in a general sense to encompass all ethnic groups. Presumably, both armies included, besides Arabs, non-Arab clients and slaves.

<sup>1284</sup> Qur'ān 33:33.

<sup>1285</sup> Arabic *kalāmun mawḍi'u hu fī ghayri hādhā min al-kitāb* would seem to mean, "words whose place is in another (place) of the book." However, since al-Yāqūbī does not mention the conversation between 'A'isha and Ibn 'Abbās elsewhere in this book, it seems better to take the sense as translated.

<sup>1286</sup> 'Abdallāh b. Khalaf b. As'ad al-Khuza'ī had been in charge of the *dīwān* for 'Umar and his scribe in Medina. He was killed during the Battle of the Camel, fighting on the side of 'A'isha, while his brother 'Uthmān was on the side of 'Alī. See Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Tarīkh*, 156; al-Balādhurī, *Futūh*, 360; al-Ṭabarī, *Tarīkh*, 1:3216–3218, 3222, 3224.

<sup>1287</sup> "His son is the one known" (*wa-bnuhu l-ma'rūf*) is in neither MSS, but was added by Houtsma. The copyist of M seems to have tried to fix the problem by inserting an interlinear *Abī* (the father of).

<sup>1288</sup> Ṭalhat al-Ṭalahāt (Ṭalha b. 'Abdallāh b. Khalaf al-Khuza'ī). He served the Umayyads as governor of Sijistān, then was dismissed from office and died in Sijistān c. 65/684–685. See the article by C. E. Bosworth in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ṭalhat al-Ṭalahāt.

<sup>1289</sup> Arabic *Humayrā*, a nickname given to 'A'isha because of her fair complexion or red hair.

Medina, and return to your house in which God's Messenger ordered you to stay." "I will," she said. He sent with her seventy women from the 'Abd al-Qays dressed as men, and they brought her to Medina.

'Alī distributed the stipends equally among the troops, giving no preference to anyone over anyone else. He gave to the clients<sup>1290</sup> as he gave to the pure Arabs. When he was questioned about that, he said, "I have read what is between the two covers (of the Qur'ān) but have found the offspring of Ishmael to have not even this much preference over the offspring of Isaac"—and he took a twig from the ground and put it between his two fingers.

When 'Alī had finished fighting the people of the Camel, he dispatched Ja'da b.<sup>214</sup> | Hubayra b. Abī Wahb al-Makhzūmī<sup>1291</sup> to Khurāsān. Māhawayh,<sup>1292</sup> the marzubān<sup>1293</sup> of Marw, came to him,<sup>1294</sup> so he wrote him a document, conveying to him his conditions and ordering him to deliver the tax payments (*kharāj*) that he had imposed on him. Māhawayh brought him money in accordance with the previous tax assignment.

'Alī left Basra for Kufa, arriving there in Rajab of the year 36.<sup>1295</sup>

Jarīr b. 'Abdallāh al-Bajalī was governor of Hamadhān. When 'Alī dismissed him, he said to 'Alī, "Send me to Mu'āwiya, for most of those with him are my kin, and perhaps I can get them all to obey you." Al-Ashtar said to 'Alī, "Commander of the Faithful, do not send him, for his inclination is the same as theirs." 'Alī said: "Let him go: if he acts in good faith, he will be one who has delivered his charge; if he cheats, upon him will be the sin of one who has been entrusted but did not deliver the charge, one who has been trusted but betrayed

<sup>1290</sup> Arabic *mawālī*, pl. of *mawlā*: either freed slaves or converts to Islam, in any case socially inferior to pure Arabs. Converts normally became clients of an Arab family upon conversion. See the article by A. J. Wensinck and P. Crone in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Mawlā*.

<sup>1291</sup> Ja'da b. Hubayra b. Abī Wahb al-Ashja'ī al-Makhzūmī was a Kufan. His mother was Umm Hāni' bt. Abī Tālib, and hence 'Alī was his maternal uncle. Later, Ja'da was involved in the rebellion of al-Mukhtār al-Thaqafī. See Nasr b. Muzāhib, *Waq'at Siffīn*, 463, 464; al-Balādhurī, *Futūh*, 408–409; Ibn Qutayba, *Ma'ārif*, 211; al-Tabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, index; al-Mas'ūdī, *Mu'rij*, 3:95 (§ 1616); Ibn al-Athir, *Uṣd*, 1:285; Ibn Ḥajar, *Isāba*, 1:236, 257.

<sup>1292</sup> Both MSS read Mahūnah; emended by Houtsma.

<sup>1293</sup> *Marzubān* (Middle Persian, *marzpān*; New Persian, *marzbān*): the military governor of a late Sasanian frontier district. See the article by J. H. Kramers in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Marzpān*, and Morony, *Iraq after the Muslim Conquest*, 532.

<sup>1294</sup> The reference of the pronoun is unclear; the parallel in al-Tabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 1:3249, makes it clear that Māhawayh came to 'Alī.

<sup>1295</sup> That is, between December 24, 656 and January 22, 657.

the trust. Woe to them! To whom do they incline and abandon me? By God, I only want them to uphold the truth, while the other<sup>1296</sup> only wants them to uphold falsehood."

Jarīr came to Mu'āwiya while the latter was sitting with the people around him. He handed him 'Alī's letter and Mu'āwiya read it. Then Jarīr stood up and said:

People of Syria! Truly, he who does not benefit from little does not benefit from much. Such a fierce battle has taken place in Basra that if a scourge like it is repeated,<sup>1297</sup> there will be no survival for Islam. Therefore fear God, people of Syria, and view 'Alī and Mu'āwiya charitably.<sup>1298</sup> Look to yourselves, and let no one be more attentive to yourselves than you.

Then he fell silent. Mu'āwiya was quiet and did not speak. Then Mu'āwiya said, "Give me time to think, Jarīr."<sup>1299</sup> That night, Mu'āwiya sent a message asking 'Amr b. al-Āṣ to come to him. Mu'āwiya wrote to him:

You have received word of what has taken place between 'Alī and Talḥa, al-Zubayr, and Ā'iša. | Marwān has now joined us, together with the fugitives of the people of Basra. Jarīr b. 'Abdallāh has come to me concerning the oath of allegiance to 'Alī. I have attached myself entirely to you, until you come to me. Come then with God's blessing!

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When 'Amr received the letter, he summoned his two sons, 'Abdallāh<sup>1300</sup> and Muḥammad,<sup>1301</sup> and consulted them. 'Abdallāh said: "Sir, God's Messenger died pleased with you, and Abū Bakr and 'Umar died pleased with you. If you corrupt

<sup>1296</sup> That is, Mu'āwiya.

<sup>1297</sup> Reading with the correction by a second hand in M: *in yashfa' al-balā' bi-mithlīhā*, in place of the original hand and ed. Leiden, *lan yashfa' al-balā' bi-mithlīhā* (whose scourge will not be repeated).

<sup>1298</sup> Reading *wa-rāw fi 'Alī wa-Mu'āwiya khayran*, as emended by the Leiden editor. Both MSS have *wa-ra'aw* (they saw), which may be a misspelling, rather than a true variant.

<sup>1299</sup> Arabic *abl'i'nī rīqī*, literally, "let me swallow my spittle."

<sup>1300</sup> 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr b. 'Āṣ had converted to Islam before his father and was known for his piety. See Ibn Sa'd, *Tabaqāt*, IV/2, 8, VII/2, 189; Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta'rīkh*, 159, 195, 218; Ibn Qutayba, *Ma'ārif*, 286; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, index; Abū Nu'aym, *Hilya*, 1:283.

<sup>1301</sup> On Muḥammad b. 'Amr b. 'Āṣ, who participated in the conquest of Egypt and fought with his father on Mu'āwiya's side at Ḳifṭan, see Ibn Qutayba, *Ma'ārif*, 286; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, index.

your religion now for the sake of a little worldly gain that you obtain with Mu‘āwiya, both of you will lie down in hellfire tomorrow.” Then ‘Amr asked Muhammad, “What is your opinion?” He said: “Seize the matter quickly! Be a head in it before you become a tail!” ‘Amr then recited:

My night has become long because of worries that come at night  
 and fear of the one who unveils the faces of time’s vicissitudes.<sup>1302</sup>  
 The son of Hind<sup>1303</sup> has asked me to visit him,  
 and that is a thing in which there are calamities.  
 Jarīr brought to him from ‘Alī a momentous affair  
 that made his life bitter with every emaciated person.<sup>1304</sup>  
 If (Jarīr) obtains his desire from him (Mu‘āwiya),  
 there will be no hope of stopping him (‘Alī);  
 But if he does not attain his desire from him,  
 he (‘Alī) will be humbled with true humiliation.<sup>1305</sup>  
 So, by God, I do not know, and like this  
 I will remain; and however he steers me, he is my leader.  
 Shall I deceive him?—but in deceit there is infamy.  
 Or shall I give him from my soul the counsel of a loving friend?  
 Or shall I stay in my house? In that there is rest  
 for an old man who fears death at every sunrise.  
 ‘Abdallāh has said words to which my soul  
 inclines—provided I am not detained by obstacles,  
 But his brother Muhammad disagreed with him about it,  
 and I am one of hard mettle in the face of what I am bound to  
 defend.

When ‘Abdallāh heard his poem, he said, “The old man has pissed on his heels<sup>1306</sup> and sold his religion to gain the world!”

<sup>1302</sup> Reading *al-‘awā‘iq* (unpointed in the MSS). Ed. Leiden: *al-‘awātiq* (ancient things).

<sup>1303</sup> That is, Mu‘āwiya.

<sup>1304</sup> Arabic *ma‘ kulli dāniqī*. The translation, “with every emaciated person,” is uncertain. If the preposition *ma‘* could be interpreted to indicate similitude, then the meaning would be: his life was made bitter like that of an emaciated person. *Dāniq* also means a coin of very small value, but this meaning does not fit here.

<sup>1305</sup> Proper nouns have been added in the translation to avoid confusion.

<sup>1306</sup> The metaphor, not attested in the dictionaries, apparently means “has became senile.”

In the morning, 'Amr summoned his client Wardān<sup>1307</sup> and said to him, "Saddle up, Wardān!" Then he said, "Unsaddle, Wardān!" Wardān unsaddled and saddled three times. Finally, Wardān said, "You have become confused, Abū 'Abdallāh; but if you wish, I will tell you what is in your heart." 'Amr said, "Out with it!" | Wardān said: "This world and the next have jostled in your heart. You said to yourself that 'Alī has the next world without this one and that Mu'āwiya has this world without the next—and nothing in this world can substitute for the next—and so you do not know which to choose." "Bravo!" said 'Amr, "You have missed nothing of what is in my heart. So what should I do, Wardān?" Wardān said: "The right thing is to stay at home: if the people of religion prevail, you will live in their religion's forgiveness; if the people of this world prevail, you will be indispensible to them." 'Amr said: "Now? when the Arabs have already celebrated me for my going to Mu'āwiya? Saddle up, Wardān!" Then he recited:

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God fight against Wardān and his sharpness!  
By your life, Wardān has uncovered what is inside my breast.

So 'Amr went to Mu'āwiya and discussed the situation with him. He said to Mu'āwiya, "As for 'Alī, the Arabs, by God, do not consider you his equal in anything, and no other member of the Quraysh has his luck in war—unless you judge him unjustly." Mu'āwiya said, "You have spoken the truth; but we will fight him for what is in our possession and attach the killing of 'Uthmān to him." "Shame!" said 'Amr. "You and I are the people least entitled to mention 'Uthmān." Mu'āwiya said, "And why, pray tell?" 'Amr said: "As for you, you let him down when you had the Syrian troops with you, so that he finally sought help from Yazīd b. Asad al-Bajalī,<sup>1308</sup> who went to him. As for me, I manifestly abandoned him and fled to Palestine." Mu'āwiya said: "Let us not talk about that! Stretch out your hand and give me your oath of

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<sup>1307</sup> Wardān al-Rūmī was a captive from Armenia or Isfahan. He participated in the conquest of Egypt, was put in charge of its land tax (*kharāj*), and later fought at Ḫiffin on 'Amr's side. He was killed fighting the Byzantines in Egypt in 53/672–673. See Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, *Waq'at Ḫiffin*, 36, 374, 388; Ibn Sa'd, *Tabaqāt*, VII/2, 201; Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta'rīkh*, 162; al-Balādhurī, *Futūh*, 217, 222; Ibn Qutayba, *Ma'ārif*, 287; Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, index; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 1:2589, 3257, 3328, 2:213, 215; Ibn 'Asākir, *Dimashq*, 62:428.

<sup>1308</sup> Yazīd b. Asad b. Kurz al-Bajalī al-Qasrī participated in the conquests of Syria, where he took up residence. He fought at Ḫiffin on the side of Mu'āwiya. See Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, *Waq'at Ḫiffin*, index; Ibn Sa'd, *Tabaqāt*, VII/2, 143; Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta'rīkh*, 254; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 1:2985, 3265, 2:137, 139, 1621; Ibn 'Asākir, *Dimashq*, 65:100.

allegiance!" 'Amr said: "No, by God's life! I will not give you my religion until I get something from your worldly gain." Mu'āwiya said, "You shall have Egypt to sustain you." Marwān b. al-Hakam became angry and said, "Why am I am not being consulted?" Mu'āwiya said: "Be silent! Counsel is only being taken for<sup>1309</sup> you." Then Mu'āwiya said to 'Amr, "Abū 'Abdallāh, stay with us tonight"—for he feared that 'Amr would stir up the troops against him. 'Amr stayed, saying:

Mu'āwiya, I will not give you my religion unless I obtain  
some worldly gain from you in return. So consider carefully what you  
do!

If you give me Egypt, what a profitable deal it will be!—  
one whereby you acquire an elder who can do both harm and benefit.  
Religion and this world are not the same; but I  
will take with my head covered<sup>1310</sup> what I am given.

But shall I give you this?—surely I  
delude myself, for the deceiver may be deceived.  
Shall I give you a thing in which there is power for dominion,  
while for it I remain—if the shoe slips—deceived,  
And you hold back Egypt from me when it is not coveted?  
Lo, the dust of the temperate one will some day be kindled.<sup>1311</sup>

Mu'āwiya wrote 'Amr a document stipulating that Egypt should be his, brought witnesses to witness it, and sealed the document. 'Amr swore allegiance to Mu'āwiya, and they pledged loyalty to each other.

Mu'āwiya used stratagems against Qays b. Sa'd b. 'Ubāda, 'Alī's governor of Egypt; he entered into correspondence with him, hoping to win him over.<sup>1312</sup> Qays b. Sa'd wrote to Mu'āwiya:

From Qays b. Sa'd to Mu'āwiya b. Ṣakhr: You are nothing but one of Mecca's idols. You entered Islam unwillingly and exited from it willingly.

Mu'āwiya wrote to Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ:

<sup>1309</sup> That is, for your benefit; reading *laka* with M; ed. Leiden, *bi-ka* (about you).

<sup>1310</sup> That is, with my honor intact, unlike one whose head is uncovered, i.e., shamed.

<sup>1311</sup> The meaning of this hemistich, *wa-inna tharā l-qanū'i yawman la-mūla-'ū*, is unclear, and *tharā* is unpointed in both mss. One possibility is: an acquiescing person, like myself, may at some future point turn around and rebel.

<sup>1312</sup> For accounts of Mu'āwiya's machinations, see al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 1:3238 ff.

The people who most properly ought to aid<sup>1313</sup> 'Uthmān are the people of the *shūrā* from the Quraysh, those who established his right and selected him over others.<sup>1314</sup> Talḥa and al-Zubayr have come to his aid—they are your partners in the matter and your peers in Islam—and the Mother of the Faithful also hastened to it. So do not loathe what has pleased them, and do not reject what they have accepted.

Sa'ḍ wrote back to him:

'Umar included in the *shūrā* only those for whom the caliphate was permissible. None of us was more deserving of it than his colleague except by our unanimously agreeing on him. 'Alī, however, had what we had, while we did not have what he had. As for Talḥa and al-Zubayr, if they had stayed in their houses, it would have been better for them. And may God forgive the Mother of the Faithful!

When 'Alī received word that Mu'āwiya had prepared for war and that the | Syrians were all on his side, he marched out with the Muhājirūn and the Anṣār. When he arrived in al-Madā'in, the *dihqāns* met him with presents, but he refused them. They asked, "Why do you turn us down, Commander of the Faithful?" He said: "We are wealthier than you. It is we<sup>1315</sup> who ought rather to bestow gifts on you." Then he proceeded to the Jazīra. Clans from the tribes of Tagħlib and al-Namir b. Qāsiṭ met him, and a large host of them went with him. Then he went to al-Raqqa, but most of its people were partisans of 'Uthmān who had fled from Kufa to Mu'āwiya, and they shut their gates and fortified themselves—their chief was Simāk b. Makhrāma al-Asādi.<sup>1316</sup> They shut the gate to him, whereupon al-Ashtar Mālik b. al-Ḥārith al-Nakhaī went to them and said, "Open up, by God, or I will put you to the sword!" So they opened up, and the Commander of the Faithful spent the day there.

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<sup>1313</sup> That is, by avenging his death. Arabic *naṣara* means both to aid someone during his life and to avenge him after his death.

<sup>1314</sup> Sa'ḍ b. Abi Waqqās had been a member of the *shūrā* that elected 'Uthmān.

<sup>1315</sup> Reading with M, *nahnu*; ed. Leiden (following C) reads *bi-haqq* (in truth).

<sup>1316</sup> Simāk b. Makhrāma al-Asādi al-Ḥālīkī was a Companion of the Prophet and a poet who took up residence in Kufa and participated in the conquest of Iran. When 'Alī entered Kufa, he fled to the Jazīra and later visited Mu'āwiya. He died in al-Raqqa. See al-Balādhurī, *Futūh*, 284; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 1:2650–2651, 2653, 2656, 2659–2660; al-Sahmī, *Ta'rīkh Jurjān*, 45, 46; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *al-Iṣtīāb*, 2:652; Ibn 'Asākir, *Dimashq*, 72:294.

'Alī then crossed to the eastern side of the Euphrates and made his way to Şiffin.<sup>1317</sup> Mu'āwiya had reached the water first and a broad space to encamp.<sup>1318</sup> When 'Alī and his supporters arrived, they could not reach the water. The people implored Mu'āwiya and said, "Do not make the people die of thirst—among them there are male and female slaves and hired men." But Mu'āwiya refused and said, "May God allow neither me nor Abū Sufyān to drink from the basin of God's Messenger<sup>1319</sup> if they ever drink from it!" 'Alī dispatched al-Ashtar<sup>1320</sup> with the cavalry and al-Ash'ath b. Qays with the infantry—Mu'āwiya's cavalry was led by Abū l-A'war al-Sulamī.<sup>1321</sup> 'Alī's supporters fought him until the horses' hoofs stood in the Euphrates, and they captured the watering place. The person who stood guard by it was 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥārith, al-Ashtar's brother.<sup>1322</sup>

When 'Alī seized the watering place, Mu'āwiya's supporters said, | "Now that 'Alī has seized the water, we have no way to sustain ourselves." Amr b. al-'Āṣ said to Mu'āwiya, "'Alī will not hold it lawful to do to you and your supporters what you held lawful to do to him and his supporters." And 'Alī did make the water available. This took place in Dhū l-Hijja of the year 36.<sup>1323</sup>

'Alī then sent to Mu'āwiya, calling on him and asking him to go back and not divide the community through bloodshed, but Mu'āwiya insisted on fighting, and so the war took place at Şiffin in the year 37.<sup>1324</sup> It lasted forty days.

<sup>1317</sup> For a summary of the events and a list of the historical sources for the battle, see the article by M. Lecker in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Şiffin.

<sup>1318</sup> Reading with M, *wa-sa'at al-munākh*; ed. Leiden, *wa-wasa'ahu l-munākh* (and the camping place was spacious for him).

<sup>1319</sup> This is the basin (*ḥawd*) at which it is said that the Prophet will meet his community on the Day of the Judgment. It is not mentioned in the Qur'añ, but there is an account of it in the hadīth literature. See the article by A. J. Wensinck in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Hawd.

<sup>1320</sup> The mss and ed. Leiden add *wa-l-Ash'ath* (and al-Ash'ath), but it is clear from the following phrase that al-Ash'ath b. Qays led the infantry, not the cavalry.

<sup>1321</sup> On Abū l-A'war 'Amr b. Sufyān al-Sulamī, see the article by Abdulhadi Alajmi in *EI*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. Abū l-A'war al-Sulamī; and Wadad al-Qādī, "Population Census and Land Surveys under the Umayyads," esp. 354–357 and n. 49.

<sup>1322</sup> 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥārith al-Nakha'i was a Kufan supporter of 'Alī. Later, it was in his house that Hujr b. 'Adī hid when he was sought by Ziyād in 51/671–672, and he was one of those who asked Ziyād to give Hujr safe conduct. In 66/685–686, al-Mukhtār appointed him governor over Armenia. See al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 2:124, 126, 634.

<sup>1323</sup> That is, between May 21 and June 19, 657.

<sup>1324</sup> According to more detailed reports, after the fighting to reach water in Dhū l-Hijja, the last month of 36, a truce was observed during Muḥarram, the first month of 37 (a sacred month). Fighting resumed at the start of the next month, Ṣafar, which began on July 19, 657. Cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 1:3272–3274, 3281.

On 'Alī's side in the battle of Ḫiffīn there were seventy veterans of Badr, seven hundred men who had sworn allegiance under the Tree,<sup>1325</sup> and four hundred men from the rest of the Muḥājirūn and the Anṣār. Mu'āwiya had none of the Anṣār on his side except al-Nu'mān b. Bashīr<sup>1326</sup> and Maslama b. Mukhallad.<sup>1327</sup>

'Alī's supporters fought with great determination. 'Ammār b. Yāsir stood up and called out among the people, and a large group of men gathered around him. "By God," he said, "even if they should drive us back all the way to the palm trees of Hajar,<sup>1328</sup> we would still know that we are in the right and they are in the wrong." Then he said, "Come! Is there anyone who wishes to go to Paradise?" Some men followed him. He struck blows with his sword around Mu'āwiya's tent and fought the enemy bravely. 'Ammār b. Yāsir was killed, and the fighting was intense that evening. The men called out: "The Companion of God's Messenger has been killed—as God's Messenger said, 'The band of transgressors will kill 'Ammār.'"<sup>1329</sup>

'Alī's supporters advanced and overwhelmed Mu'āwiya's supporters so completely that they were upon him. Mu'āwiya called for his horse to make for safety. 'Amr b. al-Āṣ said to him, "Where to?" He said: "You see what has happened! What do you think?" He said: "There remains only one stratagem: that you raise the copies of the Qur'ān and summon 'Alī's supporters to what is in them. Thus you will stop them, blunt their edge, and sap their strength." Mu'āwiya said, "As you wish!" So Mu'āwiya's supporters raised the copies of the Qur'ān and called on the people to make what was in them the arbiter, saying, | "We call you to the Book of God." 'Alī said, "This is a trick; they are men without Qur'ān!" However, al-Ash'ath b. Qays al-Kindī objected—Mu'āwiya had won him over, writing to him and inviting him to himself. And so he said, "They have summoned the people to what is right." 'Alī said, "They have only deceived you;

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<sup>1325</sup> This was the oath of allegiance that those accompanying the Prophet swore under an acacia tree at al-Ḥudaybiya sometime during Dhū l-Qa'da of the year 6 (between March 13 and April 11, 628), in connection with the agreement not to attempt to enter Mecca to perform the pilgrimage that year, but to return in the following year. See al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 1:1530, 1543–1545.

<sup>1326</sup> Al-Nu'mān b. Bashīr al-Anṣārī (d. 65/684–685), reportedly the first child of the Anṣār born after the Hijra, was close to the Umayyads, serving as a governor of Kufa for Mu'āwiya and of Ḥimṣ for Mu'āwiya and Yazīd I. Later, he sided with the Zubayrids and was expelled from Ḥimṣ and killed by its people. See the article by K. V. Zetterstéen in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Nu'mān b. Bashīr.

<sup>1327</sup> On Maslama b. Mukhallad see the article in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Maslama b. Mukhallad.

<sup>1328</sup> Hajar was the main city in al-Baḥrāyn. See Yāqūt, 5:393.

<sup>1329</sup> For the ḥadīth, see al-Bukhārī, "Ṣalāt," 63 (= 1.8.438); Muslim, "Fitān," 70, 72, 73 (= 41,6966, 6968, 6970); cf. Wensinck, *Index*, s.v. *baghā*.

they want to divert you from themselves.” Al-Ash’ath said, “If you do not agree to their proposal, by God, I will abandon you!” The Yemenis sided with al-Ash’ath, and so al-Ash’ath said, “By God, you agree to what they have proposed, or we will hand you over to them altogether!” Al-Ashtar and al-Ash’ath exchanged such harsh words over the matter that fighting almost broke out between them, and ‘Alī became afraid that his supporters would disperse. When he realized what he was facing, he agreed to arbitration.<sup>1330</sup>

‘Alī said, “I think that I should send ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Abbās.”<sup>1331</sup> Al-Ash’ath said: “Mu‘āwiya will send ‘Amr b. al-Āṣ. Let two people from Muḍar not arbitrate between us!”<sup>1332</sup> Instead, you should send Abū Mūsā al-Ash’arī, for he has not been party to any aspect of this war.” ‘Alī said, “Abū Mūsā is an enemy: he induced the people in Kufa to abandon me and forbade them to go out with me.” They said, “We will accept no one else.”

‘Alī therefore sent Abū Mūsā, although he knew of the latter’s hostility to him and his way of thinking<sup>1333</sup> regarding the dispute between the two men. Mu‘āwiya sent ‘Amr b. al-Āṣ. They drew up two documents about the issue: one from ‘Alī in the hand of his scribe ‘Ubaydallāh b. Abī Rāfi‘,<sup>1334</sup> and one from Mu‘āwiya in the hand of his scribe ‘Umayr b. ‘Abbād al-Kinānī. They argued about giving precedence to ‘Alī’s name and about styling ‘Alī commander of the faithful.<sup>1335</sup> Abū l-A‘war al-Sulamī said, “We will not give precedence to ‘Alī.” ‘Alī’s supporters said, “We will not change his name or write it without the title of commander of the faithful.” They argued about it vigorously until they came to blows. Al-Ash’ath said, “Erase this name!”<sup>1336</sup> Al-Ashtar said to him: “By God, you one-eyed man,<sup>1337</sup> I am on the verge of sating | my sword with you! I have

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<sup>1330</sup> Arabic *ḥukūma*. The arbitration between ‘Alī and Mu‘āwiya came to be known as the *tahkūm*. For a summary of the events and a bibliography, see the article by Moktar Djebli in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Tahkūm*.

<sup>1331</sup> That is, as representative in the arbitration.

<sup>1332</sup> That is, men both of whom are from the tribes of north Arabian descent (Muḍar); al-Ash’ath was from the tribes of south Arabian descent (the Yemenis), as was Abū Mūsā al-Ash’arī.

<sup>1333</sup> Reading with M, *wa-madhabihī*; ed. Leiden, *wa-mudāhanatīhi* (and his hypocrisy).

<sup>1334</sup> The MSS and ed. Leiden edition read ‘Abdallāh b. Abī Rāfi‘, but other sources call him ‘Ubaydallāh b. Abī Rāfi‘. A former client of the Prophet, he was ‘Alī’s scribe and treasurer. See Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta’rikh*, 200; Ibn Qutayba, *Ma‘ārif*, 145; al-Tabarī, *Ta’rikh*, 1:1779, 3474, 2:837, 3:2344, 2372.

<sup>1335</sup> That is, in the text of the documents.

<sup>1336</sup> That is, the title ‘Commander of the Faithful’.

<sup>1337</sup> Al-Ash’ath had lost one eye at the battle of al-Yarmūk during the conquest of Syria. See al-Jahīz, *al-Burṣān*, 362.

killed people who were no more evil than you. I know that you are up to nothing but discord and seek nothing but this world in preference to the next."

When they disagreed, 'Alī said: "God is great! On the day of al-Ḥudaybiya, the Messenger of God wrote for Suhayl b. 'Amr,<sup>1338</sup> *This is that whereon God's Messenger has made peace.* ... Suhayl, however, said, 'If we knew that you are God's Messenger, we would not have fought you.' God's Messenger therefore erased his name with his own hand and commanded me to write, *From Muḥammad b. Abdallāh* ... And he said, 'My name and my father's name do not do away with my prophethood.' And thus did the prophets write, as did God's Messenger, [just up to] their fathers.<sup>1339</sup> My name and my father's name do not do away with my office." 'Alī therefore commanded them to write, *From 'Alī b. Abī Tālib.* ...

And he<sup>1340</sup> wrote the document of the issue, which was binding upon the two parties: they would agree to that in accordance with what the Book of God made obligatory. He stipulated in the two documents that the two arbitrators should judge by what was in the Book of God from its beginning to its end, not going beyond it and not deviating from it to whim or trickery. He bound them by the strictest of pacts and covenants: if they went beyond the Book of God, from its beginning to its end, in their judgment, their decision would be null and void.

'Alī sent 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās with four hundred of his supporters, and Mu'āwiya sent four hundred of his supporters; they met in Dūmat al-Jandal<sup>1341</sup> in the month of Rabi' 1 of the year 38.<sup>1342</sup> 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ deceived Abū Mūsā. He suggested Mu'āwiya to him (for the caliphate) and said, "He is the one in charge

<sup>1338</sup> See above, ed. Leiden, 2:54–55, for al-Ya'qūbī's account of the negotiations at al-Ḥudaybiya in 6/628 and the controversy over the title to be given to Muḥammad in the treaty document; cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 1:1545–1549.

<sup>1339</sup> Arabic *ilā l-ābā'*, i.e., not going further in the genealogical line to the grandfathers, great-grandfathers, etc. The word *ilā* is missing here, but has been supplied by the editor from the parallel text below.

<sup>1340</sup> It is unclear who is the subject throughout this paragraph; the use of the passive is unlikely in this context.

<sup>1341</sup> The agreement stipulated that the arbitrators should meet in a place "equidistant between the people of Kufa and those of Syria" (al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 1:3337). Dūmat al-Jandal (modern al-Jawf), an oasis at the head of the Wādī al-Sirhān, was situated on the most direct route between Medina and Damascus, about 15 days' journey on foot from the former and about 7 days' journey from the latter. See the article by L. Vuccia Vagliari in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Dūmat al-Djandal.

<sup>1342</sup> That is, between August 7 and September 5, 658.

of avenging ‘Uthmān, and he has prominence among the Quraysh”—but he did not receive an answer to his liking from Abū Mūsā. He then said, “How about my son ‘Abdallāh?” Abū Mūsā said, “He is not up to it.” ‘Amr said, “How about ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Umar?” Abū Mūsā said: “If the *sunna* of ‘Umar is alive today, it has lived on through him.”<sup>1343</sup> ‘Amr said, “Then you depose ‘Alī and I will depose Mu‘awiya, and the Muslims will choose.”

<sup>2:222</sup> ‘Amr allowed Abū Mūsā to precede him to the pulpit. When ‘Abdallāh b. | ‘Abbās saw him, he went over to ‘Abdallāh b. Qays,<sup>1344</sup> stood near him, and said, “If ‘Amr has disagreed with you about something, let him go before you, for he is treacherous.”<sup>1345</sup> Abū Mūsā said, “No, we have agreed on something.” Then he ascended the pulpit and deposed ‘Alī. ‘Amr b. al-Āṣ then ascended and said, “Mu‘awiya remains as firmly fixed as this ring of mine remains firmly fixed on my hand.”<sup>1346</sup> Abū Mūsā cried out to him: “You have committed treachery, you hypocrite! Your likeness is *as the likeness of [the dog: if you attack it it lolls its tongue out, and if you leave it it lolls its tongue out]*.”<sup>1347</sup> ‘Amr said: “As for you, your likeness is *as the likeness of [an ass carrying books]*.”<sup>1348</sup>

The people called out to each other: “The arbitrators, by God, have judged by other than what is in the Book. The terms binding them were other than

<sup>1343</sup> Reading with M, *idhā tahyā sunnat Umar al-āna hayyat bihi*. In C, the basis of ed. Leiden, the word *hayyat* was unclear. Houtsma read it as *haythu* (noting that the reading was uncertain), and printed, *idhāyahyā* (or, *yuḥyī*) *sunnat Umar al-āna haythu bihi*, which would mean (the syntax is almost unintelligible), “If he is alive, the *sunna* of ‘Umar is where he is.” In any case, what Abū Mūsā means is unclear, other than that ‘Amr, interpreting it as a rejection of ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Umar, goes on to suggest a fourth possibility, which he deliberately keeps vague: the Muslims will choose. The parallel sources do not solve the problem. Some versions suggest that Abū Mūsā himself proposed ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Umar; others, like al-Yāqūbi, have him rejecting ‘Amr’s suggestion of ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Umar. See al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:3356 and 3358.

<sup>1344</sup> That is, Abū Mūsā al-Ash’arī.

<sup>1345</sup> Arabic *fa-innahu ghadir*, as emended by Houtsma in ed. Leiden. Cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:3358, *fa-inna ‘Amran rajulun ghādir* (‘Amr is a treacherous man). C and M read *‘adl*, (just, fair), which does not fit the context, unless one takes *‘adl* in the technical sense of “legally competent to testify.”

<sup>1346</sup> Reading the two verbs in the text as *thabata*, not the orthographically identical *thabattu* (“I have confirmed”—i.e. “I have set Mu‘awiya as firmly in place as I have set this ring of mine firmly in place on my hand”), since the text makes no reference to ‘Amr actually placing his ring on his hand while making his statement.

<sup>1347</sup> Qur’ān 7:176.

<sup>1348</sup> The bracketed words, which have fallen out of the MSS, were restored by Houtsma on the basis of al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:3359.

<sup>1349</sup> Qur’ān 62:5.

this." They started beating each other with whips, and some pulled each others' hair. Then they separated. The Khārijites<sup>1350</sup> proclaimed: "The arbitrators have committed unbelief. Judgment belongs to God alone."<sup>1351</sup> It is said that the first person to proclaim this was 'Urwa b. Udayya al-Tamīmī,<sup>1352</sup> even before the arbitrators met. The arbitration took place in the month of Ramaqān of the year 38.<sup>1353</sup>

Ibn al-Kalbī said: 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Ḥuṣayn b. Suwayd told me [that he had received a report from his grandfather, Suwayd b. Ghafala,]<sup>1354</sup> who said: "While I was walking with Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī on the bank of the Euphrates—he was 'Umar's governor at the time—he related an anecdote to me. He said: 'The Children of Israel continued to be taken up and down over one land after another by dissensions, until finally they appointed as arbitrators two erring persons who led their followers astray.' I said, 'Abū Mūsā, how would it be if you were one of the two arbitrators?' He said to me: 'Then may God leave me no place to ascend to in heaven and no place to flee to on earth, if I am that man!'" Suwayd said: "Sometimes tribulation is tied to speech."<sup>1355</sup> I met him after the arbitration and said, 'When God decrees something, there is no contending with Him!'"

'Alī returned to Kufa. When he arrived there he rose and delivered a speech. Having praised God | and extolled Him, he said:

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<sup>1350</sup> Khārijites (Arabic *khawārij*; singular, *khārijī*): literally, "those who have gone out," that is, have left the community—obviously not a self-designation. They came to be seen as the origin or prototype of a number of later movements that rejected rule either by 'Alī and his descendants (Shi'ism) or by the Umayyads and later the 'Abbāsids (Sunni Islam). See the article by G. Levi Della Vida in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Khāridjites*.

<sup>1351</sup> Arabic *lā hukma illā li-lلāh*. The statement, which became the Khārijites' slogan, is based on the phrase *in il-hukmu illā li-lلāh*, which occurs in Qur'ān 6:57 and 12:40.

<sup>1352</sup> 'Urwa b. Udayya al-Tamīmī, a Basran Khārijite, was famous for his piety. In 58/677–678, Ziyād captured him, cut off his hands and feet, and killed him. See Ibn Qutayba, *Ma'ārif*, 410; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, IV/1, 386, 387; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 1:3338–3339, 2:185–186; al-Tawḥīdī, *Baṣā'ir*, 3:13.

<sup>1353</sup> That is, between January 31 and March 1, 659.

<sup>1354</sup> On the basis of al-Mas'ūdī, *Muṭāj*, 3:141 (§1697), the chain of transmission should end with Suwayd b. Ghafala, the grandfather of 'Abd al-Rahmān, who is the speaker of the report. The words, "from his grandfather Suwayd b. Ghafala," must have fallen out, although the MSS show no lacuna. Suwayd b. Ghafala participated in the early conquests, fought on 'Alī's side at Ṣiffīn, and died in 80, 81 or 82/699, 700 or 701 (see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 4:278–279).

<sup>1355</sup> The proverb, "Tribulation is tied to speech" (*al-balā'u muwakkalun bi-l-manṭiq*), means that sometimes the very mention of a misfortune causes it to take place.

People! Tribulations begin when passions are followed and judgments are innovated; in them some men exalt others, and God's judgment is disobeyed. If the truth were made pure and acted upon, it would not be hidden from anyone endowed with intellect. Instead, a handful is taken from here, and a handful from there, and they get mixed together and acted upon. At that point, the devil captures his friends, and only *those unto whom kindness has gone forth before from Us* are saved.<sup>1356</sup>

The Khārijites went to a village half a farsakh from Kufa called Ḥarūrā<sup>1357</sup> after which they were called the Ḥarūriyya. Their leaders were ‘Abdallāh b. Wahb al-Rāsibī,<sup>1358</sup> Ibn al-Kawwā<sup>1359</sup> and Shabath b. Ribā<sup>1360</sup> They began to proclaim, “Judgment belongs to God alone.” When ‘Alī received word of this, he said: “A true saying by which falsehood has been intended!”

Then they broke out in revolt; they were 8,000—others say 12,000. ‘Alī sent ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Abbās to them. He talked to them, and they advanced arguments against him. ‘Alī went out to them and said, “Do you accuse me of ignorance?” They said, “No.” He said, “Then will you carry out my decisions?” They said, “Yes.”

<sup>1356</sup> Qur’ān 21:101.

<sup>1357</sup> The village (or district) of Ḥarūrā stood on the bank of the Euphrates or one of its canals in the first Islamic century; the course of the river later shifted. See the article by L. Vecchia Vagliieri in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ḥarūrā.

<sup>1358</sup> ‘Abdallāh b. Wahb al-Rāsibī al-Bajalī fought under Sa‘d b. Abī Waqqāṣ in Iraq and under ‘Alī in Kufa until he seceded from his army after the arbitration. He was killed at the Battle of al-Nahrawān on 9 Ṣafar 38 (17 July 658). See the article by Keith Lewinstein in *EI*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. ‘Abdallāh b. Wahb.

<sup>1359</sup> Ibn al-Kawwā<sup>1</sup> ‘Abdallāh b. [Abī] Awfā ‘Amr al-Yashkūrī was among the Qur’ān reciters who criticized ‘Uthmān and were therefore expelled by him from Kufa to Mu‘āwiya in Syria in order to frighten them. There, Mu‘āwiya was impressed by him, and he and his colleagues were returned to Kufa. He was the commander in charge of the prayer of the early Khārijites. He later visited Mu‘āwiya and played an indirect role in dismissing ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Āmir from the governorship of Basra. He died in 86/705–706. See Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, *Waq’at Ṣiffīn*, 295, 502; Khalifa b. Khayyāṭ, *Ta’rīkh*, 292; al-Jāḥiẓ, *Burṣān*, 54; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, index, s.v. Ibn al-Kawwā<sup>2</sup>; Ibn ‘Asākir, *Dimashq*, 27:96, 24:84.

<sup>1360</sup> Shabath b. Ribā<sup>1</sup> al-Tamīmī al-Riyāḥī (the MSS have “Shabib,” which is an error corrected by Houtsma) had a checkered career. At the time of the Ridda, he had supported Sajāh, the prophetess, but then returned to Islam. He rebelled against ‘Uthmān, then fought on ‘Alī’s side until the arbitration and later returned to his fold. He supported the rebellion of al-Mukhtār al-Thaqafī, but then turned against him. He died in Kufa in 80/699–700 or 90/709–710. See Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, *Waq’at Ṣiffīn*, index; Ibn Sa‘d, *Tabaqāt*, 6:150; Khalifa b. Khayyāṭ, *Ta’rīkh*, 192, 195; al-Balādhurī, *Futūh*, 100, 285; Ibn Qutayba, *Ma‘rif*, 405; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, index.

He said, "Then return to your Kufa so that we can debate matters." So all of them returned. Then they began to rise up and proclaim, "Judgment belongs to God alone." And 'Alī would say, "It is God's judgment about you that I await."

Having left Kufa, the Khārijites attacked 'Abdallāh b. Khabbāb b. al-Aratt<sup>1361</sup> and killed him and his companions. 'Alī went out to them and implored them by God (to desist). Then he sent 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās to them and said: "Ibn 'Abbās, say to these Khārijites: 'What do you hold against the Commander of the Faithful? Hasn't he ruled you properly, upholding justice among you and not failing to give you any of your rights?'" | 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās proclaimed this to them. One group of them said, "By God, we will not comply with his request." The other group said: "By God, we will indeed comply with his request, but then we will dispute with him! Yes, Ibn 'Abbās, we hold against 'Alī issues all of which are grave. If we disputed with him about only one of them, we should defeat him. He erased his name from the office of Commander of the Faithful on the day he wrote to Mu'āwiya. We broke away from him at the battle of Ḳiffān, but he did not strike us with his sword until we should return to God."<sup>1362</sup> He left judgment to the two arbitrators and claimed that he was a trustee (*waṣī*), but he squandered the bequest (*waṣīyya*).<sup>1363</sup> And now you come to us, Ibn 'Abbās, in a fine, beautiful garment, summoning us to the like of what he summons us to!"

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Ibn 'Abbās said (to 'Alī): "Commander of the Faithful, you have heard what these men have to say. You are the person most entitled to reply." 'Alī said: "May you defeat them with proofs,<sup>1364</sup> by the One who has split the grain<sup>1365</sup> and created the breath of life! Say to them, 'Are you not satisfied with what is in the Book of God and what is in it regarding the good example of God's Messenger?'"<sup>1366</sup> The Khārijites said, "Yes."<sup>1367</sup> Ibn 'Abbās said: "'Alī is even

<sup>1361</sup> 'Abdallāh b. Khabbāb b. al-Aratt al-Tamīmī, the son of a Companion of the Prophet, was killed, together with his pregnant wife, by the Khārijites in 37/657–658 or 38/658–659. It was because of this murder that 'Alī deemed it lawful to kill the Khārijites. See Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta'rīkh*, 197; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 1:3373–3375.

<sup>1362</sup> Cf. Qur'ān 49:9: "If two parties of the believers fight, put things right between them; then, if one of them is insolent against the other, fight the insolent one till it reverts to God's commandment."

<sup>1363</sup> This refers to the belief of 'Alī and his supporters that the Prophet had appointed him as his successor.

<sup>1364</sup> Translating the past tense (*hajajtahum*) as a precative perfect. Another possibility: "You have defeated them with proofs ..."

<sup>1365</sup> Cf. Qur'ān 6:95.

<sup>1366</sup> Cf. Qur'ān 33:21: "You have had a good example in God's Messenger for whosoever hopes for God and the Last Day, and remembers God oft."

<sup>1367</sup> The report oscillates between narrating the actual encounter between Ibn 'Abbās and

more satisfied with that. The scribe of God's Messenger wrote on the day of al-Ḥudaybiya, when he wrote to Suhayl b. ‘Amr and Ṣakhr b. Ḥarb and to the polytheists on their side: *From Muḥammad, God's Messenger ...* They wrote back to him: *If we knew that you are God's Messenger, we would not have fought you! So write to us, From Muḥammad b. Abdallāh ..., so that we can respond.* So God's Messenger erased his name with his own hand and said, 'My name and my father's name do not do away with my prophethood and my office.' And he wrote: *From Muḥammad b. Abdallāh ...* And thus did the prophets write, as did God's Messenger, just up to their fathers. So in God's Messenger there is a good example.

"As for your saying that I did not strike you with my sword at the battle of Șiffîn, so that you might return to God's command, God, may He be exalted and glorified, says: *And cast not yourselves by your own hands into destruction.*<sup>1368</sup> You had a large force, whereas I and my family were few in number.

2:225 "As for your saying that I allowed the two arbitrators to pass judgment, God, may He be exalted and glorified, allowed for arbitration over a rabbit | [sold] for one quarter of a dirham. He said: *As shall be judged by two men of equity among you.*<sup>1369</sup> If the two arbitrators judged in accordance with the Book of God, I could not depart from their judgment.

"As for your saying that I was a trustee but squandered the bequest, God, may He be glorified and exalted, says: *It is the duty of all men towards God to come to the House a pilgrim, if he is able to make his way there. As for the unbeliever, God is All-sufficient nor needs any being.*<sup>1370</sup> Do you think that this House, if no one performed the pilgrimage to it, would have committed unbelief? It is not this House, if it were abandoned by *him who is able to make his way there*, that would have committed unbelief; it is *you* who have disbelieved by leaving me, not I who have disbelieved by leaving you."

On that day, 2,000 of the Khārijites returned, while 4,000 stayed put. Fighting broke out between them about midday and continued for the space of two hours of the day. They were killed to the last man; Dhū l-Thudayya<sup>1371</sup> was

the Khārijites and providing an exposition of ‘Ali's counterarguments to the Khārijites' grievances against him.

<sup>1368</sup> Qur’ān 2:195.

<sup>1369</sup> Qur’ān 5:95.

<sup>1370</sup> Qur’ān 3:97.

<sup>1371</sup> Dhū l-Thudayya (Possessor of the Small Breast) received his nickname because of a lump of flesh on his shoulder covered with black hair which looked like the breast of a woman. During the Prophet's lifetime, Dhū l-Thudayya was known for his piety. See al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:3383–3384; Ibn Ḥajar, *Isāba*, 1:484 (no. 2446).

among the slain. Fewer than ten of them got away, while fewer than ten of 'Alī's followers were killed. The battle of al-Nahrawān took place in the year 39.<sup>1372</sup>

When 'Alī arrived in Kufa, he rose and delivered a speech. Having praised and extolled God and recalled His bounties, and having blessed Muhammad and mentioned how God had preferred him above others, he said:

People, I have gouged out the eye of sedition when there was no one but I who dared to do it. Had I not been among you, neither the violators, nor the perfidious, nor the renegades, would have been fought.

Then he said:

Ask of me before you lose me, for I shall be killed shortly; for its<sup>1373</sup> most wretched one will not be restrained from dyeing it with the blood of its most lofty one. By Him who split the sea and created the breath of life, if you ask me about anything between you and the Day of Judgment, or about a group<sup>1374</sup> that leads one hundred people astray or one hundred people to guidance, I will inform you about its ralier, leader, and driver until the Day of Judgment. As for the Qur'ān, no one knows it thoroughly except one | who has savored its taste, one who by knowledge of it has recognized his own ignorance, one who has become cognizant of his actions, one who has become aware of his own deafness, one who through it has attained his refuge, and one who will live if he dies and by it achieves God's approval. Seek it then from its people,<sup>1375</sup> for they are in the house of life, the abode of the Qur'ān, and the residence of the angels. The people of knowledge are they whose actions inform you about their knowledge, and

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<sup>1372</sup> Al-Nahrawān was a town and a canal system in the lower Diyālā region east of the Tigris in Iraq. See the article by M. Morony in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Nahrawān. Al-Ya'qūbī's date of 39 would place the Battle of al-Nahrawān between 29 May 659 and 16 May 660. Al-Tabarī, following Abū Mikhnaf, places the battle in the year 37 (19 June 657 to 8 June 658), but at *Ta'rīkh*, 1:3387, he notes that "most of the specialists in historical traditions" place it in the year 38 (9 June 658 to 28 May 659). M. Morony in his article in *EI*<sup>2</sup> accepts the date of 9 Safar 38 (July 17, 658).

<sup>1373</sup> That is, the most wretched man in the Muslim community (*umma*).

<sup>1374</sup> Reading with M, *fī'a*. Houtsma in ed. Leiden emended to *fitna* (trial, civil strife), citing Qur'ān 7:154/155. However, the version of 'Alī's speech in Ibn Abī l-Hadid's commentary agrees with M. See Ibn Abī l-Hadid, *Sharḥ nahj al-balāgha*, 7:46.

<sup>1375</sup> That is, those who know the Qur'ān well, like its reciters (*qurrā'*) and interpreters (*mufassirūn*).

whose exterior informs you about their interior. They are the ones who do not go against the truth and do not disagree about it. A true judgment about them has been made by God: in that there is *a remembrance unto the mindful*.<sup>1376</sup>

As for you, after my death you will encounter humiliation on all sides, a sword that slays, and evil treatment that the oppressors will make their habit against you and that will break your ranks, make your eyes weep, and bring poverty into your houses. Soon you will remember what I am telling you. May God remove only the evildoers.<sup>1377</sup>

Mu‘āwiya b. Abī Sufyān dispatched ‘Amr b. al-Āṣ as governor of Egypt in accordance with the stipulation he had given him. He arrived there in the year 38<sup>1378</sup> with a large army of Syrians. At the head of the troops of Damascus was Yazid b. Asad al-Bajalī; at the head of the troops of Palestine was Sumayr al-Khath‘amī<sup>1379</sup> at the head of the troops of Jordan was Abū l-A‘war al-Sulamī; and Mu‘āwiya b. Ḥudayj al-Kindī was at the head of the rebels.<sup>1380</sup> Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr met them at a place called al-Musannāt<sup>1381</sup> and fought them with great ferocity—‘Amr used to say, “I never saw anything like the battle of al-

<sup>1376</sup> Qur’ān 11:114.

<sup>1377</sup> Cf. Qur’ān 11:44 and 23:23.

<sup>1378</sup> That is, between 9 June 658 and 28 May 659.

<sup>1379</sup> Houtsma read the name, undotted in the MSS, as Shumayr. Naṣr b. Muzāhim, *Waq‘at Siffin*, 128, calls him Sumayr b. Ka'b b. Ubayy al-Ḥimyārī (certainly an error for al-Khath‘amī) and lists him among Mu‘āwiya's leaders of his Palestinian troops at Ṣiffin. Al-Kindī, *al-Wulāt*, 29, calls him only “a man from the Khath‘am.” He is probably the same Sumayr b. Ka'b mentioned by al-Tabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:2158, as participating in the conquest of Fihl (Pella), Jordan, in 13/634.

<sup>1380</sup> That is, the leader of the Egyptians in rebellion against the governor appointed by ‘Ali. The Arabic is *khārija* (people who go out, rebel). It may have the sense that their “going out” was more akin to neutrality than to the open rebellion of the Khārijites (*khawārij*) who opposed ‘Ali after the arbitration. Mu‘āwiya b. Ḥudayj al-Kindī and Maslama b. Mukhallad al-Anṣārī were leaders of the ‘Uthmāniyya (partisans of ‘Uthmān) in Egypt. They were “rebels” insofar as they had refused to acknowledge the authority of ‘Ali's governor Qays b. Sa‘d or of his successor Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr and had gone apart to an encampment at Kharbitā. Now, however, they actively join forces with the Syrians.

<sup>1381</sup> The exact location is unknown. See al-Tabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:3406; al-Kindī, *al-Wulāt*, 29–31, 89; and the article by G. R. Hawting in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr. The battle seems to have had such an impact on the people of Egypt that the year in which it took place was called “the year of al-Musannāt.” See Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥakam, *Futūh Miṣr*, 122.

Musannāt." Muḥammad had incurred criticism from the Yemeni tribes; 'Amr subsequently won over the Yemenis, and they left Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr on his own. He fought for a time, and then he went out and entered [the ruins of]<sup>1382</sup> the house of some people. Ibn Ḥudayj al-Kindī followed him; he took him, killed him, put him inside the carcass of a donkey, and burned him with fire in an alley which is known as Zuqāq al-Jawf.<sup>1383</sup>

When 'Alī received word of the weakness of Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr and the Yemenis' support for Mu'āwiya and 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ, he said, "Muḥammad has not been approached by someone who will not fight." | He dispatched Mālik b. al-Ḥārith al-Ashtar to Egypt before news of the killing of Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr reached him, and he wrote to the Egyptians:

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I have sent you one of God's swords, neither glancing off when striking, nor dull of edge. If he calls you to fight hasten to fight, and if he orders you to stay back stay back, for he advances or retreats only at my command, and I have preferred that you, rather than I, should have him.

When Mu'āwiya received word that 'Alī had dispatched al-Ashtar, he became very concerned, for he knew that the Yemenis would hasten to al-Ashtar more than to anyone else, and so he had him poisoned stealthily. When al-Ashtar reached al-Qulzum,<sup>1384</sup> two stations from al-Fustāt, he stopped at the house of a certain townsman named [...].<sup>1385</sup> The man served him and attended to his needs; then he brought him a bowl of honey in which he had put the poison and had him drink it. Al-Ashtar died in al-Qulzum, and his grave is there. His killing and that of Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr took place in the year 38.<sup>1386</sup>

When 'Alī received word of the killing of Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr and al-Ashtar, he became extremely anguished. Grieving for al-Ashtar, he said: "For one like you, O Malik, let mourning women mourn—and where is one like

<sup>1382</sup> The word *kharāba* (ruins) is not in M.

<sup>1383</sup> Thus in M; ed. Leiden, *al-Ḥawf*. Zuqāq al-Jawf would mean "Lane of the Belly," referring to the belly of the ass in which the body of Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr was burnt.

<sup>1384</sup> Ancient Clyisma, modern Suez.

<sup>1385</sup> The MSS have no name and no sign of a lacuna. In al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:3393, he is identified as al-Jāyastār, "one of the people who pay (or collect) the *kharāj* tax" (*rajul min ahl al-kharāj*); see G. R. Hawting's comment in his translation, *The History of al-Tabarī*, XVII, 145, n. 598. Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 3:353, similarly, has "the chief of the *kharāj* people" (*al-muqaddam 'alā ahl al-kharāj*), that is, of the non-Muslims.

<sup>1386</sup> That is, between 9 June 658 and 28 May 659.

Mālik to be found?" Remembering Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr, he grieved for him, saying: "Truly he was a son to me, and a brother to my children and nephews."<sup>1387</sup>

Al-Khirrīt b. Rāshid al-Nājī<sup>1388</sup> revolted with a company of his supporters. They drew their swords in Kufa and killed some people. When the people pursued them, al-Khirrīt and his supporters left Kufa. They seized the treasury of every town they passed, until they reached the coast of Oman.

<sup>2:228</sup> ‘Alī had sent out al-Ḥulw b. ‘Awf al-Azdi<sup>1389</sup> as governor of Oman. | The Banū Nājiya attacked him, killed him, and apostatized from Islam. ‘Alī dispatched Ma’qil b. Qays al-Riyāḥī<sup>1390</sup> to the province. He killed al-Khirrīt b. Rāshid and his supporters and took the Banū Nājiya captive. Maṣqala b. Hubayra al-Shaybānī<sup>1391</sup> then bought them, but he sent only part of the money and then ran away to Mu‘āwiya.<sup>1392</sup> So ‘Alī ordered Maṣqala’s house to be demolished, and decreed the manumission of the Banū Nājiya. They used to claim that they were descendants of Sāma b. Lu’ayy.<sup>1393</sup>

<sup>1387</sup> ‘Alī’s statement refers to the fact that Asmā’ bt. ‘Umays, the mother of Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr, also married ‘Alī and before him his brother Ja’far b. Abī Ṭālib. See the article by Ch. Pellat in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Asmā’, to which can be added the biography in al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfi*, 9:53.

<sup>1388</sup> On al-Khirrīt b. Rāshid al-Nājī, see the article by Ch. Pellat in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Khirrīt b. Rāshid al-Nādjī.

<sup>1389</sup> Al-Ḥulw (sic MSS, but Houtsma questions the reading) is otherwise unknown.

<sup>1390</sup> Ma’qil b. Qays al-Riyāḥī was a Kufan in charge of ‘Alī’s police. For a discussion of the episode, see the article by Ch. Pellat in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Khirrīt b. Rāshid al-Nādjī.

<sup>1391</sup> Maṣqala b. Hubayra al-Shaybānī was an Iraqi notable who served as deputy governor of Ardashīr Khurra under ‘Alī, but his defaulting on paying for the Banū Nājiya (or his manumitting Christian captives from the same tribe) angered ‘Alī and made him burn down his house. Maṣqala then attached himself to Mu‘āwiya. Later, he was one of the witnesses against Ḥujr b. ‘Adī. Mu‘āwiya appointed him governor of Ṭabaristān in 54/673–674, where he was killed. See Khalifa b. Khayyāṭ, *Ta’rikh*, 192, 223; Ibn Qutayba, *Ma’ārif*, 403; Ibn Hilāl al-Thaqafī, *al-Ghārāt*, index; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh*, index; Ibn ‘Asākir, *Dimashq*, 58:269. See also the article by Ch. Pellat in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Khirrīt b. Rāshid al-Nādjī.

<sup>1392</sup> The longer version in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh*, 1:3439, explains Maṣqala’s action. Pitying the women and children, Maṣqala obtained an agreement from Ma’qil, their captor, to free them if he, Maṣqala, would pay a certain sum as *ṣadaqa* (alms to be paid to the treasury, that is, to ‘Alī) to buy their freedom. This is the sense in which Maṣqala “bought” them. However, he fulfilled only part of the agreement before fleeing to Mu‘āwiya. ‘Alī punished Maṣqala, but confirmed the manumission of the Banū Nājiya.

<sup>1393</sup> Sāma b. Lu’ayy was the eponym of a sub-branch of the Quraysh and the purported ancestor of the Nājiya b. Jarm tribe. See Caskel, *Čamharat an-Nasab*, 1:4, and 2:509.

Mu‘āwiya sent out al-Nu‘mān b. Bashīr. He raided Mālik b. Ka‘b al-Arḥabī,<sup>1394</sup> who was ‘Alī’s deputy (*‘āmil*) in charge of the garrison of ‘Ayn al-Tamr.<sup>1395</sup> ‘Alī called upon the people of Kufa and said:

People of Kufa, answer the call of your brother Mālik b. Ka‘b, for al-Nu‘mān b. Bashīr has descended on him with an army that is not big; perhaps God will cut off a party of the wrongdoers.<sup>1396</sup>

When the people were slow to respond and did not set out, ‘Alī ascended the pulpit and spoke words so soft as to be inaudible, so that the people thought he was praying to God. Then he raised his voice and said:

People of Kufa, whenever a band of Syrians comes, will everyone close his door and hide in his house like a lizard or a vile hyena in its den? Fie on you! How I have suffered from you! One day I speak softly to you, another [I call loudly]; but there are neither brothers when I speak softly, nor real men<sup>1397</sup> when I call loudly.

After ‘Alī had reentered his house, ‘Adī b. Ḥātim rose and said, “By God, this is disgraceful abandonment!” Then he went to ‘Alī and said: “Commander of the Faithful, I have one thousand men from the Tayyi‘ who will not disobey me. If you want me to march out with them, I will.” ‘Alī said: “May God reward you well, Abū Ṭarīf. I would not expose a single tribe to the sword of the Syrians. But | go out to al-Nukhayla.”<sup>1398</sup> ‘Adī went out, and the troops followed him. He marched along the bank of the Euphrates and raided the border areas<sup>1399</sup> close to Syria.

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<sup>1394</sup> Mālik b. Ka‘b al-Hamdānī al-Arḥabī was a Kufan notable who had participated in the conquest of al-Madā'in and was one of the witnesses to the document of the arbitration. ‘Alī sent him on various missions to fight his enemies, notably ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ in Egypt and Muslim b. ‘Uqba al-Murrī at Dūmat al-Jandal. He fended off an attack by Mu‘āwiya’s army against his post in ‘Ayn al-Tamr. See al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh*, 1:2433, 2916, 3337, 3410–3411, 3441, 3444–3445; Ibn ‘Asākir, *Ta’rikh Dimashq*, 56:493.

<sup>1395</sup> ‘Ayn al-Tamr was a small town in Iraq on the edge of the desert between al-Anbār and Kufa, about 80 miles west of Karbalā’. See the article by Saleh A. El-Ali in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. ‘Ayn al-Tamr.

<sup>1396</sup> Cf. Qur‘ān 3:127: “that He (sc. God) might cut off a part of the unbelievers.”

<sup>1397</sup> Arabic *ahrār*, literally ‘free men’.

<sup>1398</sup> Al-Nukhayla was a town in Iraq near Kufa, on the road to Syria. See the article by E. Honigmann in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Nukhayla.

<sup>1399</sup> Following M, *adāni*; ed. Leiden (following C) reads the singular *adnā*.

Al-Ḍahḥāk b. Qays<sup>1400</sup> raided al-Qutquṭāna.<sup>1401</sup> When ‘Alī received word of his approach and that he had killed Ibn ‘Umays,<sup>1402</sup> he rose and delivered a speech, saying:

People of Kufa, go out to an army of yours, part of which has been hit, and to the good man Ibn ‘Umays, so that you defend your womenfolk and fight your enemy!

When they responded weakly, he said:

People of Iraq, I wish I had one Syrian for every eight of you! Woe to them! They have fought on the side of their patron for (a claim to) a right.<sup>1403</sup> Woe to you! Go out with me, and then desert me if you change your minds! By God, I desire martyrdom—it hovers over my head. Also, it would be a great relief for me to stop cajoling you as one cajoles young girls with injured hymens<sup>1404</sup> or women with collapsed hymens:<sup>1405</sup> whenever they<sup>1406</sup> get stitched from one side, they get ripped apart from another.

Ḩujr b. ‘Adī l-Kindī<sup>1407</sup> went up to him and said:

<sup>1400</sup> On al-Ḍahḥāk b. Qays al-Fihri, see the article by A. Dietrich in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Ḍahḥāk b. Ḳays al-Fihri. According to al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:3447, al-Ḍahḥāk was raiding on behalf of Mu’āwiya with 3,000 men and orders to attack anyone who recognized ‘Alī’s authority.

<sup>1401</sup> Al-Qutquṭāna was near Kufa in the direction of the desert in al-Taff. See Yāqūt, *Buldān*, 4:374.

<sup>1402</sup> ‘Umays is unpointed in the manuscripts, and Houtsma read it erroneously as ‘Umaysh. Amr b. ‘Umays b. Mas’ūd al-Dhuhlī is known mainly for the episode reported here. See Ibn Hilāl al-Thaqafī, *al-Ghārāt*, 292–294, 300; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:3447; Caskel, *Čamharat an-Nasab*, 1:38, and 2:186.

<sup>1403</sup> Reading with M, *qātalū ma’ naṣirihim ‘alā haqq*. Ed Leiden, based on C, has *qātalū ma’ taṣabburihim ‘alā jawr* (despite their endurance of tyranny), but this requires emending the manuscript’s *haqq* and supplying dots for the unpointed and ambiguous *taṣabburihim*.

<sup>1404</sup> That is, from over-riding camels. This is the meaning of *al-bikār al-‘amida*, which is the reading that appears in Ibn Abī l-Ḥadid, *Sharḥ nahj al-balāgha*, 6:102. The manuscripts of al-Ya’qūbī have *al-bikār al-‘īd*, which Houtsma emended to *al-ghumra*, making the meaning more opaque.

<sup>1405</sup> Again this is the reading of Ibn Abī l-Ḥadid, *Sharḥ nahj al-balāgha*, 6:102; *al-thiyāb al-mutadā’ya*. The MSS of al-Ya’qūbī have the similar *al-thiyāb al-mutahattika*.

<sup>1406</sup> That is, the hymens.

<sup>1407</sup> Ḥujr b. ‘Adī l-Kindī (d. 51/671–672) was a Kufan who fought for ‘Alī at the Battle of the

Commander of the Faithful, may God not allow to come near Paradise any of us<sup>1408</sup> who does not love to be near you. Hold to God's custom with you, for the truth will be victorious, and martyrdom is the best garland. Send sincere people with me, and with your competence be a backing<sup>1409</sup> for me; and God is a backing for a person and his family. Truly, the devil does not depart from most people's hearts until their souls depart from their bodies.

'Alī rejoiced. He praised Ḥujr gratefully and said, "May God not | deprive you of martyrdom, for I know that you are one of its men." 'Alī sat in the mosque and summoned the people; 4,000 responded. Ḥujr set out with them in pursuit of the enemy. He marched swiftly and encountered them at Tadmur<sup>1410</sup> in the district of Ḥimṣ. He fought them and drove them back until they reached al-Ḏahhāk. Nightfall kept them apart; then, during the night, al-Ḏahhāk beat a hasty retreat. Ḥujr b. 'Adī and those with him launched raids in those lands for two days and two nights.

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Sufyān b. 'Awf then raided al-Anbār<sup>1411</sup> and killed Ashras b. Hassān al-Bakrī.<sup>1412</sup> 'Alī sent Sa'īd b. Qays<sup>1413</sup> in pursuit of him. When Sufyān became aware of Sa'īd, he turned back. Sa'īd pursued him as far as 'Ānāt<sup>1414</sup> but could not overtake him.

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Camel and at Şiffin. Later, after the abdication of al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī, Ḥujr was the moving spirit behind the Kufans' movements against the Umayyads. The Umayyad governor Ziyād sent him to Mu'āwiya to be tried, and he was killed, together with a number of his companions. Al-Ya'qūbi's narrative of this episode will be given below, ed. Leiden, 2:273 ff. See the article by Wilferd Madelung in *ER*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. Ḥujr b. 'Adī l-Kindi.

<sup>1408</sup> Reading with M, *minnā*; ed. Leiden (following C) reads *minni* (of me), which does not make sense.

<sup>1409</sup> Arabic *kun līfi'atan*, that is, reserve troops.

<sup>1410</sup> The town of Tadmur (Palmyra) is in the Syrian desert about 90 miles east of Ḥimṣ. See the article by C. E. Bosworth in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Tadmur.

<sup>1411</sup> Al-Anbār is a town on the left bank of the Euphrates, 38 miles east of Baghdad. See the article by M. Streck and A. A. Duri in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Anbār.

<sup>1412</sup> Ashras b. Hassān al-Bakrī was 'Alī's chief of the garrison which was attacked by Sufyān b. 'Awf on behalf of Mu'āwiya in 39/659–660. See Ibn Hilāl al-Thaqafī, *al-Ghārāt*, 320, 323, 324, 337; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 1:3445–3446.

<sup>1413</sup> Sa'īd b. Qays b. Murra al-Hamdānī al-Sabi'ī had participated in the conquest of Nihāwand and was governor over al-Rayy and Hamadhān for a time under 'Uthmān. He was sent by 'Alī to ask Mu'āwiya for his oath of allegiance, and fought on 'Alī's side in the battles of Şiffin and al-Nahrawān. See Naṣr b. Muzāḥīm, *Waq'at Şiffin*, index; Khalīfa b. Khayyāt, *Ta'rīkh*, 195; Ibn Hilāl al-Thaqafī, *al-Ghārāt*, index; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, index.

<sup>1414</sup> 'Āna (frequently 'Ānāt, especially in poetry) is a town in the Jazīra on the right bank

Mu‘āwiya sent out ‘Abdallāh b. Mas‘ada b. Hudhayfa b. Badr al-Fazārī<sup>1415</sup> with a detachment of cavalry and ordered him to head for Medina and Mecca; he marched out with a force of 1,700. When the news reached ‘Alī, he dispatched al-Musayyab b. Najaba al-Fazārī<sup>1416</sup> and said to him: “Musayyab, you are a person whose godliness, fortitude, and sincere advice I trust. Head to those people and leave your mark on them though they are your kin.” Al-Musayyab said to him, “Commander of the Faithful, I am fortunate to have been among your trusted ones.” He departed with 2,000 men from the Hamdān, Ṭayyi’, and other tribes. He marched swiftly and sent his vanguard ahead. They met ‘Abdallāh b. Mas‘ada and fought him. Al-Musayyab overtook them and fought them until he was on the point of capturing [Ibn] Mas‘ada. But Ibn Mas‘ada kept eluding him: he retreated and fortified himself in Taymā’.<sup>1417</sup> Al-Musayyab surrounded the fortress and besieged Ibn Mas‘ada and his forces for three days. Ibn Mas‘ada then cried out to al-Musayyab: “Musayyab, we are your kin. Let kinship move you!” Al-Musayyab made way for him and his forces and moved away<sup>1418</sup> from the fortress. When night fell, | they went out under cover of darkness and eventually reached Syria. In the morning, al-Musayyab came to the fortress and found no one there. ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Shabib<sup>1419</sup> therefore said, “By God, you have acted hypocritically in their affair, Musayyab, and have cheated the Commander of the Faithful.” When al-Musayyab came [to] ‘Alī, ‘Alī said to him, “Musayyab, you were among my sincerest advisers, but then you did what you did!” ‘Alī imprisoned him for a few days, but then he released him and put him in charge of collecting the alms (*ṣadaqa*) in Kufa.

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of the Euphrates between al-Raqqa and Hit. See the article by S. H. Longrigg in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. ‘Āna.

<sup>1415</sup> ‘Abdallāh b. Mas‘ada fought on Mu‘āwiya’s side at Siffin. He led campaigns against the Byzantines, later participated in the battle of the Ḥarra, fought Ibn al-Zubayr, and gave his oath of allegiance to Marwān I in 65/684–685. See Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Tarikh*, 209; Ibn Hilāl al-Thaqafī, *al-Ghārāt*, 290, 409; al-Ṭabarī, *Tarikh*, index.

<sup>1416</sup> Al-Musayyab b. Najaba al-Fazārī had participated in the battle of al-Qādisiyah and in the conquests of Syria. A partisan of ‘Alī, he was later killed with the Tawwābūn at ‘Ayn al-Warda in 65/684–685. See Ibn Sa‘d, *Tabaqāt*, 6:150; Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Tarikh*, 262; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, IV/1, 277, 530; al-Dīnawarī, *Akhbār*, 220; al-Ṭabarī, *Tarikh*, index; Ibn ‘Asākir, *Dimashq*, 58:193.

<sup>1417</sup> Taymā’ was an ancient oasis settlement of northwestern Arabia, now in Saudi Arabia. See the article by F. Buhl and C. E. Bosworth in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Taymā’.

<sup>1418</sup> Reading with M, *tanaḥḥā*; ed. Leiden (following C) reads *wa-najā* (and he got away safely).

<sup>1419</sup> On ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Shabib al-Fazārī, see Ibn Hilāl al-Thaqafī, *al-Ghārāt*, 194; al-Ṭabarī, *Tarikh*, 1:3411, 3447; Ibn ‘Asākir, *Dimashq*, 34:431.

Mu'āwiya sent out Busr b. Abī Arṭāt<sup>1420</sup>—or, as some say, b. Arṭāt—al-'Āmirī of the Banū 'Āmir b. Lu'ayy with 3,000 men and said to him: “Proceed until you pass by Medina. Drive away its people, frighten whomever you meet, and plunder the possessions of everyone you encounter who has possessions and who has not yet entered into obedience to us. Make the people of Medina believe that you intend to kill them and that you will accept no exculpation or excuse from them. Then proceed until you enter Mecca, but harm no one there. Terrify the people between Mecca and Medina and make them take to their heels. Then proceed to Ṣan‘ā', for we have partisans (*shī'a*) there—a letter from them has indeed come to me.”

Busr set out. Whenever he passed by a tribe of Bedouins, he did what Mu'āwiya had ordered him to do, until he reached Medina, whose governor was Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī. Abū Ayyūb withdrew from the city. Busr entered it, ascended the pulpit, and said:

People of Medina! The likeness of your evil is as that of *a city that was secure, contented, its provision coming to it easily from every place, then it became unthankful for the blessings of God; so God let it taste the garment of hunger and of fear, for the things that they were doing.*<sup>1421</sup> Truly, God has applied this similitude to you and has made you deserving of it—may your faces be disfigured!

And he went on reviling them until he descended.<sup>1422</sup>

Jābir b. 'Abdallāh al-Anṣārī<sup>1423</sup> went to Umm Salama, the Prophet's wife, and said, “I am afraid I may be killed, but this oath of allegiance is wrong.” She said, “Then pledge allegiance, | for prudent dissimulation (*taqiyya*) made the People of the Cave<sup>1424</sup> wear crosses and attend festivals with their people.”

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<sup>1420</sup> On this Mu'āwiya supporter who became notorious for his brutality, see the article by Isaac Hasson in *EI*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. Busr b. Abī Arṭāt.

<sup>1421</sup> Qur'ān 16:112.

<sup>1422</sup> At this point, the text of al-Ya'qūbī adds *qāla*, “He said.” Houtsma interpreted it as the remnant of a missing *isnād* (chain of transmission). The next section therefore may have come from another source, but this is far from certain, as *qāla* sometimes must be taken to mean, “The narrator continued, saying.” To avoid confusion, it has been omitted from the translation.

<sup>1423</sup> On Jābir b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr al-Salāmī al-Anṣārī, one of the seventy men from the Aws and Khazraj of Medina who pledged allegiance to the Prophet at 'Aqaba before the hijra, see the article by M. J. Kister in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Djābir b. 'Abd Allāh.

<sup>1424</sup> This refers to a group of pious youths mentioned in Qur'ān 18:9–26 who entered a

Busr demolished some houses in Medina, proceeded to Mecca, and then went on until he reached Yemen, whose governor for ‘Alī was ‘Ubaydallāh b. ‘Abbās.

When a report of this reached ‘Alī, he rose and delivered a speech:

People! The beginning of your decline was the disappearance from among you of the people of intellect and judgment, those who tell the truth when they speak and who do what they say. I have called on you again and again, in secret and in public, by day and by night, but my call has only increased you in flight.<sup>1425</sup> Exhortation is of no use with you, nor is the summons to right guidance and wisdom. By God, I know well what would settle things for you, but therein would be my ruin. So give me a little time; for, by God, there has come to you one who will make you grieve and afflict you, but whom God will afflict by you. To the humiliation of Islam and destruction of religion, the son of Abū Sufyān summons the base and wicked and they answer, while I summon you and you do not accept<sup>1426</sup> and take fright. Now Busr has gone to Yemen, and before that he was in Mecca and Medina.

Jāriya b. Qudāma al-Sa‘dī<sup>1427</sup> rose and said: “Commander of the Faithful, may God not deprive us of your nearness or make us see your departure. How excellently you conduct yourself!<sup>1428</sup> What an excellent imam, by God, you are!

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cave to escape persecution for their faith and whom God miraculously caused to sleep until the persecution had ended. The details mentioned here—wearing crosses and attending festivals—are extra-Qur’ānic. Umm Salama’s advice to pretend to accept Mu‘āwiya’s caliphate as legitimate, even to the point of swearing an oath of allegiance to save one’s life, is an example of a principle developed in Islamic law (especially, but not exclusively, among Shi‘ites) called *taqīyya* (prudent dissimulation). See the article by R. Strothmann and Moktar Djebli in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Taqīyya*.

<sup>1425</sup> ‘Alī’s words echo those of Noah in Qur’ān 71:5–6: “My Lord, I have called my people by night and by day, but my calling has only increased them in flight.”

<sup>1426</sup> Following the apparent reading of M: *wa-antum lā taqbalūn*. Ed. Leiden (following C) can be read as *wa-antum lā taṣluhūn* (and you are no good) or as *wa-antum lā tuṣlahūn* (and you are not set right).

<sup>1427</sup> Jāriya b. Qudāma b. Zuhayr al-Tamīmī al-Sa‘dī was a Companion of the Prophet, a notable among his tribe, and a partisan of ‘Alī, on whose side he fought at the Battle of the Camel, Ṣiffīn, and al-Nahrawān. Later he was reconciled to Mu‘āwiya. See the article by M. J. Kister in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Djāriya b. Ḳudāma*.

<sup>1428</sup> Arabic *nī’ma l-adabu adabuka*. Literally, “How excellent is your *adab*!” The term *adab* combines the ideas of discipline, knowledge, and proper behavior.

I am the one to deal with those people. Dispatch me to them!" 'Alī said, "Get ready, for I know you to be a man both in hardship and in ease, blessed and fortunate in mind." Then Wahb b. Mas'ūd al-Khath'amī<sup>1429</sup> rose and said, "I will answer the call, Commander of the Faithful." 'Alī said, "Answer the call, and may God bless you!"

Jāriya set out with 2,000 men, and Wahb b. Mas'ūd with 2,000. 'Alī ordered them to pursue Busr wherever he was until they overtook him; when they came together, the commander of the forces should be Jāriya. Jāriya set out | from Basra and Wahb from Kufa. They met in the Ḥijāz. Busr hurried from al-Tā'if and reached Yemen. By that time, 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Abbās had withdrawn from Yemen, leaving 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-Madān al-Hārithī<sup>1430</sup> behind as his deputy. Busr attacked him, killing him and his son Mālik b. 'Abdallāh. 'Ubaydallāh had left his two sons, 'Abd al-Rahmān and Qutham, with Juwayriya bt. Qāriż al-Kināniyya<sup>1431</sup>—she was their mother—and left with her a man from the Banū Kināna. When Busr reached her, he called for 'Ubaydallāh's sons to kill them. The man from the Banū Kināna stood up, drew his sword, and said: "By God, I will be killed before them! Otherwise, what excuse would I have in the sight of God and men?" The man fought with his sword until he was killed. Women from the Banū Kināna came out and said: "Busr, men may be killed—but children? By God, even pagan times (*jāhiliyya*) would not kill them! By God, an authority (*sultān*) that maintains its strength only by killing children and banishing mercy is an evil authority!" Busr said, "By God, I have a mind to put you women to the sword!" Then he brought the two children forward and slaughtered them. Their mother, lamenting them, said:<sup>1432</sup>

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<sup>1429</sup> On Wahb b. Mas'ūd al-Khath'amī, see Ibn Hilāl al-Thaqafī, *al-Ghārāt*, 430; al-Tabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 1:3452.

<sup>1430</sup> 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-Madān al-Hārithī was a Companion of the Prophet whose name was changed by the Prophet from 'Abd al-Ḥajar to 'Abdallāh. He called on his people not to apostatize after the Prophet's death. See Ibn Hilāl al-Thaqafī, *al-Ghārāt*, 423, 431; al-Tabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 1:3452; Ibn Ḥajar, *İṣāba*, 2:338 (no. 4800).

<sup>1431</sup> This is also her name in al-Mas'ūdi, *Murij*, 3:211 (§ 1812); it is Umm Ḥakīm bt. Qāriż in al-İsfahānī, *Aghānī*, ed. Cairo, 15:47 (Beirut, 16:204). In Ibn Hilāl al-Thaqafī, *al-Ghārāt*, 420, 421, her name is given as Umm Ḥakīm Juwayriya bt. Khālid b. Qāriż al-Kināniyya.

<sup>1432</sup> *Aghānī*, loc. cit., clarifies the circumstances of the poem and adds two more verses. After her sons were killed, their mother, Umm Ḥakīm, lost her mind from grief. "She would neither understand nor listen to anyone who told her that they had been killed. She kept circulating at the pilgrimage seasons, asking people for news about her sons by means of these verses."

O who has heard news of my two dear children?

They were my hearing and my heart, and now my heart is wrenched away.

O who has heard news of my two dear children?

They were the marrow of my bones, and now my marrow has perished.

O who has heard news of my two dear children?

They were like two pearls that the shell opens to reveal.

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I was told about Busr, but I did not believe what they claimed,

their words and the lie that they uttered:

That he brought down on my sons' jugular veins

a sharp, whetted blade, and thus was the deed committed.

Who will guide a woman who is distracted, bereaved,

to two boys who lost their way when their father departed?

Then Busr gathered the people of Najrān and said: "You Christians! By Him beside whom there is no god, if I receive word concerning you of anything that I dislike, I will multiply the slain among you!" He then marched toward Jayshān,<sup>1433</sup> whose people were partisans (*shī'a*) of 'Alī. He fought them and defeated them, spreading much killing among them. Then he returned to Ṣan'a'.

Jāriya b. Qudāma al-Sā'dī marched until he reached Najrān. He pursued Busr, but Busr escaped into the countryside and did not stand up to him. Jāriya killed a number of his men; then he followed them, killing and taking prisoners all the way to Mecca. Busr went on until he entered the Hijāz, turning aside for nothing.

Jāriya b. Qudāma demanded the oath of allegiance from the people of Mecca. They said: "'Alī has perished;<sup>1434</sup> to whom shall we swear allegiance?' He said, "To whomever 'Alī's supporters swore allegiance after his death." When they were sluggish about it, he said to them, "By God, you shall swear allegiance even if you do it with your backsides!" So they swore allegiance. Jāriya then entered Medina, whose people had settled on Abū Hurayra. Jāriya led them in the prayer—Abū Hurayra fled from him. Jāriya said, "People of Medina, swear

<sup>1433</sup> Jayshān is in Yemen. Yāqūt, 2:200, lists the place but gives no location. There is a modern town called Jayshān in Abyan governorate of southern Yemen, southeast of Ṣan'a'.

<sup>1434</sup> Al-Ya'qūbī postpones the narrative of 'Alī's death, which took place on 17 Ramaḍān 40 (January 24, 661), during Jāriya's expedition to pursue Busr, until ed. Leiden, 2:251ff.

allegiance to al-Hasan b. 'Alī!" So they swore allegiance. Then he left for Kufa, and the people of Medina brought back Abū Hurayra.

Ghiyāth<sup>1435</sup> said, on the authority of Fitr b. Khalifa:<sup>1436</sup> I was informed by Abū Khālid al-Wālibī,<sup>1437</sup> who said: I read | 'Alī's commission to Jāriya b. Qudāma:

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I commend to you, Jāriya, the fear of God, for all good is comprehended in it.<sup>1438</sup> Travel with God's help, and meet your enemy to whom I have sent you. Fight only those who fight you, and do not dispatch a wounded man. Do not commandeer a mount, even if you and your companions have to walk. Do not give yourself preference at watering holes over the owners of the watering holes, and drink only from their surplus and with their approval. Revile no Muslim man or woman, lest you bring upon yourself that for which you chastise others. Wrong no man or woman who has a pact. Remember God, slackening neither by day nor by night. Mount your foot soldiers; share your possessions; march energetically; oust the enemy from wherever he is; kill him when he is facing you, and turn him away exasperated and humbled. Shed blood for the right, and spare it for the right. Accept the repentance of anyone who repents. Send me your news at all times and in every situation. The truth! The truth! For a liar does not make a sound decision.<sup>1439</sup>

He<sup>1440</sup> said: Abū l-Kanūd<sup>1441</sup> reported that Jāriya went in pursuit of Busr. He turned aside to no city, stopping for nothing until he reached Yemen and

<sup>1435</sup> Ghiyāth, one of Ya'qūbī's informants, cannot be further identified.

<sup>1436</sup> Fitr b. Khalifa Abū Bakr al-Hannāt (d. 155/771–772) was a Kufan with Shī'ī sympathies. See Ibn Sa'd, *Tabaqāt*, 6:253; Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta'rīkh*, 426; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 1:3181, 3216; Ibn al-Athīr, *Uṣd*, 3:20.

<sup>1437</sup> Abū Khālid al-Wālibī (d. 100/718–719)—his name is given as Kankar or Hurmuz—was a client of the Banū Wāliba of the tribe of Asad. A Kufan, he is said to have supported the claims of 'Alī's son, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya, and later the imamate of 'Alī Zayn al-Ābidin. See Ibn Sa'd, *Tabaqāt*, 6:159; Abū Zur'a al-Dimashqī, *Ta'rīkh*, 1:294; al-Kashshī, *Ikhtiyār*, 111; al-Ṭūsī, *Rijāl*, 100; Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhīb*, 12:83. See also al-Qādī, *al-Kaysāniyya*, 276–278, 287, 341.

<sup>1438</sup> Reading with M, *jimā'*; ed. Leiden, following C, reads *jamū'* (that which collects).

<sup>1439</sup> Arabic *lā ra'yā li-l-kadhūb*, literally, "The liar has no *ra'y* (sound judgment or opinion)."

<sup>1440</sup> That is, the narrator, although it is not clear whom al-Ya'qūbī is citing.

<sup>1441</sup> Abū l-Kanūd—his name was Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Ubayd al-Wā'ilī—was a supporter of 'Alī. See Ibn Hilāl al-Thaqafī, *al-Ghārāt*, 271 (and n. 6), 431, 434; al-Ṭūsī, *Rijāl*, 53, 65.

Najrān, where he killed those whom he killed—Busr fled from him. He<sup>1442</sup> went on a burning spree, and was therefore nicknamed *Muharriq*, “Burner.”

‘Alī wrote to his governors prodding them to go out to fight. He wrote to al-Ash‘ath b. Qays, his governor in Azerbaijan:

God’s granting you wealth has only beguiled you about yourself and emboldened you against your people.<sup>1443</sup> From of old you have been feeding on His provision while deviating from His commandments, enjoying your share of goods while destroying your good deeds—until this very day. When my messenger comes to you with this letter of mine, come, and bring what you have of the Muslims’ money, God willing.

When al-Ash‘ath read his letter, he went to him.

‘Alī wrote to Yazīd b. Qays al-Arḥabī:<sup>1444</sup>

2:236 You have been slow | in bringing your *kharāj* revenue. I do not know what led you to do it, but I commend to you the fear of God, and I warn you not to annul your reward and render your *jihād* of no account by betraying the Muslims. Fear God! Raise yourself above forbidden things, and do not give me reason to find fault with you, so that I have no choice but to punish you. Have the Muslims invoke God’s protection.<sup>1445</sup> Do no wrong to those with whom we have a pact. Seek the next world in what God has given you, but do not forget your share of this world. *Do good, as God has been good to you, and seek not to work corruption in the earth; surely God loves not the workers of corruption.*<sup>1446</sup>

<sup>1442</sup> That is, Jāriya.

<sup>1443</sup> Reading with M, *wajarra’aka ‘alā nafarika*. Ed. Leiden reads the unpointed text of C as *wajarra’aka ‘alā ākhirika* (and emboldened you about your end)—apparently referring to al-Ash‘ath’s misplaced confidence in his reward in the next world.

<sup>1444</sup> Yazid b. Qays al-Arḥabī al-Hamdānī, a Kufan notable who participated in the conquest of Hamadhān, became governor of Kufa under ‘Uthmān. He was among the rebels against ‘Uthmān, headed ‘Alī’s police, and became his governor over Isfahān, al-Rayy, and Hamadhān. He fought on ‘Alī’s side in the Battle of the Camel and at Ḫiffin. See Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, *Waq’at Ḫiffin*, index; Ibn Sa‘d, *Ṭabaqāt*, 6:164; Ibn Hilāl al-Thaqafī, *al-Ghārāt*, 406, 407; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh*, index.

<sup>1445</sup> Reading *a’widh*, with M and C (undotted in both cases). Houtsma emended to *a’ziz* (strengthen the Muslims).

<sup>1446</sup> Qur’ān 28:77.

'Alī wrote to Sa'd b. Mas'ūd,<sup>1447</sup> al-Mukhtār b. Abī 'Ubayd's<sup>1448</sup> paternal uncle, who was in charge of al-Madā'in:

You have rendered your *kharāj*, obeyed your Lord, and satisfied your imam as a pious, God-fearing, and noble person does. Therefore may God forgive your sins, accept your efforts, and grant you a good return.<sup>1449</sup>

'Alī wrote to 'Umar b. Abī Salama al-Makhzūmī,<sup>1450</sup> the son of Umm Salama, the Prophet's wife, who was his governor over al-Baḥrāyn:

I have appointed al-Nu'mān b. al-'Ajlān<sup>1451</sup> over al-Baḥrāyn without blame to you; so come to me under no cloud of suspicion, and give up to him what you have been in charge of. I have decided to go out against the iniquitous Syrians and the rest of the factions,<sup>1452</sup> and I want you to be there with me when I encounter them, for you are among those whose support I seek in upholding religion and supporting right guidance. May God make you and us to be among those who act and judge in accordance with the truth.

'Umar came and was present with 'Alī (at the fighting); then he returned and followed 'Alī to Kufa. He stayed with him there for one year and part of another.

When 'Alī received word that al-Nu'mān b. al-'Ajlān had embezzled the money of al-Baḥrāyn, he wrote to him:

<sup>1447</sup> Sa'd b. Mas'ūd al-Thaqafi was a Companion of the Prophet. He had been instrumental in dismissing 'Ammaṛ b. Yāsir from the governorship of Kufa under 'Uthmān, and was appointed by 'Alī over al-Madā'in. He fought on 'Alī's side at al-Nahrawān and Ṣiffīn. See Naṣr b. Muzāḥīm, *Waq'at Ṣiffīn*, 11, 117; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, index; Ibn Ḥajar, *İṣāba*, 2:37 (no. 3202).

<sup>1448</sup> Al-Mukhtār b. Abī 'Ubayd al-Thaqafi (d. 14 Ramaḍān 67/3 April 687) later led a Shi'ite rebellion against the Umayyads in Kufa in 66–67/685–687. He was killed by the Zubayrids. See the article by G. R. Hawting in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Mukhtār b. Abī 'Ubayd.

<sup>1449</sup> That is, a reward in the next world.

<sup>1450</sup> On 'Umar b. Abī Salama 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-Asad b. Hilāl al-Makhzūmī (d. 83/702–703) see al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, index; Ibn 'Asākir, *Dimashq*, 45:70.

<sup>1451</sup> On al-Nu'mān (M, C, *al-Walīd*, corrected by Houtsma) b. al-'Ajlān al-Zuraqī, see Khalīfa b. Khayyāt, *Ta'rīkh*, 200; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 1:3101.

<sup>1452</sup> Arabic *al-ahlāk* (the factions/confederates) is a Qur'ānic term originally applied to the enemies of the Prophet at the Battle of the Trench in the year 5/626–627. Sura 33 of the Qur'ān, which bears their name, mentions them in verses 20–27.

2:237 Anyone who makes light of his trust, who luxuriates<sup>1453</sup> in | treason, and who does not keep himself and his religion unblemished has harmed himself in this world; and what he is on the brink of encountering later is more bitter, more lasting, more painful, and more lengthy. So fear God! You are from a righteous clan; therefore live up to the good reputation you enjoy. Reconsider—if what has reached me about you is true—and do not reverse my opinion of you. Pay up the whole of your *kharāj*, and then write to me, so that my judgment and command may come to you, God willing.

When al-Nu‘mān received ‘Alī’s letter and realized that ‘Alī knew, he carried off the money and joined Mu‘āwiya.

‘Alī wrote to Maṣqala b. Hubayra—he had received word that the latter was distributing and giving away the money of Ardashīr Khurra,<sup>1454</sup> of which he was in charge:

I have received word regarding you concerning a matter that I have found too grave to believe: that you are distributing, as one distributes walnuts, the booty (*fay’*) of the Muslims among your kin, any petitioners who visit you, the “confederates,”<sup>1455</sup> and poets who speak lies. By Him who split the grain<sup>1456</sup> and created the breath of life, I will investigate exhaustively, and if I find it to be true, you will surely find yourself in disesteem in my sight. So do not be among *the greatest losers in their works, those whose striving goes astray in the present life, while they think that they are doing good deeds.*<sup>1457</sup>

Maṣqala wrote back to him:

I have received the letter of the Commander of the Faithful. Let him inquire: if it is true, let him swiftly dismiss me from office, having first punished me by way of example. I will free every slave I own and bear respon-

<sup>1453</sup> Reading with M and C, *rata‘a*; Houtsma emended to *raghiba* (desires).

<sup>1454</sup> Ardashīr Khurra was a province in southeastern Iran whose capital in early Islamic times was Gūr (later renamed Firūzābād). See the article by L. Lockhart in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Firūzābād.

<sup>1455</sup> See note 1452, above.

<sup>1456</sup> Cf. Qur‘ān 6:95.

<sup>1457</sup> Qur‘ān 18:103–104.

sibility for the wars between Rabī'a and Mudar,<sup>1458</sup> if I have squandered from my province one dinar, one dirham, or anything else from the time I took office until the letter of the Commander of the Faithful came to me. Know that I would rather be dismissed from office than be suspected.

When 'Alī read his letter, he said, "I think that Abū l-Faḍl is only speaking the truth."

'Alī dispatched one of his supporters to prod one of his governors, but the governor scorned him; | so 'Alī wrote to him:

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You have reviled and scolded my messenger. I have received word that you strut and swagger,<sup>1459</sup> pomade your hair, and dine on delicacies. On the pulpit you speak the speech of the righteous, but when you descend you do the deeds of those who reject God's prohibitions. If this is so, you have harmed yourself and exposed yourself to my chastisement. Woe to you! God says:<sup>1460</sup> "Majesty and pride are My garment; whoever would wrest them from Me incurs My wrath." Rather, you must avoid the extravagant use of oil,<sup>1461</sup> because God's Messenger has ordered that. What has led you to cause people to testify that your actions are at variance with your words?—and from the pulpit, where witnesses against you are many, and God's abhorrence of you is great! How can you hope, as you reel in the luxuries you have collected from widows and orphans, that God will grant you the reward of the righteous? What would you lose, may your mother be bereaved of you, if you fasted for God's sake a few days and if you gave a part of your food as alms, for this is the way of the prophets and

<sup>1458</sup> Rabī'a and Mudar were Arab tribal groupings whose wars with each other were proverbial.

<sup>1459</sup> Arabic *tabakhtaru* (for *tatabakhtaru*), following Houtsma's reading of the word, which is unpointed in the MSS. The verb *tabakhtara* is applied to "one who fumigates himself with perfume, and walks with an elegant and a proud and self-conceited gait, with an affected inclining of his body from side to side" (Lane, *Lexicon*, 1:158).

<sup>1460</sup> Reading with M, *wayḥaka inna Allāha yaqūlu*. The word *Allāh* was omitted by the copyist of C, giving the reading *wayḥaka an taqūla* (woe to you, that you should say ...). However, the next statement (*al-‘azamatu wa-l-kibriyā'u ridā' fa-man nāza'anīhumā sakhiṭtu 'alayhi*) is a *ḥadīth qudsī*, so God must be the implied speaker. See Wensinck, *Concordance*, s.v. *‘azama*.

<sup>1461</sup> Arabic *mā 'alayka an taddahina raftan*. The Prophet is said to have forbidden *irfāh*, explained in the dictionaries as "smearing oneself with oils," although living in luxury or eating a wide range of foods and dishes are also mentioned. See al-Zamakhsharī, *al-Fā'iqa*, 2:71; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Nihāya*, 2:247.

the manner of the righteous? Reform yourself, repent of your sins, and perform your obligations toward God! Peace.

‘Alī wrote to Qays b. Sa‘d b. ‘Ubāda, who was in charge of Azerbaijan:

Set about collecting your *kharāj* justly. Do good to your soldiers by fairness. Teach those who are with you some of what God has taught you. ‘Abdallāh b. Shubayl al-Āḥmasī<sup>1462</sup> has asked me to write to you to urge you to take care of him. I have found him to be gentle and unassuming; so relax your curtain and open your door. Seek the truth: if what he desires agrees with it, then how happy he will be!<sup>1463</sup> *And follow not caprice, lest it lead you astray from the way of God. Surely those who go astray from the way of God—there awaits them a terrible chastisement, for that they have forgotten the Day of Reckoning.*<sup>1464</sup>

2:239 Ghiyāth<sup>1465</sup> said: When ‘Alī decided to fight Mu‘āwiya, he wrote | again to Qays;<sup>1466</sup>

Appoint ‘Abdallāh b. Shubayl al-Āḥmasī as your deputy, and come to me; for the chief persons of the Muslims have agreed, and their aggregate have acquiesced. Come quickly; for we set out,<sup>1467</sup> God willing, on the first day of the month against those who have rejected God’s prohibitions. I have delayed only because of you. May God decree beneficence to us and to you in all our affair.

‘Alī wrote to Sahl b. Ḥunayf, who was in charge of Medina:

<sup>1462</sup> ‘Abdallāh b. Shubayl b. ‘Awf al-Āḥmasī participated in the conquest of Azerbaijan and concluded a peace a settlement with its inhabitants in 24/644–645 or 26/646–647. See Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta’rīkh*, 160; al-Balādhurī, *Futūh*, 327; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:2805–2886.

<sup>1463</sup> Following M: *fa-in wāfaqa l-ḥaqqa mā yuḥibbu fa-mā asarrahu*. Houtsma’s conjectural emendation of the corrupt reading of C was *fa-in wāfaqa l-ḥaqqa mā yaḥbū asarrahu* (if what he gives agrees with the truth, he will reveal it), which makes little sense.

<sup>1464</sup> Qur’ān 38:26.

<sup>1465</sup> One of al-Ya‘qūbī’s sources. See note 1435, above.

<sup>1466</sup> That is, Qays b. Sa‘d b. ‘Ubāda. The translation follows Houtsma’s emendation, moving the word *aydan* (again, also). In its original position in the MSS, the sentence runs: “When ‘Alī decided to fight Mu‘āwiya again, he wrote to Qays”—that is, when he decided to fight Mu‘āwiya a second time, after Ṣiffīn.

<sup>1467</sup> Reading with M, *fa-innā shākhiṣūna*, rather than Houtsma’s emendation of the unpointed text of C, *fa-anā sa-ahduranna*, (and I shall surely come).

I have received word that some men of Medina have gone out to Mu'āwiya. Stop anyone you overtake, but do not be distressed about anyone who eludes you. Away with them, *for they shall meet with perdition!*<sup>1468</sup> When the graves are flung about,<sup>1469</sup> and the opponents assemble,<sup>1470</sup> *there will appear to them from God that they never reckoned with.*<sup>1471</sup> Your messenger has come to me asking for permission. Do come, may God forgive us and you; and leave no gap,<sup>1472</sup> God willing.

'Alī wrote to 'Umar b. Maslama al-Arhabī.<sup>1473</sup>

The *dihqāns* in your district have complained about your harshness. I investigated their affair and did not see something good. Therefore, let your station be between two things: a garment of leniency with a border of forcefulness, with neither excess nor deficiency. They<sup>1474</sup> have made us prosper while they submitted; so take what is yours from them as they submit. Take no friend other than God,<sup>1475</sup> for God, may He be glorified and exalted, said: *Take not for your intimates outside yourselves; such men spare nothing to ruin you.*<sup>1476</sup> He, may He be exalted and glorified, also said about the People of the Book: *Take not Jews and Christians as friends.*<sup>1477</sup> And He, may He be praised and exalted, said: *Whoso of you makes them his friends is one of them.*<sup>1478</sup> So give them leisure to attend to their tax payments<sup>1479</sup> and fight those beyond them,<sup>1480</sup> and beware of spilling their blood! Peace.

<sup>1468</sup> Cf. Qur'ān 19:59.

<sup>1469</sup> Cf. Qur'ān 78:4; referring to the Day of Judgment.

<sup>1470</sup> This is another sign of the Day of Judgment; cf. Qur'ān 3:44.

<sup>1471</sup> Qur'ān 39:47.

<sup>1472</sup> Arabic *lā tadhar khalalan*, probably meaning that he should appoint a deputy in his absence.

<sup>1473</sup> 'Umar b. Maslama al-Arhabī was the messenger whom 'Alī sent together with Ibn al-Ash'ath to Mu'āwiya seeking a peace settlement. See Ibn Hazm, *Jamhara*, 396.

<sup>1474</sup> That is, the indigenous non-Muslim *dhimmi* population, who were the primary tax-payers.

<sup>1475</sup> Cf. Qur'ān 4:89.

<sup>1476</sup> Qur'ān 3:18.

<sup>1477</sup> Qur'ān 5:51.

<sup>1478</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1479</sup> Reading with M, *wa-farrighhum li-kharājihim*, rather than ed. Leiden's *wa-qarri'hum bi-kharājihim* (chide them by means of their *kharāj*-tax).

<sup>1480</sup> Reading with M, *wa-qātil man warā'ahum*. Ed. Leiden's *wa-qābil fī warā'iham* (stand opposite beyond them) yields little sense.

2:240 ‘Alī wrote to Qaraża b. Ka‘b al-Anṣārī:

Some *dhimmīs*<sup>1481</sup> in your district have mentioned a canal in their land which has become obliterated and gone dry, and they have productive land in it for the Muslims.<sup>1482</sup> So look into it, you and they; then rebuild and repair the canal. By my life, we would rather have them build than depart, or that they should be unable or fall short in doing what must be done to keep the land productive. Peace.

‘Alī wrote to al-Mundhir b. al-Jārūd,<sup>1483</sup> who was in charge of Iştaikhra:

Your father’s righteousness has deceived me about you.<sup>1484</sup> And there you are, still being led by your whims—you yourself know best that that is how you are.<sup>1485</sup> I have received word that you frequently leave your district and go out to have fun and enjoy yourself,<sup>1486</sup> hunting game and playing with dogs. I swear, if this is true, the thong of your sandal and the camel of your family<sup>1487</sup> are better than you! So, once you have viewed my letter, come to me. Peace.

1481 Arabic *ahl al-dhimma*, or less formally *dhimmi*: A member of a non-Muslim community accorded tolerance and protection in return for the payment of a tax (*jizya*) and acceptance of inferior status. See the article by Yohanan Friedman in *EI*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. Dhimma.

1482 Arabic *wa fihī lahum ‘imāra ‘alā l-muslimīn*. The meaning is unclear. The idea seems to be that these non-Muslims had land in the district that was irrigated from the canal and from whose harvest they paid taxes to the Muslims.

1483 Al-Mundhir b. al-Jārūd al-‘Abdī, a Basran notable, fought on ‘Alī’s side in the Battle of the Camel and became governor of Iştaikhra. After ‘Alī’s death, he made his peace with Mu‘awiya and was appointed by ‘Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād as governor of Qandābil in Sind, where he died in 61/680–681 or 62/681–682. See Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta’rikh*, 236; al-Balādhurī, *Futūh*, 358, 434; Ibn Qutayba, *Ma‘arif*, 339; al-Dīnawarī, *Akhbār*, 231, 232, 305; al-Tabarī, *Ta’rikh*, index; Ibn ‘Asākir, *Dimashq*, 60:281.

1484 Al-Mundhir’s father had been a Companion of the Prophet.

1485 Reading with M, *wa-anta adrā dhālikā bikā*, Houtsma emended by omitting *wa-anta* and reading *azrā* (“It has brought shame on you,” or “How shameful it is for you!”).

1486 Reading with M, *mutanazzihan*, instead of ed. Leiden, *bi-minbarihā* (in its capital city). The word is unpointed in the MSS.

1487 Emending on the basis of the parallel in *Nahj al-balāgha*: *la-shis‘u na‘lika wa-jamalu ahlika*. The text has been corrupted in the MSS. Houtsma emended to *la-nuthibannaka fi'laka wa-jāhilu ahlika* (We will surely repay you your deeds! The ignorant one of your family is ...).

When al-Mundhir arrived, 'Alī dismissed him from office and fined him 30,000 (dirhams). Then he dropped the fine on account of Ṣa'ṣa'a b. Sūhān, after making al-Mundhir swear an oath about it; so he swore. This took place because 'Alī went to visit Ṣa'ṣa'a when the latter was ill. When 'Alī saw Ṣa'ṣa'a, he said, "By God, I have always known you to be ready to help<sup>1488</sup> and never a burden." Ṣa'ṣa'a said, "By God, Commander of the Faithful, you are very knowledgeable, and in your breast it<sup>1489</sup> is great!" 'Alī said to him, "Let the fact that your imam has visited you not make you haughty towards your people." Ṣa'ṣa'a said, "No, by God, Commander of the Faithful; rather, it is a favor from God to me [that] the family of the Prophet of the Lord of the Worlds and the cousin of the Messenger of God has visited me."<sup>1490</sup>

Ghiyāth said:<sup>1491</sup> Ṣa'ṣa'a then said to 'Alī: "Commander of the Faithful, see how al-Jārūd's daughter cries her eyes out every day because you have imprisoned her brother al-Mundhir. Let him out, and I will guarantee whatever he owes in stipends of | the Rabī'a." 'Alī said to him: "And why should you guarantee them when he has claimed to us that he has not taken them? Let him swear, and we will let him out." Ṣa'ṣa'a said to him, "By God, I think he will swear." 'Alī said, "By God, I also believe that." Then 'Alī said: "Lo, he is constantly looking at his sides, swaggering in his robes, and spitting<sup>1492</sup> on his shoelaces! Let him swear afterward or let things stand." Al-Mundhir swore, and 'Alī set him free.

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'Alī wrote to Ziyād, who was his governor over Fārs:

My messenger has told me of an amazing thing. He claimed that you told him secretly that the Kurds had attacked you and had made you short of a great deal of the *kharāj* revenue and that you said to him, "Do not inform the Commander of the Faithful about it." Ziyād, I swear by God that you

<sup>1488</sup> Reading with M, *hasanu l-ma'ūna*; ed. Leiden, following C, reads *hasanu l-mu'na* (good of provisions).

<sup>1489</sup> That is, your knowledge; following M, *wa-innahu*. Houtsma emended to *wa-abahun* (and in your breast there is a great splendor).

<sup>1490</sup> Reading with M, as corrected in the margin, *'ādanī ahlu nabiyyi rabbi l-ālamīna wa-bnu 'ammi rasūli llāh*. Ed. Leiden, following C, reads *'ādanī ahlu l-bayti wa-bnu 'ammi rasūli rabbi l-ālamīn* (a member of the family and a cousin of the Messenger of the Lord of the Worlds has visited me). In either case, the reference is to 'Alī's being a member of the Prophet's household by marriage to Muḥammad's daughter Fāṭima and by consanguinity as a cousin.

<sup>1491</sup> One of al-Ya'qūbī's sources. See note 1435, above.

<sup>1492</sup> Reading *taffāl* with M and *Nahj al-balāgha*. That is, to remove the dust. Houtsma emended to *nazzār* (looking).

are a liar! If you do not send your *kharāj*, I will attack you with such great force as will leave you with little wealth and a heavy back—unless you deliver the *kharāj* of which you have fallen short.

‘Alī wrote to Ka‘b b. Mālik:<sup>1493</sup>

Appoint a deputy over your district, and set out with a group of your companions until you pass through the land of the district of the Sawād.<sup>1494</sup> Inquire about my governors and investigate their conduct between the Tigris and al-‘Udhayb.<sup>1495</sup> Then return to the Bihqubādh districts,<sup>1496</sup> and take charge of their supplementary imposts.<sup>1497</sup> Act in obedience to God in that whereof He has put you in charge. Know that all a man's actions are stored up for him and that he will be rewarded in accordance with them. So do good—may God do good to us and you—and tell me the truth about what you have done. Peace.

He<sup>1498</sup> said: Abū Maryam al-Qurashī al-Makkī<sup>1499</sup> came to ‘Alī; he was a friend of his. When ‘Alī saw him, he said, “What brings you, Abū Maryam?” He said: “By God, I have not come for anything I need, but it has been a long time, and  
2:242 I wished to see you. Though all the people of the earth should gather | against

<sup>1493</sup> Ka‘b b. Mālik is probably Ka‘b b. Mālik b. Jābir al-Nahdī, who fought on ‘Alī's side at Šiffīn. See Caskel, *Čamharat an-Nasab*, 1:334, 2:364. Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta’rikh*, 202, mentions a Ka‘b b. Mālik who died in 40/660–661, which could very well be al-Nahdī. Curiously, no one with this name is mentioned in Naṣr b. Muzāhim's *Waq’at Šiffīn*.

<sup>1494</sup> The translation follows Houtsma's emendation (*ard kūrat al-sawād*). The phrase has been mixed up in the MSS: M has *ard al-sawād kūra* and C has *ard al-kūra al-sawād*.

<sup>1495</sup> Al-‘Udhayb was an oasis six miles from al-Qādisiyya on the edge of the Sawād. See Yāqūt, *Buldān*, 4:92.

<sup>1496</sup> Bihqubādh consisted of three districts (upper, middle, and lower) of Iraq irrigated by the eastern branch of the Euphrates. See the article by M. Streck and S. H. Longrigg in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Bihqubādh*.

<sup>1497</sup> Arabic *ma‘ūna*, literally, “assistance.” Originally these were extraordinary contributions, imposed when the public treasury was exhausted. However, the word could be extended to cover all sorts of taxes beyond the normal *kharāj* and *jizya*, to payments made from these imposts, and to forces (often police forces) supported by such imposts. The exact meaning here is therefore ambiguous. See Dozy, *Supplément*, 2:192, and the article by P. Crone in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Ma‘ūna*.

<sup>1498</sup> That is, the narrator: possibly, but not certainly, Ghiyāth.

<sup>1499</sup> On Abū Maryam al-Qurashī al-Makkī, see Ibn Hilāl al-Thaqafī, *al-Ghārāt*, 44 (where an abbreviated version of this report appears).

you, you would stay on the right path." 'Alī said: "Abū Maryam, by God I am indeed your friend, as you know. But I have been afflicted with the worst of God's creatures, [*and they shall not be helped,*] save him upon whom God has mercy.<sup>1500</sup> They call me, and I deny them; then I answer them, but they scatter from me. This world is a test for the righteous—may God make us and you to be among them. Had I not heard my beloved's<sup>1501</sup> saying, I should have been even more frustrated. I heard him say, 'Trouble and tribulation come more swiftly to one who loves God and loves me than a torrent comes to its channel!'"

Abū l-Aswad al-Du'ālī,<sup>1502</sup> who was the deputy of 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās over Basra, wrote to 'Alī informing him that 'Abdallāh had taken 10,000 dirhams from the treasury. 'Alī wrote to 'Abdallāh ordering him to return them, but 'Abdallāh refused. 'Alī then wrote swearing to him by God that he should surely return them. When 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās returned them—or most of them—'Alī wrote to him:

Men become happy about getting what they could not have missed, and unhappy about missing what they would not have gotten. Therefore, do not be too happy about what comes to you of this world, and do not be too distressed about what you miss of it. Set your mind on what comes after death. Peace.

Ibn 'Abbās used to say, "I was never as admonished by any words as I was by the words of the Commander of the Faithful."

Kumayl b. Ziyād<sup>1503</sup> said: 'Alī took me by the hand and led me out toward the cemetery. When he reached the desert, he sighed three times and said: "Kumayl, hearts are vessels, and the best of them are the most retentive."<sup>1504</sup> Remember from me what I say to you. People are of three kinds: | a learned man

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<sup>1500</sup> Qur'ān 44:42. The quotation has been expanded to make the sense clear.

<sup>1501</sup> That is, the Prophet's.

<sup>1502</sup> On Abū l-Aswad al-Du'ālī (d. 69/688), a Companion of the Prophet, supporter of 'Alī, and judge at Basra, see the article by Monique Bernards in *EI*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. Abū l-Aswad al-Du'ālī.

<sup>1503</sup> Kumayl b. Ziyād al-Nakha'i al-Šuhbānī was a Kufan notable who fought on 'Alī's side at Šiffīn. Later, he participated in the rebellion of Ibn al-Ash'ath and was killed by al-Ḥajjāj in 82/701–702 or 83/702–703. See Ibn Sa'd, *Tabaqāt*, 6:134; Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta'rīkh*, 288; Ibn Hilāl al-Thaqafī, *al-Ghārāt*, 89–90; al-Tabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, index; al-Tūsī, *Rijāl*, 56; Ibn 'Asākir, *Dimashq*, 50:247.

<sup>1504</sup> The Arabic involves a pun, as *aw'ā* means both "most capacious," in the physical sense, and "most retentive," in the sense of having the best memory.

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who serves the Lord; a learner on the way to salvation; and a foolish multitude, followers of every croaker, who have not sought the light of knowledge or taken refuge in a secure corner. Kumayl, knowledge is better than money: knowledge protects you, while you protect money; knowledge rules, while money is ruled; the keepers of money die while still alive, while the learned survive for all time: their persons are lost, but their likenesses are present in hearts. Behold, here"—he pointed to his chest—"is abundant knowledge, if I only could find carriers for it! Either I find someone quick-witted, not deficient in intellect, who uses the tool of religion to seek this world and makes use of God's proofs to overpower His friends and of God's bounties to overcome His creatures; or I find someone who is led by the carriers of the truth, but without discernment in him,<sup>1505</sup> and so doubt pierces his heart at the first occurrence of confusion. O neither this one nor that one—nor one who is insatiably lustful, easily driven by desire, or enamored of amassing and hording! These are not guardians of religion in any way; they are more like grazing livestock. O God, no! The earth shall not lack one to speak the truth,<sup>1506</sup> who is [either] visible [and well known], or remote<sup>1507</sup> and obscure, lest the proofs and signs of God, may He be glorified and exalted, should become of no effect.<sup>1508</sup> They are few in number, but great in weightiness: through them knowledge attacks the essences of things,<sup>1509</sup> and they touch the comfort of certainty. They find soft what those who live in luxury find rough, and they find congenial what the ignorant find distressing. They accompany the world with bodies whose souls are suspended from the highest place. | Kumayl, they are God's friends among His creatures and the callers to His religion; through them, God preserves His proofs, so that they may entrust them to their peers and sow them in the hearts of their likes. How I long to see them!"

<sup>1505</sup> Reading *aḥnā'ihi* with *Nahj al-balāgha*. The MSS have an unpointed word that looks like *iŷabatihī* (his response); Houtsma emended it to *iḥyā'ihi* (his enlivening).

<sup>1506</sup> Following the reading of the MSS *qā'il*. Houtsma emended to *qā'im* (one to stand up), later a technical term for the Imam in Shi'i theology. See the article by W. Madelung in *EI<sup>2</sup>*, s.v. Қā'īm Āl Muhammad.

<sup>1507</sup> Accepting the MSS *jānib* (partially undotted), instead of Houtsma's emendation *kha'ib* (unsuccessful). Another reading, attested in *Nahj al-balāgha* and elsewhere, is *kha'yif* (fearful).

<sup>1508</sup> Reading *tabṭula* (the initial letter is undotted in M), in place of Houtsma's *yabṭula* (grammatically suspect) or *yubṭila*, which the meaning does not permit.

<sup>1509</sup> Reading with M, 'alā ḥaqā'iq al-umūr; C and ed. Leiden read *hattā ḥaqā'iq al-umūr* (until [it reaches] the essences of things).

'Alī said: "If the carriers of knowledge had carried it for its own sake, God, His angels, and those of God's creatures who obey Him would have loved them. But they have carried knowledge in order to seek the world, and so God has thwarted them and they have become contemptible in the sight of the people."

He said: "The value of each person lies in what he can do well."

He said: "O people! Place your hope in nothing but your Lord, and fear nothing but your sins. Let the one who does not know not be ashamed to learn, and let the one who knows not be ashamed to teach; and know that patience is to faith what the head is to the body."

He said: "Whoever desires honor without a clan, offspring without multitude, and wealth without money, let him move from the ignominy of disobedience to the honor of obedience."

He said: "How many people have been lured to destruction by benevolence! How many people have been beguiled because their faults have been veiled from sight! How many people have been tempted by good things said about them! No temptation is as great as granting indulgence to a person. Have you not heard the saying of God, may He be glorified and exalted: *We grant them indulgence only that they may increase in sin*"?<sup>1510</sup>

He said: "Whoever longs for Paradise will give up desires; whoever fears Hellfire will turn from forbidden things; whoever renounces the world will find misfortunes easy to bear; and whoever expects death will hasten to do good deeds."

He delivered a sermon. He recited the saying of God, may He be glorified and exalted: *Surely it is We who bring the dead to life and write down what they have forwarded and what they have left behind; everything We have numbered in a clear register.*<sup>1511</sup> Then he said:

This command comes down from heaven like the dropping of rain to each soul, bringing whatever loss God has decreed for it in life, family, [or] fortune. Therefore, if anyone among you is afflicted with loss in his family | and fortune, but finds his brother spared, let it not be a temptation for him. So long as a Muslim person does not commit baseness,<sup>1512</sup> submitting to it while it humiliates him, which when it is mentioned spurs base persons<sup>1513</sup> against him, he is like the successful player at *maysir*: he awaits

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<sup>1510</sup> Qur'ān 3:178.

<sup>1511</sup> Qur'ān 36:12.

<sup>1512</sup> Reading with M, *danā'a*. Houtsma emended the word, unclear in C, to *dunyāhu* (his world).

<sup>1513</sup> Reading with M, *lī'ām al-nās*. Houtsma read C as *lī-ya'lama* (so that he would suffer).

the first win of his arrows that brings him gain and drives away loss. Likewise, the person who is free of betrayal and lying watches every day and every night for one of *the two good things*:<sup>1514</sup> either *God's summoner*<sup>1515</sup>—*and what God has in store is better*<sup>1516</sup> for him—or *a victory from God*,<sup>1517</sup> so that he will have family and wealth, possessing both honor and religion. *Wealth and sons*<sup>1518</sup> are the portion of the present world, and good works are the portion of the next; but God unites them for some people.

‘Alī said: “Whoever does no wrong to people when he deals with them, speaks no lies to them when he talks to them, and does not fail them when he makes promises to them is someone whom it is forbidden to slander, whose manliness is perfect, whose justice is manifest, and toward whom kindness is a duty.”

‘Alī went out one day and said: “Seeker of knowledge, there are three marks of a learned man: knowledge of God, of what God likes, and of what God dislikes. There are three marks of a doer: prayer, alms (*zakāt*), and piety. There are three marks of a pretentious man: he disputes with those above him, says what he does not know, and undertakes what he cannot attain. There are three marks of an unjust man: he wrongs those above him by disobedience, those below him by oppressing them, and he supports the unjust. There are three marks of a sinner:<sup>1519</sup> he is sluggish when he is alone, he becomes active when there is someone who sees him, and he likes to be praised about all his affairs. There are three marks of an envious man: he slanders when he is absent, he ingratiates himself when he is present, and he gloats over misfortune. There are three marks of a hypocrite: his tongue contradicts his heart, his word his deed, and his outward appearance his inner reality. There are three marks of an extravagant man: he eats what | is not his, drinks what is not his, and wears what is not his. There are three marks of a slothful man: he is dilatory to the point of neglect, neglectful to the point of dereliction, and derelict to the point of sin. Those

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<sup>1514</sup> Cf. Qur’ān 9:52.

<sup>1515</sup> That is, death. The expression is from Qur’ān 46:31.

<sup>1516</sup> Cf. Qur’ān 3:198.

<sup>1517</sup> Cf. Qur’ān 48:1.

<sup>1518</sup> Cf. Qur’ān 18:46.

<sup>1519</sup> Reading with M, *wa li-l-āthim*, preceded by a full stop. The reading in C, *wa l-āthim*, led Houtsma to consider the word part of the previous sentence (hence “oppressors and the sinner”), despite the problems this creates: the first word is in the plural and the second in the singular, and the following sentence lacks a subject. Houtsma therefore added [*wa li-l-murā’i*] (of the dissimulator), a conjecture based on the meaning of the sentence.

before you have perished only because of pretentiousness. Therefore let no one among you pretend to discuss God's religion by saying what he does not know; for God, may He be glorified and exalted, forgives a mistake if you have exercised your judgment to the utmost."

'Alī said to 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, "There are three things which, if you learn them and act on them, will spare you the need to acquire anything else; but if you abandon them, nothing else will be of use to you." 'Umar said, "What are they?" 'Alī said, "Punishing the near and the far; judging according to God's Book in contentment and discontent; and dividing things justly between the red and the black."<sup>1520</sup> 'Umar said: "You have spoken eloquently and briefly."

Upon hearing a man disparage the world, 'Alī said:<sup>1521</sup> "The world is an abode of truth for one who is truthful to it, an abode of health for one who understands it, and an abode of riches for one who gets his provisions from it. It is the place where the lovers of God prostrate themselves, where His revelation descended, where His angels pray, and where His friends conduct commerce: in it they have earned mercy, and through it they have gained Paradise as profit. Who, then, can disparage it, when it has declared its own leaving, proclaimed its own departure, and announced its own passing and that of its inhabitants? By its tribulation it has provided a parable of true tribulation, and by its joy it has awakened a desire for true joy; it has given misfortune in the evening, and well-being in the morning, and this in order to alarm and deter, warn and frighten. Some men have disparaged it on the morrow of remorse; others have praised it. It reminded them, and they remembered; it spoke to them, and they believed. Therefore, O disparager of the world, beguiled by its guiles, | when did it earn your disparagement? Yea, when did it beguile you? Was it with the beds of your fathers in decay, or the residences of your mothers in the ground? How often have you nursed with your hands and tended with your palms one for whom you desired recovery and for whom you consulted physicians, yet your doctoring did not benefit him, and your own health did not cause him to regain health? The world gave him as a parable of yourself, and by his death it exemplified your own death, at a time when your weeping will be of no avail, and your loved ones of no use."

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'Alī delivered a speech and said: "What makes me fear for you most are two traits: following caprice<sup>1522</sup> and having extended hopes.<sup>1523</sup> [As for having

<sup>1520</sup> That is, people of all colors and races.

<sup>1521</sup> Parallels in al-Mas'ūdī, *Muřūj*, 3:172–173 (§ 1745–1746), al-Jāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, 2:190–191.

<sup>1522</sup> Cf. Qur'ān 4:135, "Then follow not caprice, so as to swerve ..."

<sup>1523</sup> Cf. Qur'ān 15:3, "Perchance the unbelievers will wish that they had surrendered: leave

extended hopes,] it causes one to forget the hereafter; as for following caprice, it turns one away from the truth. Anyone who wakes up in the morning feeling safe in his heart, healthy in his body, and secure in his daily food, it is as if he has been given possession of the world. Almighty God says:<sup>1524</sup> ‘By My might, My glory, My beauty, My splendor, My sublimity, and My exaltedness in My place, whenever a servant prefers My desire to his own, I set his concern on the hereafter and make his wealth to be in his heart; heaven and earth guarantee his sustenance, and the world comes to him submissively.’”

‘Alī said: “He who knows people is singled out<sup>1525</sup> for tribulation; he who is ignorant of them lives with them.”

He said: “There will come upon people a time in which only the scheming will have power, only the profligate will be considered elegant, and only the equitable will be regarded as weak. They will take the *fay'*<sup>1526</sup> land as spoils, the alms contribution (*sadaqa*) as a debt, worship as an imposition on people, charity to relatives as a bestowal of favors, and knowledge as a lucrative trade. At that time women will have power, female slaves will be advisors, and boys will become commanders.”

He said: “Only<sup>1527</sup> an authority in which the believer works, the unbeliever has enjoyment, | and the book reaches its appointed term is good.”

He offered a man condolences<sup>1528</sup> and said, “If you manifest violent grief, kinship is worthy of it; but if you endure patiently, you<sup>1529</sup> will be rewarded for it; otherwise, you will endure unwillingly and be burdened with sin.”

‘Alī was asked, “What is the distance between heaven and earth?” He said, “The appeal of someone wronged.”

them to eat, and to take their joy, and to be bemused by hope; certainly they will soon know!”

<sup>1524</sup> This is a *ḥadīth qudsī*, not a Qur’ānic text.

<sup>1525</sup> Reading *khuṣṣa* with M; in C the word looks more like *ḥuṣira* (is beleaguered), which is how Houtsma read it.

<sup>1526</sup> *Fay'* referred to the revenue of land held by the Muslim community as a whole and reserved to the benefit of the community as a whole, rather than divided as booty among individuals. See the article by Andrew Marsham in *EI*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. *Fay'*.

<sup>1527</sup> Reading with M, *lā taṣluḥu l-nāsa illā imāratun ...* C and ed. Leiden following it omit the word *illā* (except), yielding the opposite sense: “An authority in which the believer works ... is not good.”

<sup>1528</sup> Reading with M, *wa-‘azzā*. Ed. Leiden, following C, reads *wa-ghazā* (he raided), which does not fit the context.

<sup>1529</sup> Reading *kunta* (you will be) as suggested by Landberg, *Critica Arabica* 1:48, rather than ed. Leiden *ka‘annī* (it seems to me).

He was asked, "How wide is the world?" He said, "The sun's journey for one day until nightfall."

He said during the Battle of the Camel: "Death is a swift pursuer: someone who stays put cannot thwart it, and someone who flees cannot escape it. Advance and do not fall back! There is no escaping death: if you are not killed you will die, and surely the most noble way to die is to be killed. By the One who holds my soul in His hand, a thousand blows of the sword are easier than dying in bed."

A man said to 'Alī, "Counsel me." 'Alī said, "I counsel you to fear God, avoid anger, give up desires, and set aside two hours of the day: from dawn until sunrise and from late afternoon until sunset; and do not be pleased with what you know, but with what you do in the world."<sup>1530</sup>

A man who had committed a crime was brought to 'Alī, and he saw some people running after him. He said, "No welcome to faces that are seen only at some misfortune!"

Al-Ḥārith b. Ḥawṭ al-Rānī<sup>1531</sup> said, "I think that Ṭalḥa, al-Zubayr, and 'Āisha have agreed on an error." 'Alī said: "You have confused things, Ḥārith. Right and wrong are not identified by people; rather, know the right and you will know its people, and know the wrong and you will know who committed it."

'Alī saw a man begging<sup>1532</sup> on the eve of 'Arafa.<sup>1533</sup> He said to him: "Woe to you! On this day do you petition someone other than God?"

'Alī is related to have said, "Young people, fortify your honor with good conduct, and your religion with knowledge."

When returning from prayer, 'Alī would turn his face to the people and say: "Be | lamps of guidance, and not guideposts of error. Loathe such joking as is displeasing to God. Do not let censure be displeasing to you in matters that please God. Teach people the good by the expressions of your tongues, summon them to it by your deeds, and cling to truthfulness and piety."

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'Alī said: "Reticence is forbearance; silence is safety; keeping secrets is happiness."

<sup>1530</sup> The sentence ends with *fīhā* (in it). The easiest solution is to take it as referring to the world (*al-dunyā*).

<sup>1531</sup> Al-Ḥārith b. Ḥawṭ al-Rānī carried the banner of the Bakr b. Wā'il in the Battle of the Camel while fighting on 'Alī's side. He was killed in the battle, together with his son and five of his brothers. See al-Ṭabarī, *Tarikh*, 1:3202–3203, where his name is given as al-Ḥārith b. Ḥassān b. Khūṭ al-Dhuhlī.

<sup>1532</sup> Reading with M, *yas'alu*; C and ed. Leiden read *yas'aluhu* (begging from him).

<sup>1533</sup> That is, at the climax of the pilgrimage. Mount 'Arafāt (or 'Arafa) is where the pilgrims assemble on the ninth day of the month of Dhū l-Hijja.

Some people gathered with him and discussed beneficence (*al-ma'rūf*). He said: “Beneficence is one of the best treasures and one of the most thriving of crops. Let not the ingratitude of those who are ungrateful or the disavowal of those who disavow cause you to renounce it. For your thanks from those who received none of it will be greater than from the people who received it.<sup>1534</sup> So do not seek from others what you have conferred upon yourself. Beneficence becomes perfect only through three things: downplaying it, concealing it, and hastening it: for if you downplay it you have magnified it; and if you conceal it you have perfected it; and if you hasten it you have made it a delight.”

A group of people from the Maghrib<sup>1535</sup> came to him. He said to them, “Is there among you one who has made himself<sup>1536</sup> so famous that [...] is not known except by him?” They said, “Yes.” He said, “Are there among you people in the middle, who shrink<sup>1537</sup> from evil things and do good ones?” They said, “Yes.” He said, “Those are the best of Muḥammad’s community; they are the middle saddle cushion: the one too high is brought down to them, and the one too short is raised to them.”

He is related to have said: “Animals have been made unaware<sup>1538</sup> of everything except four things: that God, may He be glorified and exalted, is their creator and provider; that the male copulates with the female; that they flee from death; and that they seek sustenance.”

‘Alī said, “Six people are not to be greeted: the Jew, the Christian, the Magian, the poet who slanders chaste women, people who jest by abusing mothers, and people who sit at a table where wine is served.”

<sup>1534</sup> The sense is unclear; the MSS may be corrupt.

<sup>1535</sup> Reading with M, *al-maghrib*; C and ed. Leiden read *al-gharb* (the West). The two forms may be synonyms, both meaning the West, not necessarily referring to the lands of the Maghrib (North Africa) in the modern sense.

<sup>1536</sup> Arabic *nafṣahu* ('himself' or 'his self, soul'). The sense is problematic. One might also translate, "... that only (it) is known in him." The pronoun in *bihī* (by/in it/him) is masculine and cannot refer to *nafṣ*, which is feminine. Two solutions suggest themselves. *Nafṣ* may be an error; the original text may have had some other word, "who has made his [...] so famous that [...] is not known except by/in him"—i.e., that he has become a byword for x, whatever x may be. The same result can be obtained if one assumes that a word has fallen out before *nafṣ*.

<sup>1537</sup> Reading *yadba'ūna* as suggested by Landberg, *Critica* 1:48. Houtsma's reading (*yuṣibā-nūna*) is certainly incorrect. The word is partially pointed in the MSS.

<sup>1538</sup> Reading with M, *abhamā*; Houtsma emended to *ulhīma* (have been inspired), which does not fit the sense.

'Alī said, "The leaders<sup>1539</sup> of the community are from Quraysh: the good among them rule over the good, and the bad over the bad."

'Alī decided against a man in a certain case. The man said, "Commander of the Faithful, you have decided | against me in a case that has brought about the ruin of my fortune and the destruction of my family!" 'Alī became so angry that the anger showed on his face. Then he said, "Qanbar,<sup>1540</sup> summon the people to prayer in congregation!" So the people gathered, and 'Ali ascended the pulpit. Having praised and extolled God, he said:

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My responsibility is pledged for [(the truth of) what I say],<sup>1541</sup> and I am answerable for it for all those to whom the warnings have been made clear: that no people's crops wither if they fear God and that no root<sup>1542</sup> thirsts when there is fear of God. All good lies in him who knows his own measure; it is sufficient ignorance for a man that he know not his measure. Among the most hateful of God's creatures to God is the servant whom God has entrusted to his own soul.<sup>1543</sup> Such a person, deviating from the straight way and enamored of innovative talk, has immersed himself blindly among people like himself, deceived by the darkness of sedition. In it he became intent on fasting and praying, and thus is a temptation for those who follow him.<sup>1544</sup> A certain sort of people call him learned, although he has spent not one whole day enriching himself with learning: he started early, but then he mistook a little of it for a lot—for better than what was really a lot. Finally, having drunk his fill of brackish water and stuffed himself<sup>1545</sup> uselessly, he took his seat among the people as judge, guaranteeing that he can clarify what others find obscure. If he

<sup>1539</sup> Literally, the Imams.

<sup>1540</sup> 'Alī's client (*mawlā*) Qanbar Abū Yazīd was his chamberlain. See below, ed. Leiden, 2:253.

<sup>1541</sup> The added phrase (*bimā aqūlu*), which clarifies the meaning, is from Ibn Abī l-Hadid, *Sharḥ nahj al-balāgha*, 1:227; cf. Lane, *Lexicon*, 3:982, s.v. *dhimma*, where the tradition is explained.

<sup>1542</sup> Arabic *sinkhu aṣlin*, literally, "root of a root" (*sinkh* and *aṣl* are synonyms), is either for emphasis ("not a single root") or a case of a marginal gloss (*aṣl* as a gloss of the uncommon word *sinkh*) being copied into the text.

<sup>1543</sup> Arabic *wakkalahu ilā nafsihi*, literally, "has entrusted to his own *nafs* (soul)," in the sense of abandoning him to his own instincts. *Nafs* can have the sinister connotation of "appetitive soul," the soul that commands evil; cf. Qur'ān 12:53.

<sup>1544</sup> Reading with M, *ba'dahu*. The word was miscopied in C, giving *biḍ'ahu* (his innovation), which Houtsma emended to *tabi'ahu* (have followed him).

<sup>1545</sup> Reading with M, *iktanaza*; C and ed. Leiden read *akthara* (he did a lot).

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makes an analogy between one thing and another, he does not accuse himself of lying; and if something is ambiguous to him, he conceals it from himself, lest it be said that he does not know. By God, he is neither trustworthy to deliver what has reached him nor | worthy of the good for which he has been praised. He is a key of darkness,<sup>1546</sup> a stumbler in ignorance. He neither excuses himself from what he does not know, that he might be safe, nor does he have a whiff of an insight about knowledge. He scatters reports as the wind scatters hay. Blood cries out because of him; inheritances weep on account of him; by his judgments forbidden sexual relations are made licit, and by his approval licit sexual relations are forbidden. Whither are you being led astray? Nay, where are you going, away from the family of your Prophet?<sup>1547</sup> Our origin is from the loins of the People of the Ship:<sup>1548</sup> as those who were saved were saved in it, so will be saved in this one those who will be saved; and woe has been pledged to whoever lags back from them. I am among you like the cave to the People of the Cave.<sup>1549</sup> I am among you the gate called *Hij̄a*:<sup>1550</sup> whoever enters through it shall be saved; whoever lags behind shall perish. I am a proof from the possessor of proof, who said at the Pilgrimage of Farewell:<sup>1551</sup> “I leave among you that which if you cling to it you will never go astray after I am gone: God’s Book and my relations, the members of my family.”<sup>1552</sup>

‘Alī made extraordinary judgments: he burned some people, suffocated others with smoke, cut off some of the fingers of the hand because of theft, and pulled down a house on two people whom he found fornicating.

<sup>1546</sup> Following ed. Leiden, ‘ashawāt; M reads *ghashawāt* (veils).

<sup>1547</sup> Perhaps echoing Qur’ān 81:26, “Where then are you going?”

<sup>1548</sup> Arabic *ash̄ab al-safina*, referring to the passengers on Noah’s ark.

<sup>1549</sup> That is, the cave in which the pious youths mentioned in Qur’ān 18:9–26 took shelter.

<sup>1550</sup> This refers to the story of the Children of Israel in Qur’ān 2:58–59 and 7:161–162. The Children of Israel were brought by God to a town where they could live and eat, and were ordered to say *hij̄a* (Unburdening!) to enter the gate, so that God would forgive their sins. When they substituted another word, God punished them.

<sup>1551</sup> The Arabic involves a play on words: “I am a proof (*hujja*) from the possessor of proof (*min dhil-hujja*) at the Pilgrimage (*hij̄a*) of Farewell.” “Possessor of proof” refers to the Prophet, who was sent to mankind as God’s proof of the true faith. The Pilgrimage of Farewell was the last pilgrimage that he led before his death.

<sup>1552</sup> There are several versions of this ḥadīth. See Muslim b. al-Hajjāj, *al-Jāmi’ al-ṣahīḥ*, 4:1873–1874 (“Fadā’il al-ṣahāba,” nos. 36, 37); Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, 3:14, 17, 26, 59, 4:367, 5:182; al-Haythamī, *Majma’ al-zawā’id*, 9:163.

He used to say: "Make your houses conceal you, and repentance will follow you. Whoever shows his hostility to the truth will perish. God has chastised this community with the whip and the sword; there is no partiality for anyone from the imam."

'Abd al-Rahmān b. Muljam al-Murādī<sup>1553</sup> came to Kufa ten nights remaining in Sha'bān of the year 40.<sup>1554</sup> When 'Alī received word of his arrival, he said: "Has he indeed shown up? No one else has remained for me to deal with; this is his time." Ibn Muljam lodged with al-Ash'ath b. Qays al-Kindī and stayed with him for a month sharpening his sword.

Those who set out were three persons: | one of them to Mu'āwiya in Syria, another to 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ in Egypt, and another to 'Alī—Ibn Muljam was the latter. Mu'āwiya's man struck Mu'āwiya, but the blow fell on his buttock, and Mu'āwiya hurried into his house. 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ's man struck Khārijah b. Ḥudhāfa,<sup>1555</sup> 'Amr's deputy, at the morning prayer—"Amr had stayed away because of illness. So the Khārijite said, 'I wanted 'Amr but God wanted Khārijah!'<sup>1556</sup>

'Abd al-Rahmān b. Muljam waited for 'Alī at the door of the mosque. When 'Alī went out in the darkness, some geese that had been in the house followed him and clung to his garment. So 'Alī said, "Honkers that will be followed by wailers!" He put his head through the door of the passageway of the mosque,<sup>1557</sup> and Ibn Muljam struck him on his head. 'Alī fell and cried out, "Get him!" The people hurried to Ibn Muljam, but whenever someone approached him, Ibn Muljam struck at him with his sword. Qutham b. al-Abbās hurried to him, picked him up, and threw him to the ground. Ibn Muljam cried out, "'Alī, get your dog away from me!" He was brought to 'Alī, who said, "Ibn Muljam?" He

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<sup>1553</sup> M adds, *la'anahu Allāh* (may God curse him). 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Muljam al-Murādī, 'Alī's assassin, fought on 'Alī's side at Ṣiffīn, but then, with the other Khārijites, abandoned him after the arbitration. See the article by L. Vecchia Vagliieri in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ibn Muljam (especially good on the sources that emphasize 'Alī's foreknowledge of his impending assassination); and the article by Najam I. Haider in *EI*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. Ibn Muljam.

<sup>1554</sup> 20 Sha'bān 40 = December 29, 660.

<sup>1555</sup> Khārijah b. Ḥudhāfa was the judge in Egypt under 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ and possibly his chief of police. See Ibn Sa'd, *Tabaqāt*, IV/1, 138; Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Tarikh*, 142; al-Tabarī, *Tarikh*, 1:2813, 2960, 3465; al-Kindī, *al-Wulāt*, 10, 15, 31, 32.

<sup>1556</sup> The saying became proverbial. See Abū l-Mahāsin al-'Abdarī al-Shaybī, *Timthāl al-amthāl*, 165 (and n. 6).

<sup>1557</sup> Arabic *bāb khawkhat al-masjid*. This seems to be the meaning. Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v., records the meaning of *khawkha* as "a passage between any two houses, not having a door, or gate," but another possible meaning, also given by Lane, is "a wicket, or small door in a large door."

said, "Yes." 'Alī said: "Hasan,<sup>1558</sup> do as you like with your opponent: fill his belly, but tighten his fetter. If I die, make him join me, so that I may dispute with him before my Lord; if I live, either pardon or retaliation."

'Alī survived for two days. He died the eve of Friday, the first night of the last ten nights of Ramaḍān of the year 40, corresponding to Kānūn II (January) in the months of the non-Arabs;<sup>1559</sup> he was sixty-three years old. His son al-Ḥasan washed him with his own hands, prayed over him, and said the *takbīr*<sup>1560</sup> over him seven times; and he said, "The *takbīr* shall not be said over anyone after him." He was buried in Kufa in a place called al-Ghāriyyān.<sup>1561</sup> His caliphate had lasted four years and ten months.

'Alī had fourteen sons: al-Ḥasan, al-Ḥusayn, and Muḥassīn who died young (their mother was Fāṭima, the daughter of God's Messenger); Muḥammad the elder (his mother was | Khawla bt. Ja'far al-Ḥanafīyya); 'Ubaydallāh and Abū Bakr, neither of whom had offspring (their mother was Laylā bt. Mas'ūd al-Ḥanzalīyya from the Banū Tamīm); al-Abbās and Ja'far, who were killed at al-Ṭaff;<sup>1562</sup> 'Uthmān and 'Abdallāh (their mother was Umm al-Banīn bt. Ḥarām al-Kilābiyya); 'Umar (his mother was Umm Ḥabīb bt. Rabī'a al-Bakrīyya); Muḥammad the younger, who had no offspring (his mother was Umāma bt. Abī l-Āṣ); and 'Uthmān the younger and Yaḥyā (their mother was Asmā' bt. 'Umays al-Khath'amiyya).

'Alī had eighteen daughters, three of them from Fāṭima, and the rest from several free women and various slave women.

'Alī's chief of police was Ma'qil b. Qays al-Riyāḥī, and his chamberlain (*ḥājib*) was Qanbar, his client (*mawlā*).

When 'Alī died, al-Ḥasan rose and delivered a speech. Having praised and extolled God and blessed the Prophet, he said:

<sup>1558</sup> That is, addressing his son, al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī.

<sup>1559</sup> The first day of the last ten days of Ramaḍān is either Ramaḍān 20 or 21. Both these days fall in January 661 (27 and 28 January, respectively), but they are a Wednesday and a Thursday.

<sup>1560</sup> The *takbīr* is the formula *Allāhu akbar* (God is most great).

<sup>1561</sup> This is the (correct) reading of M; ed. Leiden (following C) has *al-Ghāri*, in the singular. Al-Ghāriyyān were two structures with a rich pre-Islamic history located outside Kufa. See Yāqūt, 4:196–200, s.v. al-Ghāriyyān.

<sup>1562</sup> Al-Ṭaff is a high desert area west of Kufa along the alluvial plain of the Euphrates. Karbalā', where al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī was killed, lies in it. See the article by J. H. Kramers in *EI<sup>2</sup>*, s.v. al-Ṭaff.

Lo, there has passed away in this night a man whom no earlier men ever overtook and whose like none who come later will ever witness—one who used to fight with Gabriel on his right and Michael on his left. By God, he died in the night in which Moses the son of 'Imrān died, in which Jesus the son on Mary was lifted up, and in which the Qur'ān was sent down. He has bequeathed neither yellow ones nor white ones,<sup>1563</sup> except 700 dirhams left over from his stipend ('aṭā'), with which he intended to buy a servant for his family.

Al-Qa'qā' b. Zurāra<sup>1564</sup> stood at 'Alī's grave and said: "May God's favor be upon you, Commander of the Faithful, for, by God, | your life was a key to the good. If the people had accepted you, they would have eaten from above them and from under their feet; but they were ungrateful for the blessing and preferred this world to the next."

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During 'Alī's caliphate, 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās led the pilgrimage in the year 36;<sup>1565</sup> Qutham b. al-'Abbās—others say 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās—in the year 37;<sup>1566</sup> 'Ubaydallāh b. al-'Abbās in the year 38;<sup>1567</sup> and Shayba b. 'Uthmān<sup>1568</sup> in the year 39.<sup>1569</sup>

'Alī's companions who transmitted knowledge from him were: al-Hārith al-A'war,<sup>1570</sup> Abū l-Tufayl Āmir b. Wāthila,<sup>1571</sup> Ḥabba al-'Uranī,<sup>1572</sup> Rushayd al-

<sup>1563</sup> That is, neither gold dinars nor silver dirhams.

<sup>1564</sup> Al-Qa'qā' b. Zurāra al-Tamīmī was a Companion of the Prophet and a member of the delegation of Tamīm to him in 9/630–631. See the article in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v., al-Qa'qā'.

<sup>1565</sup> 1 Dhū l-Ḥijja 36 = May 21, 657.

<sup>1566</sup> 1 Dhū l-Ḥijja 37 = May 10, 658.

<sup>1567</sup> 1 Dhū l-Ḥijja 38 = April 30, 659.

<sup>1568</sup> Shayba b. 'Uthmān Abū Ṣafiyya al-'Abdarī (d. 59/678–679), 'Uthmān's cousin, was appointed as keeper of the Ka'ba by the Prophet. See Ibn Sa'd, *Tabaqāt*, 5:331; Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta'rīkh*, 226, 251; Ibn Qutayba, *Ma'ārif*, 70; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 1:1661, 3448; Ibn 'Asākir, *Dimashq*, 23:249.

<sup>1569</sup> 1 Dhū l-Ḥijja 39 = April 18, 660.

<sup>1570</sup> Al-Hārith al-A'war b. 'Abdallāh b. Ka'b al-Hamdānī was a learned Kufan associate of 'Alī. He died in Kufa in the days of Ibn al-Zubayr. See Ibn Sa'd, *Tabaqāt*, 6:116; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 3:2524; al-Tūsī, *Rijāl*, 38; Ibn 'Asākir, *Dimashq*, 36:90 (in the biography of 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Abī Laylā); Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 2:145.

<sup>1571</sup> Abū l-Tufayl Āmir b. Wāthila al-Laythī (d. 100/718–719 or 110/728–729) was a Companion of the Prophet and an associate of 'Alī. He later supported the revolt of al-Mukhtār. See Ibn Sa'd, *Tabaqāt*, 5:338 and 6:42; Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta'rīkh*, 262, 325; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, IV/1, 92; Ibn Qutayba, *Ma'ārif*, 341; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, index; al-İṣfahānī, *Aghānī* (Beirut) 4:114; Ibn 'Asākir, *Dimashq*, 26:113; al-Qāḍī, *Kaysāniyya*, 309–311 (and index).

<sup>1572</sup> Ḥabba b. Juwayn al-Bajalī al-'Uranī (d. c. 76) was a Kufan associate of 'Alī. See Naṣr

Hajari,<sup>1573</sup> Ḥuwayza b. Muṣhir,<sup>1574</sup> al-Āṣbagh b. Nubāṭa;<sup>1575</sup> Mītham al-Tammār,<sup>1576</sup> and al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī.

### The Caliphate of al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī

The people assembled and swore allegiance to al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī. Al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī went out to the congregational mosque and delivered a long speech.

He called for ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muļjam. Abd al-Raḥmān said, “What is it that your father commanded you to do?” Al-Ḥasan said: “He commanded me to kill no one but his killer. I was to fill your belly and make you comfortable: if he lived, I was either to pardon or to retaliate; if he died, I was to make you join him.” Ibn Muļjam said, “Your father indeed spoke the truth and judged in accordance with it whether angry or pleased.” Al-Ḥasan struck him with the sword. Ibn Muļjam protected himself from him<sup>1577</sup> with his hand, and his hand was severed. Then al-Ḥasan killed him.

After his father’s death, al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī waited two months—others say four months—and dispatched ‘Ubaydallāh b. al-‘Abbās with 12,000 men to fight Mu‘āwiya, and, along with him, Qays b. Sa‘d b. ‘Ubāda al-Anṣārī. He ordered ‘Ubaydallāh to carry out the commands and decisions of Qays b. Sa‘d. | ‘Ubaydallāh headed toward the Jazīra.

When news of ‘Alī’s murder reached Mu‘āwiya, he set out and reached Mosul eighteen days after ‘Alī’s murder, and the two armies met. Mu‘āwiya sent Qays b. Sa‘d an offer of 1,000,000 dirhams on condition that he either join him [or] depart. Qays b. Sa‘d sent back the money and said, “Would you beguile me from my religion?” Mu‘āwiya is also said to have offered ‘Ubaydallāh b. ‘Abbās

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b. Mużāhim, *Waq’at Ṣifīn*, 143, 147; Ibn Sa‘d, *Tabaqāt*, 6:123; Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta’rīkh*, 279; Ibn Qutayba, *Ma’ārif*, 624; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, index.

<sup>1573</sup> Rushayd al-Hajari al-Fārisī was a client of the Anṣār. A strong supporter of ‘Alī, he was killed by ‘Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād. See al-Ṭūsī, *Rijāl*, 41, 73; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, 2:176.

<sup>1574</sup> The reading of the name is uncertain.

<sup>1575</sup> Al-Āṣbagh b. Nubāṭa al-Mujāshi‘i al-Tamīmī, an associate of ‘Alī, headed his police. See Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta’rīkh*, 200; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:2514, 3249; Ibn Abī Ḥātim, 2:319, 320; al-Kashshī, *Ikhtiyār*, 96; al-Ṭūsī, *Rijāl*, 34.

<sup>1576</sup> Mītham al-Tammār was a slave whom ‘Alī bought and manumitted. He became a strong partisan of ‘Alī and was imprisoned by Ziyād together with al-Mukhtār. He was crucified in Mecca by ‘Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād after Mu‘āwiya’s death. See Ibn Hilāl al-Thaqafī, *al-Ğhārāt*, 285, 286; al-Kashshī, *Ikhtiyār*, 74; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣāba*, 3:504 (no. 7472).

<sup>1577</sup> Reading *fa-ttaqāhu*; M and C read *fa-ltaqāhu* (he met him, or it [that is, the sword]).

1,000,000 dirhams: 'Ubaydallāh went over to him with 8,000 of his men, but Qays continued to fight him.

Mu'āwiya infiltrated men into al-Hasan's army to spread rumors that Qays b. Sa'd had made peace with Mu'āwiya and had joined him, and he infiltrated men into Qays's army to spread rumors that al-Hasan had made peace with Mu'āwiya and had accepted his terms.

Mu'āwiya sent al-Mughīra b. Shu'ba, 'Abdallāh b. 'Āmir b. Kurayz, and 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Umm al-Ḥakam<sup>1578</sup> to al-Hasan. They came to him while he was encamped at al-Madā'in amid his tents. Then they came out of his quarters, saying so that people could hear them, "God has prevented bloodshed and calmed strife through the descendant of God's Messenger: he has agreed to peace." The soldiers became excited, and the people did not doubt their truthfulness. They rose up against al-Hasan and pillaged his tents and their contents. Al-Hasan mounted a horse of his and went to Mużlim Sābāt,<sup>1579</sup> where al-Jarrāḥ b. Sinān al-Asadi<sup>1580</sup> was lying in wait for him. Al-Jarrāḥ wounded him in the thigh with a short sword, but al-Hasan grabbed al-Jarrāḥ's beard and twisted it and broke his neck.

Al-Hasan was carried to al-Madā'in in critical condition, having lost much blood. The people scattered from him. Mu'āwiya came to Iraq and took control, while al-Hasan was in grave condition. When al-Hasan realized he had no power and that his supporters had broken away from him and would not defend him, he made peace with Mu'āwiya. He ascended the pulpit, praised and extolled God, and said:

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People, God guided you through the first of us and has spared your lives through the last of us. I have made peace with Mu'āwiya. *I know not; haply it is a trial for you and an enjoyment for a time.*<sup>1581</sup>

<sup>1578</sup> 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Umm al-Ḥakam (full name: 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Abdallāh b. Abī 'Aqīl 'Uthmān al-Thaqafī) was Mu'āwiya's maternal nephew. See Ibn Sa'd, *Tabaqāt*, 5:380; Khalīfa b. Khayyāt, *Ta'rīkh*, 219, 224, 266; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 2:128, 138, 157, 181–182, 184–185, 188, 784, 791, 1044, 3:2366.

<sup>1579</sup> Mużlim Sābāt is near al-Madā'in. See Yāqūt, *Buldān*, 5:152.

<sup>1580</sup> Al-Jarrāḥ b. Sinān al-Asadi had rebelled against Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ during the conquest of Nihāwānd in 21/641–642. Many believed that it was Sa'd's invoking God against him that led to his violent death during the days of al-Hasan b. 'Alī, as stated in the text here. See al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 1:2606.

<sup>1581</sup> Qur'ān 21:111.

## The Days of Mu‘āwiya b. Abī Sufyān

Mu‘āwiya b. Abī Sufyān b. Ḥarb b. Umayya b. ‘Abd Shams became ruler.<sup>1582</sup> His mother was Hind bt. ‘Utba b. Rabī‘a b. ‘Abd Shams.<sup>1583</sup> Allegiance was sworn to him in Kufa in Dhū l-Qa‘da of the year 40.<sup>1584</sup> The Sun was in Aries, 2°; the Moon in Taurus, 15°; Saturn in Scorpio, 29°; Jupiter in Taurus, 29° 50'; Mars in Taurus, 16°; Venus in Taurus, 4°; and Mercury in Pisces, 16°.

He came to Kufa and ascended the pulpit. Having praised and extolled God, he said:

Whenever a community disagreed after the death of its prophet, wrong defeated right in it—except for what has happened in this Community, for right in it has defeated wrong.

Then he descended.

People were brought to Mu‘āwiya to pledge allegiance to him. One would be brought and would say, “By God, Mu‘āwiya, I pledge allegiance to you although I loathe you.” Mu‘āwiya would say, “Pledge allegiance, for God has set much good in what is loathed.”<sup>1585</sup> Another would come<sup>1586</sup> and would say, “I take refuge with God from the evil of your soul.”<sup>1587</sup>

When Qays b. Sa‘d b. ‘Ubāda came to him, Mu‘āwiya said to him, “Pledge allegiance, Qays!” Qays said, “How I hate a day like this, Mu‘āwiya!” Mu‘āwiya said: “Stop it!—may God have mercy on you.” Qays said, “Once I was eager to separate | your soul from your body, Son of Abū Sufyān, but God insisted on what *He* wanted.” Mu‘āwiya said, “God’s command cannot be turned back.”

<sup>1582</sup> Al-Ya‘qūbī's choice of word, *malaka* (became king) is significantly different from the term *ustukhlifa* (was made caliph) used in connection with the succession of ‘Umar, ‘Uthmān, and ‘Ali. He uses the same term (*malaka*) for the Umayyads generally, with the exception of the pious ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-Azīz, who *walīya* (took over, came to power), ed. Leiden, 2:361. For Muslim discomfort with the title *malik* (king), see the anecdote related by al-Ya‘qūbī below, ed. Leiden, 2:257, and the notice at ed. Leiden, 2:276. With the ‘Abbāsids, al-Ya‘qūbī generally usually uses the formula *būyi‘a* (allegiance was sworn to him) along with the date.

<sup>1583</sup> For Hind, see below, n. 1608.

<sup>1584</sup> Dhū l-Qa‘da 40 A.H. = March 8 – April 6, 661.

<sup>1585</sup> An echo of Qur‘ān 4:19: “It is possible you may be averse to a thing, and God set in it much good.”

<sup>1586</sup> Reading with M, *wa-ya’tī*; Ms. ed. Leiden (following C) reads *wa ya’bā* (and would refuse).

<sup>1587</sup> Echoing Qur‘ān 113 and 114.

Qays then turned his face to the people and said: “People! You have replaced good with evil. You have substituted humiliation for honor, and disbelief for belief. After being ruled by the Commander of the Faithful, the noblest of the Muslims, the cousin of the Messenger of the Lord of the Worlds, you have come to be ruled by the Released One, son of the Released One,<sup>1588</sup> who will humiliate you and tyrannize you. How can your souls be ignorant of this? Or has God sealed your hearts,<sup>1589</sup> so that you have no sense?” Mu‘āwiya knelt down on his knees, took Qays’s hand and said, “I adjure you!” He then clasped Qays’s palm and called out to the people, “Qays has pledged allegiance!” However, Qays said: “You have been lied to! By God, I have not sworn allegiance.” Mu‘āwiya would have everyone who pledged allegiance to him swear oaths; he was the first [caliph] to make people swear oaths to their allegiance to him.

Sa‘d b. Mālik<sup>1590</sup> came into his presence and said, “Peace be upon you, O King!” Mu‘āwiya became angry and said, “Why didn’t you say, ‘Peace be upon you, Commander of the Faithful?’” Sa‘d said, “That would have been appropriate if we had made you commander, but you are only a usurper.”

Farwa b. Nawfal al-Ashja‘ī,<sup>1591</sup> who had withdrawn together with a group of Khārijites to Shahrazūr, revolted in the year 40.<sup>1592</sup> When he received word of ‘Alī’s murder and Mu‘āwiya’s victory, he set out with 1,500 men and reached al-Nukhayla.<sup>1593</sup> Mu‘āwiya sent some cavalry against him, but Farwa routed them. Mu‘āwiya then charged the Kufans to go out and fight the Khārijites, and they did so out of fear of him. When they met the Khārijites, Farwa b. Nawfal said to

<sup>1588</sup> Arabic *al-ṭalīq ibn al-ṭalīq*. *Ṭalīq* (pl. *tulaqqā’*) originally referred to an emancipated slave. The Meccans who accepted Islam after the conquest of Mecca in 6/630 received this name. Having been conquered by the Muslims, they were prisoners of war and could be enslaved. The Prophet magnanimously liberated them en masse. Hurling this name at Mu‘āwiya was intended to recall his father’s and his own late conversion to Islam. See the article by C. E. Bosworth in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Tulakā’*.

<sup>1589</sup> Cf. Qur‘ān 9:93, “God has set a seal on their hearts, so they know not.”

<sup>1590</sup> This is Sa‘d b. Abī Waqqāṣ.

<sup>1591</sup> Farwa b. Nawfal al-Ashja‘ī was a Kufan who seceded from ‘Alī’s army with 500 of his associates at Ṣifīn, went with them to al-Daskara in 37/657–658, and did not fight in the battle of al-Nahrawān. See al-Bukhārī, *Kitāb al-Ta’rīkh*, 7:27; al-Dīnawarī, *Akhbār*, 210; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:3310, 3370, 2:10.

<sup>1592</sup> 40 A.H. = May 17, 660 – May 6, 661.

<sup>1593</sup> Al-Nukhayla is a town in Iraq which is mainly known from the accounts of the battle of al-Qādisiyya. It seems that two different places of this name had later to be distinguished. The one connected with the events during the period of ‘Alī and Mu‘āwiya is near Kufa on the road to Syria. See the article by E. Honigmann in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *al-Nukhayla*.

the Kufans, “Leave us alone, for Mu‘āwiya is our enemy and yours.” However, the Kufans fought them fiercely until Farwa was killed, and thus Mu‘āwiya’s fears were put to rest.

Mu‘āwiya returned to Syria in the year 41.<sup>1594</sup> He received word that the Byzantine emperor had marched out with many troops and a mighty host. 2:258 Since Mu‘āwiya feared being distracted from | the planning and consolidation that he needed to do, he sent to him, and he made peace with him on payment of 100,000 dinars.<sup>1595</sup> Mu‘āwiya was the first to make a peace settlement with the Byzantines; his peace with them took place at the beginning of the year 42.<sup>1596</sup> When Mu‘āwiya had affairs under control, he made the commanders of Syria lead summer campaigns, and they took captives from the land of the Byzantines year after year; we have mentioned their names in the places dedicated to summer campaigns.<sup>1597</sup> The Byzantine ruler sued for peace on condition that he would double the amount of money, but Mu‘āwiya did not accept his offer.<sup>1598</sup>

Mu‘āwiya appointed ‘Abdallāh b. Āmir b. Kurayz over Basra. When the latter arrived in Basra, he dispatched ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Samura to Khurāsān. ‘Abd al-Rahmān, and along with him ‘Abdallāh b. Khāzim al-Sulamī, attacked Balkh and Kābul. He conquered Balkh after a fierce battle; then he advanced to Kābul and besieged it for several nights. Then the gate-keeper of the city came to him, and Abd al-Rahmān gave him something, so that he opened the gate, and a battle took place in the city. Its people asked for a peace settlement, and ‘Abd al-Rahmān made one with them. He then departed, leaving Ibn Khāzim in Khurāsān.

Mu‘āwiya appointed ‘Abdallāh b. Darrāj,<sup>1599</sup> his client, over the *kharāj* of Iraq.<sup>1600</sup> Then he wrote to him:

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<sup>1594</sup> 41 A.H. = May 7, 661 – April 25, 662.

<sup>1595</sup> The Arabic pronouns are ambiguous, but it is almost certain that it was the Byzantine emperor who paid Mu‘āwiya the money.

<sup>1596</sup> 42 A.H. = April 26, 662 – April 14, 663.

<sup>1597</sup> See the section of al-Ya‘qūbī’s history below, ed. Leiden 2:285–286.

<sup>1598</sup> Again the pronouns in the Arabic text are ambiguous, but it is almost certain that it was the Byzantine emperor who made the request specifying the amount of money he would pay.

<sup>1599</sup> ‘Abdallāh (or ‘Abd al-Rahmān) b. Darrāj was Mu‘āwiya’s secretary and a fiscal director in Kufa during the governorship of al-Mughīra b. Shu‘ba. He was killed by Ibn al-Zubayr. See al-Balādhurī, *Futūh*, 290, 293; idem., *Ansāb*, 5b:123, 5:363; al-Tabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:837; al-Jahshiyārī, *Kitāb al-wuzara*’, 24; Ibn ‘Asākir, *Dimashq*, 34:340.

<sup>1600</sup> Apparently meaning Kufa, as al-Ya‘qūbī will soon mention Mu‘āwiya’s sending a second letter to his agent in Basra with similar instructions to be applied to “the land of Basra.”

Bring to me of its income what I can make use of.

Ibn Darrāj wrote to tell him that the *dihqāns* had informed him that Kisrā and his family had crown lands (*ṣawāfi*) whose income they levied for themselves and which were not treated as land subject to the *kharāj* tax.<sup>1601</sup> Mu‘āwiya wrote to him, saying:

Make an inventory of these crown lands, designate them as such, and build dams<sup>1602</sup> on them.

Ibn Darrāj gathered the *dihqāns* and questioned them. They said, “The register is in Ḥulwān.”<sup>1603</sup> He sent and it was brought to him. He computed all that had belonged to Kisrā and his family, built dams on it, and designated<sup>1604</sup> it as belonging to Mu‘āwiya. Its revenue amounted to 50,000,000 dirhams from the land of Kufa and its Sawād.

Mu‘āwiya wrote to ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Abī Bakra<sup>1605</sup> to do the same thing in the land | of Basra.

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Mu‘āwiya also ordered that he should be brought gifts at Nayrūz and Mihrājān.<sup>1606</sup> So 1,000,000 (dirhams)<sup>1607</sup> would be sent to him at Nayrūz and other occasions, and 10,000,000 (dirhams) at Mihrājān.

<sup>1601</sup> On Mu‘āwiya’s administration of former Sasanian state lands (*ṣawāfi*), see Morony, *Iraq after the Muslim Conquest*, 68–70.

<sup>1602</sup> Arabic *musannayāt*. This is the reading of C (but undotted and ambiguous) as read by Houtsma. The word is common in the primary and secondary literature (see Wadād al-Qādī, “Population Census and Land Surveys Under the Umayyads 41–132/661–750”). However, M reads *musabbabāt* (see al-Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, for the term), which would translate, “impose assessments on them.”

<sup>1603</sup> Ḥulwān is an ancient city in Iraq situated near the entrance to the Paytak pass through the Zagros range, on the Khurāsān highway, 33 km southeast of Qasr-i Shīrīn. According to some sources, the Sasanian king Qavādh (d. 531 CE) established a land survey office in it, and the registers were kept there until after the Muslim conquest. See the article by L. Lockhart in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ḥulwān.

<sup>1604</sup> Thus ed. Leiden, following C (*istasfāhu*); M reads *istadāfahu* (he added it).

<sup>1605</sup> Tradition has it that ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Abī Bakra al-Thaqafi, the nephew of Ziyād, was the first Muslim to be born in Basra. He fought in the Battle of the Camel on the side of ‘A’isha and was Ziyād’s secretary in charge of correspondence. He died in 96/714–715. See Ibn Sa’d, *Ṭabaqāt*, 7:138; al-Balādhurī, *Futūh*, index; Ibn Qutayba, *Ma’ārif*, 289; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:1014, 3105, 3229, 2:22, 24, 458; al-Dhahabī, *Sīyar*, 4:319; idem, *Ta’rīkh*, 410; al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfi*, 18:128.

<sup>1606</sup> Nayrūz or Nawrūz is the Persian New Year, at the vernal equinox; Mihrājān is the feast of the autumnal equinox.

<sup>1607</sup> Thus M; the figure has dropped out of C.

Ziyād b. ‘Ubayd was ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib’s governor over Fārs. When Mu‘āwiya came to power, he wrote to Ziyād, threatening and menacing him. Ziyād rose and delivered the following speech:

The son of the liver-eater,<sup>1608</sup> the cave of hypocrisy, and the remnant of the factions<sup>1609</sup> has written, threatening and menacing me. But between me and him is the son<sup>1610</sup> of the daughter of God’s Messenger, with 90,000<sup>1611</sup> men who have put the pommels of their swords under their chins, none of whom will turn away until he dies. By God, if he gets to me, he will find me to be a swordsman who will leave a bitter taste in his mouth!

Mu‘āwiya sent [to him] al-Mughīra b. Shu‘ba, who brought him back (to Mu‘āwiya’s fold). Mu‘āwiya then claimed Ziyād, attaching him to Abū Sufyān,<sup>1612</sup> and appointed him governor over Basra.

Ziyād produced four witnesses. One of them testified that ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib informed him that they had been sitting at ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb’s when Ziyād arrived bringing a message from Abū Mūsā al-Ash‘arī. Ziyād spoke in a way that impressed ‘Umar, whereupon ‘Umar asked Ziyād, “Would you have said this to the people from the pulpit?” Ziyād said, “They are easier for me to address than you, Commander of the Faithful.” Abū Sufyān said, “By God, he is indeed

<sup>1608</sup> The liver-eater is Mu‘āwiya’s mother, Hind bt. ‘Utba b. Rabī‘a b. ‘Abd Shams, who reportedly chewed the liver of Ḥamza, the Prophet’s uncle, after his death at the battle of Uhud in the year 3/625; see Ibn Ishāq, *Sīra* (trans. Guillaume), 385. For Hind, who died after Abū Bakr, see the article by Fr. Buhl in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Hind bint ‘Utba b. Rabī‘a.

<sup>1609</sup> For “the factions” (*al-aḥzāb*), see above, n. 1452.

<sup>1610</sup> Following the reading of both MSS (*inna ibn*). Ziyād is referring to ‘Alī’s son al-Ḥasan. Houtsma emended the text to *ibnā* (the two sons), as in the parallel in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:15. However, the parallel in al-Tabarī adds *ibnā ‘amm*, (sons of the paternal uncle, i.e., nephews) and explicitly identifies the persons as al-Ḥasan and ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Abbās. If one accepts Houtsma’s emendation, Ziyād would be referring to al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn. The problem then is that the former had been abandoned by his followers and had renounced the caliphate, while the latter had as yet shown no signs of dissent to Mu‘āwiya, and would not be killed until almost two decades later.

<sup>1611</sup> Following Houtsma’s emendation on the basis of al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:15. M and C read 70,000. The words for 70 (*sab‘īn*) and 90 (*tis‘īn*) are almost identical in the absence of pointing.

<sup>1612</sup> That is, he claimed that Ziyād was the son of Abū Sufyān, hence that he was Mu‘āwiya’s half-brother. Because of Ziyād’s uncertain paternity, the name Ziyād b. Abīhi (Ziyād Son of His Father) was often given to him. Parallel in al-Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj*, 3:191–194 (§ 1777–1783). See the article by I. Hasson in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ziyād b. Abīhi.

my son, and I it was who put him into his mother's womb!" I<sup>1613</sup> said [to Abū Sufyān], "So what prevents you from claiming him?" Abū Sufyān said, "Fear of this braying donkey!"<sup>1614</sup>

Another witness came forward and testified to the truth of this testimony. He said that when Ziyād al-Hamdānī<sup>1615</sup> was asked [by Ziyād] what his opinion of 'Alī was, Ziyād al-Hamdānī had said, "The same as yours, when he appointed you over Fārs and testified to you that you were the son of Abū Sufyān."

Abū Maryam al-Salūlī<sup>1616</sup> came forward and said: "I do not know about testimony to testimony,"<sup>1617</sup> but I was a wine dealer in al-Tā'if, and Abū | Sufyān visited me when he was returning from a trip of his. He ate and drank, and then he said: 'Abū Maryam, I've been without a woman'<sup>1618</sup> for a long time. Can you find me a prostitute?' I said, 'I can find you no other than the slave woman of the Banū 'Ajlān.' Abū Sufyān said, 'Bring her to me, despite her sagging breasts and stinking crotch.' I brought her to him, and he had intercourse with her. Then he came back to me and said, 'Abū Maryam, she drew the water of my loins out so vigorously that it confirmed<sup>1619</sup> the trace of pregnancy in her eyes!' Ziyād said to Abū Maryam, "We brought you here to testify, not to vilify!" Abū Maryam said, "I am simply stating the truth as it happened." So Mu'āwiya sent [...]<sup>1620</sup>

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<sup>1613</sup> That is, 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, the narrator of the episode. This would have been clearer had the episode been consistently retold as direct quotation: 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib informed him, saying: "We were sitting at 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb's ..."

<sup>1614</sup> That is, 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb.

<sup>1615</sup> Ziyād al-Hamdānī is possibly Ziyād b. [Abī] Usāma al-Ḥirmāzī (but according to Ibn Durayd, *al-Ishtiqāq*, 202, the Ḥirmāz are from the Tamīm), who has a biography in Ibn 'Asākir, *Dimashq*, 19:130, where he is counted as one of the witnesses to Mu'āwiya's claim that Ziyād was his half-brother.

<sup>1616</sup> Abū Maryam al-Salūlī, whose name was Mālik b. Rabī'a, participated in the truce of al-Ḥudaybiya and gave his allegiance to the Prophet. He is best known in the historical tradition for his testimony in favor Ziyād's claim to be the son of Abū Sufyān. See Ibn Sa'd, *Tabaqāt*, 1:370; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, IV/1, 192; al-Mas'ūdī, *Mu'rij*, 3:193 (§ 1781); Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, 5:295; Ibn 'Asākir, *Dimashq*, 19:131.

<sup>1617</sup> Retaining the MSS reading: *mā shahāda 'alā shahāda*. Houtsma emended it unnecessarily to *mā shahādat 'Alī* (What 'Alī's testimony was). Abū Maryam means that his testimony is not like the first three, a testimony to the testimony of someone else, but first-hand, direct testimony.

<sup>1618</sup> Reading with M, *tālat il-'uzba* (my state of celibacy has been long), instead of C and ed. Leiden, *tālat il-ghurba* (my being away has been long).

<sup>1619</sup> The text in C was unclear, and Houtsma could find no solution except *tuthibū ibnā l-ḥabali* (she/it rewards the son of pregnancy). On the basis of M, which is also unpointed, one can read *yuthibū athara l-ḥabali* (confirming the trace of pregnancy).

<sup>1620</sup> There is no blank in the MSS, but clearly something is missing from the text.

[Ziyād rose up and said: “He]<sup>1621</sup> has said what has reached you and testified to what you have heard. If what they said is true, praise be to God, who has preserved of me what people have wasted, and elevated of me what they have put down! If it is false, then Mu‘āwiya and the witnesses know better. Yet ‘Ubayd<sup>1622</sup> was never anything but a blessed, praiseworthy father.” Then he descended.

Mu‘āwiya appointed al-Mughīra b. Shu‘ba over Kufa in Jumādā [...] of the year 42,<sup>1623</sup> and he remained in charge of it for a time. Then Mu‘āwiya changed his mind and appointed ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Āmir b. Kurayz over Kufa. When the news reached the Kufans, so many of them went out to ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Āmir that whenever al-Mughīra [asked] for any person he was told that he had gone out to ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Āmir. He even asked for his secretary and was told, “He has joined ‘Abdallāh”; whereupon al-Mughīra said to his servant, “Boy, saddle my mule and bring it here!” He set out and, having reached Damascus, went before Mu‘āwiya. When Mu‘āwiya saw him, he said: “What has brought you here, Mughīra? You have left your governorship and abandoned the city and the people of Iraq, who are the quickest people to embrace sedition.” Al-Mughīra said: “Commander of the Faithful, I have become old. My strength is failing, I can no longer do my job, and I have attained | all I need from the world. By God, only one thing grieves me, something by which I thought I could repay what is your due, something that I hoped to do before my appointed time and that God would help me well to do.” “And what is it?” asked Mu‘āwiya. Al-Mughīra said: “I called on the nobles (*ashrāf*) of Kufa to pledge allegiance to Yazīd, the son of the Commander of the Faithful, as heir apparent after the Commander of the Faithful. They were forthcoming about it, and I found them ready to do so; but I was reluctant to initiate something without the opinion of the Commander of the Faithful, and so I have come to talk to him face to face about it and to ask him to relieve me of the governorship.” Mu‘āwiya said: “Praise be to God, Abū ‘Abd al-Rahmān! Yazid is indeed your nephew.<sup>1624</sup> Someone like you does not begin a matter

<sup>1621</sup> This is a conjectural addition based on the context.

<sup>1622</sup> ‘Ubayd was the man to whom Sumayya, Ziyād’s mother, had been given as a slave. Since he owned the bed on which Ziyād had been born, legally Ziyād was his offspring—until his acknowledgment by Mu‘āwiya. See the article by I. Hasson in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ziyād b. Abīhi.

<sup>1623</sup> The MSS do not indicate whether the month was Jumādā I or Jumādā II, and the parallel sources are of no help. Jumādā I 42 = August 22 – September 20, 662; Jumādā II 42 = September 21 – October 19, 662.

<sup>1624</sup> Yazid was not literally al-Mughīra’s nephew, since al-Mughīra was neither Mu‘āwiya’s brother nor the brother of his wife, Yazid’s mother, Maysūn bt. Bahdal al-Kalbiyya. However, al-Mughīra was Mu‘āwiya’s brother-in-law through his marriage to four (or

and then leave it without carrying it through to completion. We adjure you by God to go back and finish the matter!" Al-Mughira went out from his presence and ran into his secretary.<sup>1625</sup> He said to him, "Let us go back to Kufa, for, by God, I have set Mu'awiya's foot in a stirrup out of which nothing will take it out except bloodshed!" And he left for Kufa.

Mu'awiya wrote to Ziyād, who was in Basra:

Al-Mughira has called the people of Kufa to pledge allegiance to Yazid as heir apparent after me. Al-Mughira has no greater claim to your nephew<sup>1626</sup> than you have. So, when my letter reaches you, call upon the people in your area to do the same as al-Mughira called upon them to do, and receive their pledge of allegiance to Yazid.

When the letter reached [Ziyād] and he read it, he summoned one of his companions whose integrity and understanding he trusted and said to him: "I want to entrust to you something that I will not entrust to written pages. Go to Mu'awiya and say to him: 'Commander of the Faithful, your letter about such-and-such a matter has reached me. What shall we say to the people'<sup>1627</sup> if we call them to pledge allegiance to Yazid, when he plays with dogs and monkeys, wears dyed clothes, is addicted to wine, and dances to the accompaniment of tambourines, while in their presence are al-Husayn b. 'Alī, 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās, 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr, and 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar?<sup>1628</sup> | Rather, you should command Yazid to affect the morals of those men for a year or two; then perhaps we can camouflage the truth from the people.'" When the messenger reached Mu'awiya and delivered the message to him, Mu'awiya said: "Woe is me from the son of 'Ubayd! I have received word the camel-driver has chanted

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three) of the daughters of Abū Sufyān, Mu'awiya's father. See Ibn 'Asākir, *Dimashq*, 60:49; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, 3:30.

<sup>1625</sup> "His secretary" (*kātibahu*) is clear in the mss. It is strange that the secretary should be mentioned here, as al-Mughira's secretary has just been reported to have joined 'Abdallāh b. 'Āmir b. Kurayz. Either another secretary is meant, or the word should read: *ghulāmihi* (his servant), that is, the person who accompanied him on his trip to Mu'awiya.

<sup>1626</sup> Here "your nephew" is meant literally, since Mu'awiya claimed that Ziyād was Abū Sufyān's son from Sumayya, making him Mu'awiya's half-brother and thus making Yazid his nephew.

<sup>1627</sup> Reading with M, *fa-mā naqūlu* (or, *taqūlu*) *li-l-nās* (What shall we [or, will you] say to the people). Ed. Leiden (following C) reads *fa-mā yaqūlu al-nās* (What will the people say).

<sup>1628</sup> That is, men worthier of the caliphate.

to him that the commander after me is to be Ziyād. By God, I will send him back to his mother Sumayya and his father ‘Ubayd!”<sup>1629</sup>

When al-Mughīra arrived in Kufa, returning from Mu‘āwiya, Shabīb b. Bajara al-Ashja‘ī the Khārijite<sup>1630</sup> had revolted. When Shabib learned of al-Mughīra’s arrival, he fled to Mu‘āwiya and said, “I am the killer of ‘Alī b. Abī Tālib.” Shabib b. Bajara had been with Ibn Muljam the night Ibn Muljam struck ‘Alī. Mu‘āwiya said to him, “I will not see you, nor you me!” Shabib then returned to Kufa and fought al-Mughīra. Al-Mughīra sent an army against him and killed him.

Al-Mustawrid b. ‘Ullafa al-Taymī<sup>1631</sup>—from the Taym al-Ribāb—revolted in the year 43.<sup>1632</sup> Al-Mughīra sent some cavalry against him; he was killed in lower Sābāt,<sup>1633</sup> and all his companions were killed.

After him, Mu‘ādh b. Juwayn al-Ṭā‘ī Abū l-Mustawrid<sup>1634</sup> revolted. Al-Mughīra sent against him some cavalry headed by a man from the Hamdān, and they killed him.

A band of non-Arab Muslims (*mawālī*) revolted. Their commander was Abū ‘Alī,<sup>1635</sup> a Kufan who was a client of the Banū l-Hārith b. Ka‘b; it was the first time that the non-Arab Muslims (*mawālī*) revolted. Al-Mughīra sent against them a man from the Bajila, and they met in Bādūrayā.<sup>1636</sup> The man from the Bajila called out to them: “You non-Arabs! Here are the Arabs fighting us over religion; so what is the matter to you?” They called back: “Jābir, we have indeed heard a

<sup>1629</sup> Mu‘āwiya means that Ziyād, having been claimed by Mu‘āwiya as his half-brother, has begun to nurse dreams of becoming caliph after Mu‘āwiya. Mu‘āwiya therefore threatens that he will reattach Ziyād to his real parents, Sumayya and ‘Ubayd (not Sumayya and Abū Sufyān), thereby ending his political aspirations.

<sup>1630</sup> Shabib b. Bajara al-Ashja‘ī was among the Khārijites who participated in the battle at al-Nahrawān. He was persuaded by Ibn Muljam to participate in stabbing ‘Alī, but was able to escape, while Ibn Muljam was captured. See Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta’rikh*, 197, 209; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh*, 1:3458–3459; al-Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj*, 3:165 (§ 1732).

<sup>1631</sup> Al-Mustawrid b. ‘Ullafa al-Taymī (vocalize thus, not ‘Ullifa, as in ed. Leiden; cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh, Addenda et emendanda* to 2:28) was a Khārijite who escaped after the battle al-Nahrawān. See Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta’rikh*, 197, 198; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, IV/1, 168–171; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh*, index.

<sup>1632</sup> 43 A.H. = April 15, 663 – April 3, 664.

<sup>1633</sup> Sābāt Kisrā is near al-Madā'in. See Yāqūt, *Buldān*, 3:166.

<sup>1634</sup> Mu‘ādh b. Juwayn al-Ṭā‘ī Abū l-Mustawrid was among the Khārijites who pledged allegiance to al-Mustawrid b. ‘Ullafa as Commander of the Faithful. See al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, IV/1, 172; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh*, 2:20–21, 29, 36, 181–183.

<sup>1635</sup> Otherwise unknown.

<sup>1636</sup> Bādūrayā was a district south-west of what became later Baghdad, separated from it by the Sarāt canal. See the article by M. Streck in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Bādūrayā.

wondrous Qur‘ān that guides to righteousness; we have believed in it and we will not associate anyone with our Lord.<sup>1637</sup> God sent our Prophet to all people;<sup>1638</sup> He did not withhold him from anyone.” So he fought them until he killed them.

Egypt and the Maghrib belonged to ‘Amr b. al-Āṣ a source of revenue that Mu‘āwiya stipulated for him on the day he pledged allegiance. | A copy of that document read:<sup>1639</sup>

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This is what Mu‘āwiya b. Abī Sufyān has given to ‘Amr b. al-Āṣ: Egypt. He has given him its people; they shall be his as long as he lives, on condition that he not break his obedience.<sup>1640</sup>

Wardān, ‘Amr’s client, had said to ‘Amr: “[The document] takes the hair from your body.”<sup>1641</sup> ‘Amr set to reading the document, but he could not perceive what Wardān had perceived. When the document was sealed and the witnesses had witnessed, Wardān said to ‘Amr: “Your lifespan, old man, is but a donkey’s thirst.<sup>1642</sup> Why didn’t you stipulate that it be for your children after you?” ‘Amr asked Mu‘āwiya to cancel the condition, but Mu‘āwiya refused. ‘Amr therefore would not send Mu‘āwiya any of Egypt’s revenue;<sup>1643</sup> he would distribute stipends among the troops and keep the remainder for himself.

<sup>1637</sup> Qur‘ān 72:1–2. In the Qur‘ān, the words are spoken by a group of jinn, who heard the Qur‘ān being recited and believed. The speakers’ point is that if even the jinn could believe, *a fortiori* non-Arabs, who, after all, are human beings, could believe.

<sup>1638</sup> Echoing Qur‘ān 34:28: “We have sent thee not, except to mankind entire, good tidings to bear, and warning; but most men do not know it.”

<sup>1639</sup> Al-Ya‘qūbī has mentioned this document earlier (ed. Leiden, 2:217).

<sup>1640</sup> Reading *wa-lā yanquḍu tā‘atan sharṭan*. The syntax is strange. The word *yanquḍu* (break) is unpointed in the MSS and Houtsma read it as *tunqīṣu* (diminish). He also emended the MSS *tā‘a* (obedience) to *tā‘atuhu* (his obedience).

<sup>1641</sup> Literally, “In it is the hair of/from your body.” However, the text is uncertain. The word for “hair” (*al-sha‘r*) is unpointed in the manuscripts, as is the word in C that Houtsma read as *badanika* (your body). M has (*unpointed tooth letter*).d.y.k, perhaps to be read as *yadayka* (your hands). In any case, the meaning is that Mu‘āwiya has shortchanged ‘Amr, as a skillful person does when he removes hair from the body.

<sup>1642</sup> Emending the MSS *mazinnatu ḥimārin* (the place where a donkey is likely to be found) as suggested by the *Addenda et emendanda* of ed. Leiden, to *zīm'u ḥimārin* (the thirst-period of an ass), as in the proverb, *mā baqiya min ‘umrihi illā zīm'u l-ḥimāri*, “There remained not of his life save a little, literally, save the period between the two drinkings of an ass, because there is no beast that bears thirst for a shorter time than the ass; for he comes to the water in summer every day twice.” (Lane, *Lexicon*, 5:1923).

<sup>1643</sup> But see below (ed. Leiden, 2:277), where ‘Amr is said to have sent “very little” of the 3 million dinars due in taxes from Egypt.

'Amr b. al-'Āṣ governed Egypt for ten years: four under 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, four less two months under 'Uthmān, and two years and three months under Mu'āwiya. He died when he was ninety-eight years old.

'Amr was the Arabs' shrewdest man in judiciousness, resoluteness, intellect, and speech: whenever 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb saw a man speaking incorrectly, he would say, "Praised be He who created you and also created 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ!"

Someone has said that he heard 'Amr say: "A just ruler is better than a tyrannical one, but an oppressive tyrannical ruler is better than lasting sedition (*fitna*). A slip of the foot means a bone that can be set, while the slip of the tongue *leaves nothing and spares nothing*.<sup>1644</sup> Someone with no understanding is at ease."

When 'Amr came to die, he said to his son: "Your father wishes that he had died at the raid of Dhāt al-Salāsīl."<sup>1645</sup> I have involved myself with affairs for which I do not know what excuse I shall have before God." Then he looked at his fortune and seeing its magnitude he said: "Would that it were dung! Would that I had died thirty years ago! I made Mu'āwiya's worldly fortune thrive, while I spoiled my religion; I preferred my worldly life | and abandoned my afterlife; my integrity was blinded, and now my time of death has come. I seem to see Mu'āwiya taking possession of my fortune and making my succession evil for you."

When 'Amr died on the eve of the Festival of Breaking the Fast in the year 43,<sup>1646</sup> Mu'āwiya confirmed his son, 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr, but then confiscated 'Amr's estate. He was the first to confiscate a governor's estate: whenever one of his governors died, Mu'āwiya would split his estate with his heirs. When he was questioned about it, he would say, "This is a procedure (*sunna*) that was instituted by 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb." Then Mu'āwiya dismissed 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr from office and appointed his own brother, 'Utba b. Abī Sufyān,<sup>1647</sup> over Egypt.

<sup>1644</sup> Qur'ān 74:28.

<sup>1645</sup> A raid led by 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ during the lifetime of the Prophet. See Ibn Ishāq, *Sīra* (trans. Guillaume), 668–669.

<sup>1646</sup> That is, on 30 Ramaḍān 43 (January 5, 664). The Festival of Breaking the Fast (*Īd al-Fitr*) marks the end of Ramaḍān.

<sup>1647</sup> 'Utba b. Abī Sufyān, who was born during the lifetime of the Prophet, had been appointed by 'Umar over al-Ṭā'if. He also served as governor of Medina and led the pilgrimage several times. He was present at the killing of 'Uthmān, fought on 'Aishā's side in the Battle of the Camel, and on Mu'āwiya's at Shiffīn. Appointed governor of Egypt by Mu'āwiya in 43/664, he died in Alexandria in the following year. See Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Tarīkh*, 205, 208; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, IV/1, index; al-Ṭabarī, *Tarīkh*, index; al-Kindī, *Kitāb al-Umarā'*, 34.

Mu‘āwiya wrote to Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān:<sup>1648</sup>

There is in your area [a man] from the Companions of God’s Messenger: appoint him over Khurāsān—he is al-Ḥakam b. ‘Amr al-Ghifārī.<sup>1649</sup>

Ziyād appointed him over Khurāsān; he went out to it in the year 44.<sup>1650</sup> He went to Herat, and from there to al-Jūzajān, which he conquered; but they suffered so much hardship that they had to eat their mounts. Al-Muhallab<sup>1651</sup> was with al-Ḥakam b. ‘Amr at the time, and al-Ḥakam knew al-Muhallab’s bravery and fortitude. Then al-Ḥakam died, and Ziyād appointed al-Rabi‘ b. Ziyād al-Ḥārithī<sup>1652</sup> in his place. Khwārazm was conquered during this period; the one who conquered it was ‘Abdallāh b. [Abī] ‘Aqīl al-Thaqafī.<sup>1653</sup>

Mu‘āwiya performed the pilgrimage in the year 44.<sup>1654</sup> He brought with him from Syria a pulpit which he placed by the door of the Sacred House. Thus he was the first person to put the pulpit in the Sacred Mosque.

When Mu‘āwiya arrived in Medina, a group of the Banū Hāshim came to him and talked to him<sup>1655</sup> about their affairs. Mu‘āwiya said: “Are you not satisfied, Banū Hāshim, that we have kept your lives intact despite your having killed

1648 It is strange that al-Yāqūbī calls Ziyād “Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān.”

1649 Al-Ḥakam b. ‘Amr al-Ghifārī was a Basran. He died in 50/670–671 while still governor of Khurāsān. See Ibn Sa‘d, *Tabaqāt*, vii/1, 18; Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta’rikh*, 211; al-Tabarī, *Ta’rikh*, index; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, 2:474; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 2:436.

1650 44 A.H. = April 4, 664 – March 24, 665.

1651 Al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufra al-Azdī (d. 82/702) was a distinguished general and governor, whose descendants exerted enormous influence in later Umayyad times and beyond. See the article by P. Crone in *ER*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufra. See also Hinds, *An Early Islamic family from Oman: Al-‘Awtabī’s Account of the Muhallabids*.

1652 Al-Rabi‘ b. Ziyād al-Ḥārithī, a Companion of the Prophet and participant in the early conquests, was appointed by Mu‘āwiya over Sijistān in 46/666–667, where he led several campaigns against the Turks. Ziyād dismissed him from office and then appointed him over Khurāsān at the beginning of 51/671. He invaded Balkh and died at the battle of Tustar c. 60/679–680. See al-Balādhurī, *Futūh*, index; Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta’rikh*, index; al-Tabarī, *Ta’rikh*, index.

1653 “Abī” is missing from the mss. ‘Abdallāh b. Abī ‘Aqīl al-Thaqafī participated in the early conquests of Iran. Later, he was among the hardliners against Ḥujr b. ‘Adī and was one of the witnesses of Ziyād’s letter about him to Mu‘āwiya in 51/671–672. See al-Tabarī, *Ta’rikh*, index.

1654 1 Dhū l-Ḥijja 44 = February 23, 665.

1655 Reading with M, *wa-kallamūhu*. Ed. Leiden, following C, reads *wa-kallamūhum* (and they talked to them). See also Landberg, *Critica* 1:48.

‘Uthmān, so that now you say what you say? By God, you are more deserving of death<sup>1656</sup> than so-and-so and so-and-so!”—and he spoke strong words. Ibn 2:265 ‘Abbās said to him: “Everything you have said to us, Mu‘āwiya, | comes from the evil within you. You, by God, are more deserving of having such a thing ascribed to you than we are. You killed ‘Uthmān; then you set about pulling the wool over people’s eyes by saying that you were seeking vengeance for his blood.” Mu‘āwiya was abashed. Ibn ‘Abbās then said, “By God, I have never seen you tell the truth except when you are intimidated and abashed.” Mu‘āwiya smiled and said, “By God, how nice it was (in the past) when you did not speak to me!”<sup>1657</sup>

Then the Anṣār talked to him. He spoke harshly to them and said to them, “How are your watering-camels doing?”<sup>1658</sup> They said: “We exhausted them during the battle of Badr when we killed your brother, your grandfather, and your maternal uncle. But we are doing what God’s Messenger counseled us to do.” “And what did he counsel you to do?” asked Mu‘āwiya. They said, “He counseled us to have patience.” Mu‘āwiya said, “Then be patient!”—and he set out for Syria at nightfall without fulfilling any of their wishes.

In this year, Mu‘āwiya set up the *maqṣūra* inside the mosque<sup>1659</sup> and took the pulpits out to the place of prayer at the two feasts.<sup>1660</sup> He preached the sermon before the prayer.<sup>1661</sup> That was because people used to leave [the mosque] once they had finished praying so as not to hear the cursing of ‘Alī. Mu‘āwiya there-

<sup>1656</sup> Reading with M, *la-antum aḥallu daman* (indeed you are more licit with regard to blood). C and ed. Leiden read *lā antum ajallu daman* (not you are more exalted in blood).

<sup>1657</sup> “You” is in the plural. The sentence is enigmatic and the translation uncertain.

<sup>1658</sup> This saying of Mu‘āwiya’s is quoted frequently. Watering-camels (*nawādīh*) are camels used for transporting irrigation water. The remark is intended to disparage the Anṣār as farmers, rather than camel raisers or warriors. See Ibn Manzūr, *Lisān al-‘Arab*, s.v. N-Ḍ-Ḥ.

<sup>1659</sup> The *maqṣūra* was a compartment built for the ruler near the *miḥrāb*. Al-‘Askarī, *Awā’il*, 193–194, identifies Mu‘āwiya as the “first to set up the *maqṣūra*,” adding that that was because he “saw a dog on his pulpit (*minbar*).” He then states that others say that the first in that regard was Marwān [b. al-Ḥakam], describing it as “built with engraved stones and having small windows” and stating that Marwān had it built because a disgruntled tax-payer brushed him with his knife at prayer, whereupon he ordered the building of the *maqṣūra* and would pray in it “for fear that what happened to ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb should happen to him.” See the article by J. Pedersen in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Masjid*.

<sup>1660</sup> Muslims would pray the special prayers of the Festival of Breaking the Fast (*Īd al-Fitr*) and the Festival of Sacrifice (*Īd al-Adḥā*), in an open-air prayer place (*muṣallā*) outside the city.

<sup>1661</sup> Al-‘Askarī, *Awā’il*, 148, 200, states that the first to do this was either ‘Uthmān b. ‘Affān or Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, not Mu‘āwiya.

fore made the sermon precede the prayer. Mu‘āwiya also granted Fadak<sup>1662</sup> to Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, so as to gall the family of God’s Messenger.

Mu‘āwiya appointed Ibn Uthāl the Christian over the *kharāj* of Ḥimṣ—none of the caliphs before him had appointed Christians as agents. Khālid b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Khālid b. al-Walid<sup>1663</sup> accosted Ibn Uthāl with the sword and killed him. Mu‘āwiya imprisoned Khālid for some days; then he made him pay Ibn Uthāl’s blood-money, but did not retaliate against Khālid for killing him. Ibn Uthāl had killed ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Khālid b. al-Walid<sup>1664</sup> by slipping him a poisoned drink. Al-Mundhir b. al-Zubayr b. al-‘Awwām<sup>1665</sup> had reproached Khālid b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān, saying, “You talk, while Ibn Uthāl is in Ḥimṣ, ordering and forbidding.” Having killed Ibn Uthāl, Khālid b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān said to al-Mundhir, “As for me, I have killed Ibn Uthāl, | but ‘Amr b. Jurmūz al-Tamīmī, who killed al-Zubayr,<sup>1666</sup> is safe and sound.”

‘Abd al-Rahmān b. al-‘Abbās b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib<sup>1667</sup> had gone to Syria to see Mu‘āwiya, but Mu‘āwiya shunned him and granted none of his requests.

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<sup>1662</sup> Fadak, a small town in northwestern Ḥijāz near Khaybar, was conquered by an expedition led by ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib in the days of the Prophet (see above, ed. Leiden, 2:78). For the controversy over the disposition of its revenue, see above, ed. Leiden 2:142, and the article by L. Veccia Vaglieri in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Fadak. The “galling” in the text refers to the refusal by Abū Bakr and his successors to grant Fāṭima’s request to be granted the revenue from Fadak after the death of her father, the Prophet, and the bitterness this created.

<sup>1663</sup> Khālid b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Khālid b. al-Walid al-Makhzūmī was a poet whose father led the winter campaign in 46/666–667 and, upon his return to Ḥimṣ, was poisoned by Ibn Uthāl. (Mu‘āwiya, jealous of ‘Abd al-Rahmān’s popularity, is said to have put Ibn Uthāl up to it.) Khālid then killed Ibn Uthāl to avenge his father’s death. Cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh*, 2:82–83, 85; Ibn ‘Asākir, *Dimashq*, 16:163.

<sup>1664</sup> ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Khālid b. al-Walid, Khālid’s father, participated with his father, Khālid b. al-Walid, in the battle of al-Yarmūk. He resided in Ḥimṣ and fought on the side of Mu‘āwiya at Shiffīn, and the latter put him in charge of some campaigns against the Byzantines. The people of Ḥimṣ reportedly loved him and wanted to pledge obedience to him, which was the motive for Mu‘āwiya’s desire to get rid of him, and hence his using Ibn Uthāl to poison him and then rewarding him with heading the financial office of Ḥimṣ. See al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh*, index; Ibn ‘Asākir, *Dimashq*, 34:324; Ibn al-Athīr, *Uṣd*, 3:289.

<sup>1665</sup> Al-Mundhir b. al-Zubayr b. al-‘Awwām al-Asadī was a Medinan who had participated in the attempt to conquer Constantinople at the end of ‘Umar’s caliphate. See Ibn Sa‘d, *Ṭabaqāt*, 5:135; al-Balādhurī, *Futūh*, 363; Ibn Qutayba, *Ma‘rif*, 221, 223; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh*, 1:3114, 2:132, 224, 227, 402–403, 528, 3:2552; Ibn ‘Asākir, *Dimashq*, 60:287, 19:131.

<sup>1666</sup> Ibn Jurmūz killed al-Zubayr, al-Mundhir’s father, at the Battle of the Camel; see above, ed. Leiden, 2:213.

<sup>1667</sup> ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. al-‘Abbās b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib was the full brother of ‘Abdallāh b. al-

One day, ‘Abd al-Rahmān entered Mu‘āwiya’s presence, and Mu‘āwiya asked him, “Ibn al-‘Abbās, how do you view what God has done to us and to Abū l-Ḥasan?”<sup>1668</sup> Ibn al-‘Abbās said: “A faultless deed, by God! He sped ‘Alī to a paradise that you will never attain, and He delayed your attaining a worldly gain which the Commander of the Faithful<sup>1669</sup> had already attained.” Mu‘āwiya said, “And will you indeed judge God?” Ibn al-‘Abbās said, “By that whereby He has judged Himself: *Whoso judges not according to what God has sent down—they are the wrongdoers.*”<sup>1670</sup> Mu‘āwiya said, “By God, if Abū ‘Amr<sup>1671</sup> had lived to see me, he would have witnessed the vengeance<sup>1672</sup> of the cousin.” Ibn al-‘Abbās said, “By God, if he had seen you, he would have known for certain that you abandoned him when aid would have been to his advantage, and you aided him when aiding was to your advantage.” Mu‘āwiya said, “Why are getting between the staff and its peel?”<sup>1673</sup> Ibn al-‘Abbās said: “I have only inserted myself *against* the two of them, not *for* them. So spare me what I dislike, and I will spare you the same, for I would rather that you behave nicely and that I go along<sup>1674</sup> with you than that you be nasty and that I match you.” Then he got up.

### The Death of al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī

Al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī died in the month of Rabī‘ I in the year 49.<sup>1675</sup> When he was about to die, he said to his brother al-Ḥusayn: “My brother, this is the last of three times I have been given poison to drink, but never have I been given it to drink like this time, and so I am going to die this very day. When I die, bury

‘Abbās. He died without children in the caliphate of ‘Umar II. See Ibn Sa‘d, *Ansāb*, IV/1, 1–2.

<sup>1668</sup> Abū l-Ḥasan is ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib.

<sup>1669</sup> The Commander of the Faithful is, again, ‘Alī. The worldly gain is the caliphate, which ‘Alī attained before Mu‘āwiya.

<sup>1670</sup> Qur‘ān 5:45. The *textus receptus* has “... they are the unbelievers.”

<sup>1671</sup> Abū ‘Amr is ‘Uthmān b. ‘Affān.

<sup>1672</sup> Arabic *nīqam*, as emended by Houtsma from the MSS unpointed *nī’am* (bounties).

<sup>1673</sup> Arabic *wa-mā dūkhūluka bayna l-aṣā wa-l-iḥā’ihā*. The expression is proverbial for interfering between two friends or, more generally, meddling in what is not one’s concern. See Lane, *Lexicon*, 5:2068c. The implication is that he, Mu‘āwiya, is ‘Uthmān’s blood relative and Ibn al-‘Abbās is not; hence Ibn al-‘Abbās has no right to make innuendos about relations between Mu‘āwiya and ‘Uthmān.

<sup>1674</sup> Reading *fa-ujāriya* for MSS *fa-ujāziya* (and I reward you).

<sup>1675</sup> Rabī‘ I 49 A.H. = April 9 – May 8, 669. For more details about the alleged poisoning of al-Ḥasan, see al-Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj*, 3:181–182 (§1758–1760).

me with God's Messenger, for no one is worthier to be near him than I, unless | you are barred from doing so, in which case do not spill even a cupping-glass of blood on account of it."

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When al-Hasan was wrapped in his shrouds, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyā<sup>1676</sup> said: "May God have mercy on you, Abū Muḥammad! For, by God, if your life has been dear, your death has been a blow. What a good spirit dwelt in your body, and what a good body has been enclosed in your shroud! How could it not be so, when you are the descendant of right guidance, the successor<sup>1677</sup> of the people who fear God, and the fifth of the People of the Garment?<sup>1678</sup> The hand of the truth nurtured you; you grew up in the lap of Islam; and the breasts of faith fed you.<sup>1679</sup> May you be well, dead and alive. May peace and God's mercy be upon you—though our spirits do not loathe your life,<sup>1680</sup> nor do we have any doubt about the choice you [made]."<sup>1681</sup>

Al-Hasan's bier then was taken out toward the grave of God's Messenger. However, Marwān b. al-Ḥakam and Saīd b. al-Āṣ rode out and barred it, and strife was about to break out. Some say that Ḥāfiya rode out on a gray mule

<sup>1676</sup> Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyā ("Muḥammad the son of the woman of the Banū Ḥanifa tribe") has already been mentioned in al-Ya'qūbi's list of 'Ali's children (ed. Leiden, 2:252–253) as Muḥammad the elder, whose mother was Khawla bt. Ja'far al-Ḥanafiyā. Khawla was a woman captured in battle who came into 'Ali's possession. Thus Muḥammad (often referred to simply as Ibn al-Ḥanafiyā) was al-Hasan's half-brother. See the article by Fr. Buhl in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥanafiyā.

<sup>1677</sup> Reading with M, *khalaf*; C (unpointed) and ed. Leiden read *hilf* (alliance). Another possible reading is *half* (ally), as in al-Mas'ūdi, *Murij*, 3:183 (§ 1763). The "people who fear God" (*ahl al-taqwā*) refers to 'Ali and the Prophet's family.

<sup>1678</sup> Arabic *ashāb al-kisā'*, also known as *ahl al-kisā'*. They are 'Alī, Fāṭima, al-Hasan, and al-Ḥusayn; "the fifth" (*khāmis*) in the text refers to the Prophet, who spread his cloak over these four, at which time Qur'ān 33:33 was revealed, declaring the *ahl al-bayt* (family of the Prophet) to have been thoroughly purified. The incident is frequently adduced in Shī'ite literature in support of 'Ali's imamate. See the article by Farhad Daftary in *EI*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. Ahl al-Kisā'.

<sup>1679</sup> This refers to al-Hasan's mother Fāṭima, the Prophet's daughter.

<sup>1680</sup> Arabic *wa-in kānat arfusunā ghayra qāliyatin li-hayātika*. The meaning is unclear. It could be: "blessings to you dead, although we wish you were still alive," or: "blessings to you dead but also alive—for we do not loathe your life, although it may not have been exemplary." The latter meaning would fit the second part of the invocation (see the next footnote).

<sup>1681</sup> This seems like a pointed reference to al-Hasan's peace agreement with Mu'āwiya. By saying "We do not regret how you lived, and we are sure you made the right choice (in renouncing power)," Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyā is implying exactly the opposite.

and said: "It's my house, and I won't allow anyone into it."<sup>1682</sup> Al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr<sup>1683</sup> came to her and said, "Aunt, we haven't washed our heads from the Battle of the Red Camel; do you want them to talk about the Battle of the Grey Mule?" So she turned back. A throng consisting of a large number of people gathered with al-Ḥusayn b. ʻAlī; they said, "Let us at the family of Marwān, for in our view, by God, they are only a few in our estimation."<sup>1684</sup> He said, "My brother has enjoined me not to spill a cupping-glass of blood because of him." So al-Ḥasan was buried in al-Baqī'.<sup>1685</sup> He was 47 years old.

When al-Ḥasan b. ʻAlī died, Ibn ʻAbbās was with Muʻāwiya. When the news of al-Ḥasan's death reached Muʻāwiya, he went to Ibn ʻAbbās and said to him, "Ibn ʻAbbās, al-Ḥasan has died." Ibn ʻAbbās said: "*Surely we belong to God, and to Him we return,*"<sup>1686</sup> however grave the calamity and great the misfortune.

<sup>2:268</sup> By God, Muʻāwiya, if al-Ḥasan has died, | his death will not postpone your appointed time, neither will his body fill up your pit. He has passed on to a good state, while you survive in an evil state." Muʻāwiya said, "I expect he has left young children."<sup>1687</sup> Ibn ʻAbbās said, "Each of us was young and then grew up."<sup>1688</sup> Muʻāwiya said: "Well, well, Ibn ʻAbbās! You have become head of your family."<sup>1689</sup> Ibn ʻAbbās said, "Not as long as God preserves Abū 'Abdallāh al-Ḥusayn, the descendant of God's Messenger."

<sup>1682</sup> The issue here is that Muḥammad had been buried in the place where he had died, which was ʻĀisha's apartment; hence her ownership of the site. See al-Tabarī, *Taʼrīkh*, 1:1832.

<sup>1683</sup> Al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr, the grandson of the first caliph, was brought up by his paternal aunt ʻĀisha after his father was killed. Known for his piety, he later was accounted one of the "seven jurists of Medina" to whom an important role in the formation of Islamic law was attributed. See the article by Ch. Pellat in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Fukahā' al-Madīna al-Sab'a*.

<sup>1684</sup> The Arabic *mā hum 'indanā illā ka-akalati ra'sin* (They are in our view nought but like the eaters of one head of cattle), is proverbial for a small number. See Ibn Manzūr, *Lisān al-ʻArab*, s.v. 'K-L. Note that C (and Houtsma) omit the word *illā* (except/but).

<sup>1685</sup> That is, Baqī' al-Gharqad, the main cemetery of Medina. See the article by Werner Ende in *EI*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. *Baqī' al-Gharqad*.

<sup>1686</sup> Qurʼān 2:156, words normally recited on the occasion of a death.

<sup>1687</sup> Reading with M, *inni la-aḥsabuhu qad khallafa sibyatan ṣighāran*. C's *lā aḥsabuhu* (I do not think he) led Houtsma to add *illā* (except) to the sentence to preserve the sense.

<sup>1688</sup> Reading with M, *kullunā kāna ṣaghīran fa-kabura*. C and ed. Leiden read *kullamā kāna ṣaghīran fa-kabura* (Whenever he was young, he grew up); see Landberg, *Critica* 1:48.

<sup>1689</sup> Arabic *sayyid qawmika* (the master of your people), in the sense of the senior member of an extended family.

Al-Hasan b. 'Alī was generous and noble, and he resembled God's Messenger in appearance and character. When he was asked what he had heard from God's Messenger, he said: "I heard him say to a man, 'Leave that which causes you disquiet, for evil is that which occasions disquiet and good is that which occasions tranquility.'<sup>1690</sup> I also recall from him that that while I was walking with him along the rugged ground<sup>1691</sup> of al-Dayqa,<sup>1692</sup> I picked up a date and tossed it into my mouth. God's Messenger put his finger inside my mouth, took out the date, and threw it away, saying, 'Charity (*sadaqa*) is not permissible for Muhammad and Muhammad's family.'<sup>1693</sup> I also learned from him the five prayers."

Al-Hasan performed the pilgrimage fifteen times on foot; he gave up all his money twice; and he gave up half his possessions as charity to God, may He be glorified and exalted, three times, even giving away one shoe and keeping the other, and giving away one slipper and keeping the other.

Mu'awiya said to al-Hasan, "Abū Muḥammad, there are three traits about which I found no one who would inform me." "What are they?" asked al-Hasan. Mu'awiya said, "Manliness, generosity, and courage." Al-Hasan said: "As for manliness, it is that one should care for his religion, manage his fortune well, be open-handed, spread greetings, and be affectionate to people. As for generosity, it is giving before being asked, volunteering benefits, and feeding during droughts. Finally, courage is defending neighbors, protecting during | adversity, and being patient in times of hardship."  
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Jābir<sup>1694</sup> said: I heard al-Hasan say: "The noble qualities of character are ten: truthfulness of the tongue; firmness of courage; giving to those who ask; goodness of disposition; requiting with good deeds; kindness to relatives; safeguarding neighbors; acknowledging another's rights; hospitality to guests; and, foremost among them, a sense of shame."

<sup>1690</sup> The ḥadīth, particularly its first half, is famous; see al-Tawḥīdī, *al-Baṣā'ir*, 7:213 (no. 652). A longer version is cited and translated in Lane, *Lexicon*, 3:198, s.v. R-Y-B.

<sup>1691</sup> Reading *hazn* with M. The word is unpointed in C and was read by Houtsma as *jurn* (basin).

<sup>1692</sup> Al-Dayqa is a road between al-Tā'if and Ḥunayn. See Yāqūt, *Buldān*, 3:465.

<sup>1693</sup> There is a similar ḥadīth in al-Haythamī, *Majma' al-zawā'id*, 3:91: "Charity is not permissible for us or for our clients." Al-Hasan assumed that it was lawful for him to pick up a date from the road like any Muslim, since its owner would consider its loss to be charity to Muslims. The Prophet's saying distinguishes his family from the rest of the Muslims; whereas the latter may accept charity, the former may not.

<sup>1694</sup> Possibly to be identified as Jābir b. 'Abdallāh al-Ansārī, who has been mentioned above at ed. Leiden, 2:231.

Al-Hasan was asked, “Who leads the best life?” He said, “Whoever shares his livelihood with others.” Asked who leads the worst life, he said, “Whoever does not enliven others with his livelihood.”

Al-Hasan said: “Forgoing one’s need is better than seeking it from those who are unworthy. Worse than calamity is bad character. Worship is the expectation of relief.”

Al-Hasan b. ‘Ali called for his sons and his brother’s sons and said: “My sons and nephews, you are young among people, but soon you will be old among other people; so acquire knowledge. Whoever of you is not capable of transmitting or memorizing knowledge, let him write it down and keep it in his home.”

A man said to al-Hasan, “I am afraid of death.” He said: “That is because you have set your wealth behind you. If you had set it before you, you would have been pleased to overtake it.”

Mu‘āwiya said: “There is no one who spoke in my presence for whom when he spoke I was more eager that he not stop than al-Hasan b. ‘Alī. I never heard him utter an indecent word except once. There was a dispute between al-Husayn b. ‘Alī<sup>1695</sup> and ‘Amr b. Uthmān b. ‘Affān about a piece of land. Al-Husayn made an offer that ‘Amr did not accept. At that point al-Hasan said, ‘We have nothing for him except to rub his nose in the dust.’<sup>1696</sup> That was the most indecent utterance I ever heard from him.”

One day Mu‘āwiya asked al-Hasan, “What must we do in our domain?” Al-Hasan said, “What Solomon son of David said.” Mu‘āwiya said, “And what did Solomon son of David say?” Al-Hasan said: “He said to a companion of his: ‘Do you know what a king should do in his kingdom and what will not harm him? | If he performs his duties toward it, fears God in secret and in public, acts justly in anger and contentment, takes the middle road in poverty and wealth, does not take monies unlawfully, and does not consume them intemperately and prodigally, then whatever he enjoys of his worldly life that agrees with his natural disposition will not harm him.’”

Al-Hasan said: “Whenever someone asked God’s Messenger for something, he would not turn him away except having granted it, together with some soothing words.”

<sup>1695</sup> Reading with M, *al-Husayn b. ‘Alī*, here and in the next sentence. C and ed. Leiden read *al-Hasan b. ‘Alī*, which is less likely, as the incident seems to suppose the presence of three people, with al-Hasan speaking to al-Husayn about ‘Amr in the third person.

<sup>1696</sup> Arabic *illā mā raghama anfahu*, used in the sense of humbling someone’s pride or forcing someone to do something against his will.

One day, al-Hasan passed a preacher<sup>1697</sup> telling stories at the door of the mosque of God's Messenger. "What are you?" asked al-Hasan. The man said, "I am a story-teller, O descendant of God's Messenger." Al-Hasan said: "You lie! Muḥammad is the story-teller: God, may He be glorified and exalted, said, 'Recite the story!'"<sup>1698</sup> The man said, "Then I am a reminder." Al-Hasan said: "You lie! Muḥammad is the reminder: God, may He be glorified and exalted, said to him: 'Remind them! You are only a reminder!'"<sup>1699</sup> The man said, "Then what am I?" Al-Hasan said, "A sham among men."

Al-Hasan had eight sons: Al-Hasan b. al-Hasan, whose mother was Khawla bt. Manzūr al-Fazāriyya; Zayd b. al-Hasan, whose mother was Umm Bashīr bt. Abī Mas'ūd al-Anṣārī al-Khazrajī; 'Umar, al-Qāsim, Abū Bakr, and 'Abd al-Rahmān, who were born to various slave women; Ṭalḥa; and 'Ubaydallāh.

When al-Hasan died and the Shī'a<sup>1700</sup> received word of it, they met in Kufa in the house of Sulaymān b. Ṣurad,<sup>1701</sup> and among them were the sons of Ja'da b. Hubayra. They wrote to al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī, consoling him for his affliction by the death of al-Hasan:

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate. To al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī from his Shī'a and the Shī'a of his father, the Commander of the Faithful. Peace be upon you. We praise to you God, other than Whom there is no god. We have received word of the death of al-Hasan b. 'Alī, | God's peace be upon him, the day he was born, and the day he dies, and the day he is raised up alive.<sup>1702</sup> May God forgive his sins, accept his good deeds, and join him with His Prophet; may He multiply your reward for being afflicted by him, and through you repair the misfortune after him. We entrust him to God:<sup>1703</sup> Surely we belong to God, and to Him

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<sup>1697</sup> Arabic *qāṣṣ* (plural *quṣṣāṣ*), a popular story-teller or preacher, someone who commented on or fleshed out the narratives of the Qur'ān. See the article by Ch. Pellat in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Ḳāṣṣ*.

<sup>1698</sup> Qur'ān 7:176.

<sup>1699</sup> Qur'ān 88:21.

<sup>1700</sup> Arabic *al-Shī'a*: this seems to be al-Ya'qūbi's first use of this term (literally, "party, supporters") in a technical sense. See the article by W. Madelung in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Shī'a*.

<sup>1701</sup> Sulaymān b. Ṣurad b. al-Jawn al-Khuza'ī (d. Jumādā I 65/January 685) would later lead the failed Tawwābūn rebellion (see below, ed. Leiden, 2:306, 308, 321). See the article by E. Kohlberg in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Sulaymān b. Ṣurad.

<sup>1702</sup> Cf. Qur'ān 19:15 (where the formula refers to the John the Baptist) and 19:33 (where it refers to Jesus). "God's peace be upon him" (*salāmu llāhi 'alayhi*), which is necessary for the sense, appears in M, but is omitted in ed. Leiden.

<sup>1703</sup> Reading with M, *fa-'indahu naḥtasibuhu*. Houtsma read C as *fa-'inda taḥsibihu*, which

*we return.*<sup>1704</sup> How great is that with which this Community as a whole has been stricken, and you and this Shī'a in particular, with the demise of the son of the Trustee<sup>1705</sup> and the son of the Prophet's daughter: the signpost of right guidance and the light of the lands, who, it was hoped, would establish religion and restore the conduct of the righteous! Bear your affliction patiently, may God have mercy on you: *surely that is true constancy.*<sup>1706</sup> In you there is a successor to the one who was before you, and God will bring to the right way those who are guided by your guidance. We are your Shī'a, stricken by your affliction, saddened by your sorrow, happy at your happiness, proceeding in accordance with your conduct, and waiting for your command. May God cause your chest to dilate, exalt your fame,<sup>1707</sup> make great your reward, forgive your sins, and restore to you your right.<sup>1708</sup>

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After the death of al-Hasan b. ‘Alī, Mu‘āwiya had allegiance sworn to his son Yazid as heir apparent. Only four people failed to swear allegiance: al-Husayn b. ‘Alī, ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Umar, ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Abī Bakr, and ‘Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr. ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Umar said: “Shall we pledge allegiance to one who plays with monkeys and dogs, drinks wine, and displays wantonness? What would be our excuse in God’s sight?” ‘Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr said: “One owes no obedience to a creature when it involves disobedience to a Creator. He<sup>1709</sup> has indeed corrupted our religion!”

does not have any meaning, while Landberg, 48, replaced the pronoun in ‘indahu with the clarifying noun *Allāh*, hence ‘inda llāhi nahtasibhu. The expression is almost formulaic.

<sup>1704</sup> Qur’ān 2:156.

<sup>1705</sup> Arabic *ibn al-waṣī*. M reads *ibn al-raḍī*, or, less likely, *ibn al-riḍā* (the son of the one pleasing [to God]). This is probably an orthographic confusion rather than an attempt at replacing what came to be a technical term for ‘Ali in Shī‘ism, *al-waṣī*, with a nontechnical one, *al-raḍī*.

<sup>1706</sup> Qur’ān 42:43.

<sup>1707</sup> The last two sentences are a reformulation of Qur’ān 94:1, 4, in which God addresses Muhammad; they read: “Have we not caused your chest to dilate” and “And exalted your fame,” respectively.

<sup>1708</sup> If one follows the author’s use of titles, one would need to insert after this paragraph and before the next a title that reads something like “Back to the Days of Mu‘āwiya b. Abī Sufyān.” There is no title in either MSS.

<sup>1709</sup> It is clear that Mu‘āwiya is intended, not his son.

In that year<sup>1710</sup> Mu‘āwiya performed the pilgrimage. He courted the men, but he did not force them to pledge allegiance.

Mu‘āwiya appointed his son Yazīd to lead the summer campaign; with him was Sufyān b. ‘Awf al-Ghāmidī.<sup>1711</sup> Sufyān entered Byzantine territory before Yazīd, but the Muslims came down with fever and smallpox in | Byzantine territory. Now Umm Kulthūm bt. ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Āmir<sup>1712</sup> was the wife of Yazīd b. Mu‘āwiya, and he loved her. So when Yazīd learned of how the troops had come down with fever and smallpox, he said:

I care not what their hosts encountered  
of fever and smallpox at Ghadhqadhūna,<sup>1713</sup>  
So long as I am reclining on rugs in rooms  
in Dayr Murrān,<sup>1714</sup> with Umm Kulthūm next to me.

When Mu‘āwiya got word of this, he said, “I swear by God: you shall enter Byzantine territory, and let what befell them befall you!” So he made Yazīd follow that army, and he campaigned until he reached Constantinople.

Mu‘āwiya dispatched ‘Uqba b. Nāfi‘ al-Fihri to Ifriqiya. He conquered it, and he laid out and built its garrison town, al-Qayrawān;<sup>1715</sup> its site had been a wilderness of trees and grasses inhabited by lions. That was in the year 50.<sup>1716</sup> Then Mu‘āwiya replaced ‘Uqba b. Nāfi‘ al-Fihri with Dīnār Abū l-Muhājir,<sup>1717</sup> a

<sup>1710</sup> That is, 44 A.H. (see *al-Ya‘qūbī*, ed. Leiden, 2:284 below). The pilgrimage month (Dhū l-Hijja) began on February 23, 665 in that year.

<sup>1711</sup> Both MSS read al-‘Āmirī, corrected by Houtsma in the *Addenda et emendanda* of volume 1 of the Leiden edition. Sufyān b. ‘Awf al-Ghāmidī had participated in the conquests since the time of ‘Uthmān and had led several of Mu‘āwiya’s summer campaigns. See above, ed. Leiden, 2:195.

<sup>1712</sup> She was the daughter of the famous governor of Basra and general in Khurāsān under ‘Uthmān, ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Āmir b. Kurayz, who has been mentioned above.

<sup>1713</sup> Ghadhqadhūna (or Khadhqadhūna) was the name of the Syrian frontier district with Byzantium. It included such towns as al-Maṣṣīṣa and Tarsus. See Yāqūt, *Buldān*, 4:188, where the two verses are cited.

<sup>1714</sup> Dayr Murrān was a monastery near Damascus. See Yāqūt, *Buldān*, 2:533–534, where the two verses are cited.

<sup>1715</sup> The text has *qayrawānahā* (its Qayrawān). The word means the place of troops, but it is also the name of the garrison town which ‘Uqba founded in what is today Tunisia and which developed into an important military, political, and cultural center. See the article by M. Talbi in *EY*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Kayrawān.

<sup>1716</sup> 50 A.H. = January 29, 670 – January 17, 671.

<sup>1717</sup> Dīnār Abū l-Muhājir was a client of Maslama b. Mukhallad, who was the governor of

client (*mawlā*) of the Anṣār. Dīnār captured ‘Uqba b. Nāfi’, imprisoned him, and shackled him; he remained in prison for some months; then Dīnār set him free. When ‘Uqba arrived in Egypt, ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ sent him back to the Maghrib—some say that ‘Amr received a letter from Mu‘āwiya commanding him to do so. When ‘Uqba came to Ifrīqiya, he captured Dīnār and imprisoned him. A Berber named Ibn al-Kāhina<sup>1718</sup> revolted against ‘Uqba. ‘Uqba remained in charge of the province throughout the days of Mu‘āwiya and Yazid b. Mu‘āwiya.

Al-Mughīra b. Shu‘ba died in the year 51.<sup>1719</sup> Mu‘āwiya appointed Ziyād over Kufa and joined it to him, along with Basra. Thus he was the first person for whom the two garrison towns were united (under one governor). Ziyād wrote to Mu‘āwiya:

2:273 My left hand is busy with Iraq, but my right hand is empty. Would | the Commander of the Faithful consider appointing me to be in charge of the pilgrimage?

Mu‘āwiya therefore sent him a letter appointing him over the Ḥijāz—others say over the pilgrimage. So ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Umar used to come in and say, “Lift up your hands and pray to God to protect you from Ziyād’s right hand!”

Someone has related that Abū Bakra, Ziyād’s brother,<sup>1720</sup> came to Ziyād. Abū Bakra addressed a young boy of Ziyād’s—he had sworn he would not talk to Ziyād himself ever since Ziyād had reneged from testifying against al-Mughīra.<sup>1721</sup> He said: “Son, your father has committed a grave sin in Islam: he has reviled his mother and dissociated himself from his father.”<sup>1722</sup> Now he

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Egypt, Ifrīqiya, and the Maghrib from 50/670 to 62/681. Maslama appointed his client Abū l-Muhājir over Ifrīqiya in 50/670–671, in place of ‘Uqba b. Nāfi’. Abū l-Muhājir mistreated ‘Uqba and burned al-Qayrawān, whereupon ‘Uqba went to Mu‘āwiya. In 59/678–679, Abū l-Muhājir campaigned for two years in Ifrīqiya, making peace agreements with Qarṭājanna and Tūnis, and conquering Mila. He was killed in 63/682–683 while fighting Kusayla in the Maghrib. See Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta’rikh*, 223, 226, 251; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh*, 2:94; Ibn ‘Idhārī, *al-Bayān al-mughrib fī akhbār al-Andalus wa-l-Maghrib*, 1:21–22.

<sup>1718</sup> “Son of the Kāhina”: the Kāhina (“the Sorceress,” d. c. 78/697–698) was the guiding spirit of Berber resistance to the Arabs. See the article by M. Talbi in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Kāhina.

<sup>1719</sup> 51A.H. = January 18, 671 – January 7, 672.

<sup>1720</sup> Abū Bakra al-Thaqafī was Ziyād’s half-brother on the mother’s side. See above, ed. Leiden, 2:166–167, 181.

<sup>1721</sup> On this, see above ed. Leiden, 2:166–167, 181.

<sup>1722</sup> Abū Bakra is referring to Ziyād’s endorsement of Mu‘āwiya’s initiative to claim him as his own father’s, Abū Sufyān’s, son, thus tainting his mother, Sumayya, with adultery,

intends to do something even worse: to pass through Medina and ask permission of Umm Ḥabiba bt. Abī Sufyān to visit her. If she gives him permission, what a great calamity it will be for God's Messenger and the Muslims! If she does not, then what a great disgrace it will be for your father!"<sup>1723</sup> Ziyād therefore delayed his departure.

Whenever al-Mughīra and other supporters of Mu‘āwiya cursed ‘Alī from the pulpit, Ḥujr b. ‘Adī l-Kindī, ‘Amr b. al-Ḥamīq al-Khuza‘ī, and their supporters from the party (*shī‘a*) of ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭalib would stand up, curse them in return, and speak evil of the matter. When Ziyād came to Kufa, he delivered a notorious sermon of his. Having neither praised God nor blessed Muḥammad,<sup>1724</sup> he fulminated and thundered, threatened and menaced, disavowed the talk of those who talked, and warned and frightened them. Then he said:

I have called the she-dog from the pulpit a calamity.<sup>1725</sup> So, if I threaten or promise you, and I do not fulfill my promise and threat to you, you owe me no obedience.

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and disavowing his true father, ‘Ubayd. See above, particularly the testimony of Abū Maryam al-Qurashi al-Makkī (ed. Leiden, 2:259–260). It should be kept in mind that Sumayya was also the mother of the speaker, Abū Bakra.

<sup>1723</sup> Umm Ḥabiba bt. Abī Sufyān, Mu‘āwiya's sister, had been a wife of the Prophet, and as such she was veiled from receiving Muslims, unless they were closely related to her. Therefore, if she allowed Ziyād to enter her presence, she would be acknowledging him as her relative: her half-brother, the son of her father, Abū Sufyān; which would be a travesty, since Ziyād, Abū Bakra implies, was not the son of Abū Sufyān. If, on the other hand, she refused him entry, she would be implying that her brother, Mu‘āwiya, lied to the community when he claimed that Ziyād was Abū Sufyān's son; which, in Abū Bakra's view, would be damaging for the caliphate.

<sup>1724</sup> On account of the omission of the customary introductory formula of praise and benediction, this sermon became known as *al-batrā’* (the truncated); see al-Jāhīz, *al-Bayān wa-l-tabyīn*, 2:61.

<sup>1725</sup> The text and translation are uncertain. The translation follows Houtsma's reading: *qad sammaytu l-kalbata ‘alā l-minbari l-ṣal‘ā’*. But the word *al-kalba* in both MSS is *al-kulya* (the kidney, or a thing shaped like it in a bow or an arrow; also the lower parts of a cloud; see Ibn Manzūr, *Lisān al-‘Arab*, s.v. K.L.W/Y); and the word *sammaytu* is *sammantu* (I fattened) in M and unpointed in C. Even worse, M appears to read *al-ḍal‘ā’* (strong in rib or in tooth) for *al-ṣal‘ā’* (calamity). Then there is the possibility that the verb is in the passive: *summiyat* (was called). The parallel texts have nothing resembling this sentence. The sentence as translated might be Ziyād's way of telling the people that he is going to be very firm with them, so that he would consider even an innocuous creature such as the she-dog a calamity.

There had been friendship between Ziyād and Ḥujr b. ‘Adī; so Ziyād sent for him and had him brought in. Then he said to him, “Ḥujr, do you recall how much I used to love and support ‘Alī?” Ḥujr said, “Yes.” Ziyād said: “God has transformed it into hatred and hostility. Do you recall how much I used | to hate and show hostility to Mu‘āwiya?” Ḥujr said, “Yes.” Ziyād said: “God has transformed it into love and support. Therefore, let me not learn that you have spoken [well] of ‘Alī or evil of the Commander of the Faithful Mu‘āwiya.”

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Then Ziyād received word that they were holding meetings in which they would talk and foam with rage<sup>1726</sup> against him and against Mu‘āwiya, mention their faults, and incite the people. He sent the his chief of police to them; he arrested a number of them, and they were killed. ‘Amr b. al-Ḥāmiq al-Khuzaī, along with a number of others, fled to Mosul. Ziyād took Ḥujr b. ‘Adī l-Kindī and thirteen of his associates and sent them to Mu‘āwiya. Concerning them he wrote:

They have opposed the community (*al-jamā‘a*) in the cursing of Abū Turāb<sup>1727</sup> and disparaged the rulers. They have thereby departed from obedience.

Ziyād also sent testimonies by certain people, the first of whom was Bilāl b. Abī Burda b. Abī Mūsā al-Ash‘arī.<sup>1728</sup>

When they arrived in Marj ‘Adhrā’, a few miles from Damascus, Mu‘āwiya ordered that they be stopped there; then he sent someone to behead them. When certain people spoke to Mu‘āwiya on behalf of six of them, he held

<sup>1726</sup> Reading *yuzbidūna*. The word is unpointed in the MSS. Houtsma read it as *yudabbirūna* (plot).

<sup>1727</sup> Abū Turāb (Dusty) is a nickname of ‘Alī. Various explanations are given. See the article by L. Vecchia Vaglieri in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. ‘Alī b. Abī Tālib, and the longer discussion by Theodor Nöldeke, “Zur tendenziösen Gestaltung der Urgeschichte des Islām’s,” esp. 29–30.

<sup>1728</sup> Al-Ya‘qūbī has mistakenly identified the first witness against Ḥujr as Bilāl b. Abī Burda b. Abī Mūsā al-Ash‘arī, rather than Bilāl’s father, Abū Burda b. Abī Mūsā al-Ash‘arī (see al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:131–132). Abū Burda ‘Āmir (or al-Hārith) b. Abī Mūsā was a judge in Kufa who died in 103/721–723 or 104/722–723. See Ibn Sa‘d, *Tabaqāt*, 6:187; Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta’rīkh*, 296, 330. His son Bilāl is mentioned for the first time in the year 109/727–728 (al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:1506). He was a chief of police, prayer leader, and then governor of Basra during the governorship of Khālid al-Qasrī over Iraq, and died c. 126/743–744. See Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta’rīkh*, 351, 358, 361; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:1506, 1526, 1593, 1657. See also the article by Michael Lecker in *EI*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. al-Ash‘arī, Abū Mūsā.

off from them, but he killed seven men:<sup>1729</sup> Ḥujr b. ‘Adī al-Kindī, Sharīk b. Shaddād al-Ḥadramī,<sup>1730</sup> Ṣayfī b. Fasīl al-Shaybānī,<sup>1731</sup> Qabīṣa b. Ḍubay‘a al-Absī<sup>1732</sup> Muḥrīz b. Shihāb al-Tamīmī,<sup>1733</sup> and Kidām b. Ḥayyān al-‘Anazī.<sup>1734</sup>

When the executioner was about to kill them, Ḥujr b. ‘Adī l-Kindī said, “Wait until I pray.” He prayed two short *rak‘as*; then he turned to them and said: “Had I not feared that you would wrongly interpret what I feel, I should have liked them to be longer than they were. I was the first to shoot an arrow at this place, and I shall be the first to perish in it.”<sup>1735</sup> Someone asked him, “Are you anxious?” He said: “Why should I not be anxious when I see a drawn sword, an unfolded shroud, and a dug grave?” Then he and his companions were beheaded, and they were shrouded and buried. That was in the year 52.<sup>1736</sup>

Mu'āwiya said to al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī, “Abū ‘Abdallāh, do you know | that we have killed your father's partisans (*shī'a*): we have embalmed them, shrouded them, prayed over them, and buried them?” Al-Ḥusayn said: “They have defeated you

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<sup>1729</sup> Al-Ya'qūbī gives only six names. According to al-Tabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 2:143, the seventh victim was ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Ḥassān al-‘Anazī. Mu'āwiya sent him to Ziyād with instructions to kill him, and Ziyād sent him to Quss al-Nāṭif, where he was buried alive. See also *ibid.*, 2:136, 140, 142–143.

<sup>1730</sup> On Sharīk b. Shaddād al-Ḥadramī, see al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, IV/1, 253, 262; al-Tabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 2:136, 143; Ibn ‘Asākir, *Dimashq*, 73:169, and 8:21; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 3:483, 486.

<sup>1731</sup> On Ṣayfī b. Fasīl (or Fushayl, or Qasīl) al-Shaybānī, see Khalīfa b. Khayyāt, *Ta'rīkh*, 213; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, IV/1, 251, 253, 262; al-Tabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 1:3372–3373, 2:129, 136, 143, 147; Ibn ‘Asākir, *Dimashq*, 24:257; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 3:478.

<sup>1732</sup> On Qabīṣa b. Ḍubay‘a al-Absī, see Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, 6:161; Khalīfa b. Khayyāt, *Ta'rīkh*, 213; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, IV/1, 253, 262; al-Tabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 1:2607, 3381, 2:128, 134, 136, 141, 143; Ibn ‘Asākir, *Dimashq*, 49:264.

<sup>1733</sup> On Muḥrīz b. Shihāb al-Tamīmī, see Khalīfa b. Khayyāt, *Ta'rīkh*, 213; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, IV/1, 253, 262; al-Tabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 1:3373, 2:48, 50, 136, 143; Ibn ‘Asākir, *Dimashq*, 57:80.

<sup>1734</sup> On Kidām b. Ḥayyān al-‘Anazī, see al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, IV/1, 253, 266; al-Tabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 2:136, 143.

<sup>1735</sup> This refers to the story that he conquered the district of Marj ‘Adhrā'. See the article by Wilferd Madelung in *EI*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. Ḥujr b. ‘Adī l-Kindī.

<sup>1736</sup> 52 A.H. = January 8 – December 26, 672. Al-Ya'qūbī is the only historian who gives this date. Other sources place the killing of Ḥujr and his associates either in the previous year, 51 A.H. (Khalīfa b. Khayyāt, *Ta'rīkh*, 213; al-Tabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 2:11; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 3:472), or in the following year, 53 A.H. (al-Mas'ūdī, *Muriy*, 3:188 [§ 1773]). Ibn ‘Asākir, *Dimashq*, 12:232, mentions both dates. Al-Balādhurī, al-Dīnawarī, and Ibn A'ṭham give no date.

with their argument,<sup>1737</sup> by the Lord of the Ka'ba! By God, if we had killed your partisans (*shī'a*), we would not have shrouded them, embalmed them, prayed over them, or buried them!"<sup>1738</sup>

‘Aisha said to Mu‘āwiya when he performed the pilgrimage and visited her: “Mu‘āwiya, have you killed Ḥujr and his companions? Where did your forbearance go when it came to them?”<sup>1739</sup> By God, I once heard God’s Messenger say, ‘There will be killed in Marj ‘Adhrā’ a band for whose sake the inhabitants of heaven will be angry.’” Mu‘āwiya said, “There was no discerning man in my presence, Mother of the Faithful.”

It is related that Mu‘āwiya used to say, “I no longer consider myself forbearing after having killed Ḥujr and Ḥujr’s companions.”

When ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Umm al-Ḥakam, Mu‘āwiya’s governor over Mosul, learned where ‘Amr b. al-Hāmiq al-Khuzā‘ī and Rifa‘a b. Shaddād<sup>1740</sup> were, he sent men to pursue them. They departed, fleeing. ‘Amr b. al-Hāmiq was very ill. At some point along the road, a snake bit ‘Amr. “God is great!” he exclaimed. “The Messenger of God once said to me, ‘Amr, both the *jinn* and mankind will participate in your killing.’”<sup>1741</sup> Then he said to Rifa‘a, “Go about your business, for I am going to be captured and killed.” The men sent out by ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Umm al-Ḥakam caught up with him and captured him. His head was struck off, impaled on a spear, and paraded around; it was the first head that was paraded around in Islam. Mu‘āwiya had imprisoned his wife in Damascus. When his head arrived, he sent it and it was placed on her lap. She told the messenger: “Say to Mu‘āwiya what I say: ‘May God demand ‘Amr’s blood from him and hasten to him the woe of His vengeance, for he has committed a monstrous deed and has killed one who is godly and pure.’” Mu‘āwiya was the first to imprison women for the crimes of men.

<sup>1737</sup> Reading with M: *hajjūka*. Houtsma read C as *hujraka* and supplied the word *ta'nī* (“Do you mean your Ḥujr?”), but this is forced.

<sup>1738</sup> Al-Ḥusayn means that although Mu‘āwiya’s treated Ḥujr and his companions as the Muslims that they were, Mu‘āwiya’s partisans, should they die, would not be treated as Muslims by al-Ḥusayn’s men.

<sup>1739</sup> This refers to Mu‘āwiya’s legendary forbearance (*hilm*), the ability to accomplish his purposes without violence. See, e.g., al-Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj*, 3:222–223 (§ 1837–1838).

<sup>1740</sup> Rifa‘a b. Shaddād al-Bajalī was a partisan of ‘Alī and an associate of ‘Amr b. al-Hāmiq al-Khuzā‘ī. Later, as an associate of Sulaymān b. Ṣurad, he fought in the unsuccessful uprising of the Tawwābūn at ‘Ayn al-Warda in 65/684–685. He was killed by al-Mukhtār in 66/85–86. See Naṣr b. Muzāhim, *Waq‘at Siffīn*, 205; Khalīfa b. Khayyāt, *Ta‘rīkh*, 195, 263; al-Tabarī, *Ta‘rīkh*, index; al-Ṭūsī, *Rijāl*, 41, 43, 94.

<sup>1741</sup> Cf. Qur‘ān 20:20, where Moses’ rod is said to have turned into a snake, and 27:10 and 28:31, where the same rod is likened to a *jinnī*.

The Khārijites Qurayb and Zahhāf<sup>1742</sup> revolted with a group of Khārijites in Basra. They targeted and killed a large number of the police (*shurāt*). Proceeding to the congregational mosque, | they killed many people; then they turned to the tribal neighborhoods and did the same thing. Ziyād was in Kufa; his agent in charge of Basra was 'Ubaydallāh b. Abī Bakra.<sup>1743</sup> 'Ubaydallāh fought the Khārijites, but when he found himself unable to defeat them, he wrote to Ziyād, who set out at once. Arriving in Basra, he proceeded to the governor's mansion (*dār al-imāra*) and said:

People of Basra! What is this that I find in your midst? I give God a pledge: henceforth if any Khārijite revolts against me, I will leave none of his clan and tribe alive. So, spare me your misfortunes.

The orators of Basra rose up, spoke, and apologized.

Mu'āwiya was the first in Islam to institute bodyguards,<sup>1744</sup> police forces,<sup>1745</sup> and gate-keepers;<sup>1746</sup> to drape curtains;<sup>1747</sup> to employ Christians as secretaries; and to have men walk in front of him with lances. He was the first to deduct the alms-tax (*zakāt*) from stipends;<sup>1748</sup> to sit on a throne (*sarīr*) with the people below him; to institute the office of the seal;<sup>1749</sup> to erect tall buildings and

<sup>1742</sup> Qurayb b. Murra and Zahhāf b. Zahr were maternal cousins, the former from the Azd (or lyād) and the latter from the Ṭayyi'. They rebelled, together with 80, 70, or 60 of their supporters, in 50/670–671 or 53/672–673, during the governorship of Ziyād, but were killed by the latter. See Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta'rīkh*, 219–222; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, IV/1, 175; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 2:90–91.

<sup>1743</sup> On 'Ubaydallāh b. Abī Bakra al-Thaqafī, see the article by C. E. Bosworth in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. 'Ubayd Allāh b. Abī Bakra.

<sup>1744</sup> Arabic *haras*, a bodyguard for the ruler.

<sup>1745</sup> Arabic *shurāt* (pl. of *shurṭa*): elite military forces whose function was to impose law and order and to uphold the authority of the newly-established state. See the article by J. S. Nielsen in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Shurṭa*.

<sup>1746</sup> Arabic *bawwābūn* (pl. of *bawwāb*). This seems to be a synonym for the more common term *hājib* (pl. *hujjāb*), the chamberlain who controlled access to the ruler. See the article by C. E. Bosworth in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Hādjib*.

<sup>1747</sup> That is, to employ a curtain (*sitr*, pl. *sutūr*) to conceal himself from the gaze of courtiers or visitors. See the article by C. E. Bosworth in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Hādjib*; and (for its later use) the article by H. Halm in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Sitr*.

<sup>1748</sup> Arabic *a'tyā*, pl. of *'atā'*. The term covers both military pay and civil pensions paid to a variety of classes of Muslims. See the article by Cl. Cahen in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *'Atā'*.

<sup>1749</sup> Arabic *dīwān al-khātam*; to authenticate and prevent falsification of caliphal documents. See al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 2:206, for an account of the incident of falsification said to have occasioned its establishment.

conscript people for their construction (no one before him had done so); and to confiscate people's property for himself.<sup>1750</sup>

Sa'īd b. al-Musayyab<sup>1751</sup> used to say, "May God do thus and so to Mu'āwiya, for he was the first to turn this matter<sup>1752</sup> into kingship." Mu'āwiya used to say, "I am the first of the kings."

One day, 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar traveled to Mu'āwiya, who said, "Abū 'Abdallāh, what do you think of our building?" Ibn 'Umar said, "If it was built with God's money,<sup>1753</sup> you have betrayed your trust; and if it was built with your money, you are a spendthrift."

'Adī b. Ḥātim entered Mu'āwiya's presence. Mu'āwiya asked him, "What do you think of our time, Abū Tarīf?" 'Adī said, "If we tell you the truth, we fear you; and if we lie to you, we fear God." Mu'āwiya said, "I adjure you." 'Adī said: "The justice of this time of yours is the injustice of a time that has passed; and the injustice of this time of yours will be the justice of a time not yet come."<sup>1754</sup>

2:277

During the days of Mu'āwiya, the tax revenues (*kharāj*) of Iraq, along with its dependencies in the (former) kingdom of the Persians, settled at 655,000,000 dirhams.

- The *kharāj* of the Sawād was 120,000,000 dirhams.
- The *kharāj* of Fārs was 70,000,000 dirhams.
- The *kharāj* of al-Ahwāz and its dependencies was 40,000,000 dirhams.
- The *kharāj* of al-Yamāma and al-Baḥrāyn was 15,000,000 dirhams.
- The *kharāj* of Kuwar Dijla<sup>1755</sup> was 10,000,000 dirhams.

<sup>1750</sup> See above, ed. Leiden, 2:258.

<sup>1751</sup> Sa'īd b. al-Musayyab al-Makhzūmī was one of the seven early jurists of Medina to whom tradition attributes a major role in the formation of Islamic law. He died in 94/712–713. See the article by Ch. Pellat in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Fuḳahā al-Madīna al-Sab'a.

<sup>1752</sup> Arabic *hādhā l-amr*; i.e., the caliphate. For many pious Muslims, the assumption by the Umayyads of the title "king" (Arabic *malik*, pl. *mulūk*)—if they in fact assumed it, rather than merely being accused by their opponents of assuming it—was a sign of their abandonment of the Islamic notions of caliphate and imamate. See the article by A. Ayalon in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Malik.

<sup>1753</sup> Arabic *māl Allāh*, referring to the public treasury.

<sup>1754</sup> Reading with M: *mā atā*, instead of Houtsma's emendation *mā ya'ti*. That is, compared to the justice of the first days of Islam, the justice of Mu'āwiya's time is injustice; but because the world will continue to degenerate, what counts as justice in a time to come will be as bad as the injustice of Mu'āwiya's time.

<sup>1755</sup> On Kuwar Dijla, see Morony, *Iraq After the Muslim Conquest*, 101, 161–162, 188.

- The *kharāj* of Nihāwand, Māh Kufa (which is al-Dīnawar), Māh Basra (which is Hamadhān), and the territory of al-Jabal<sup>1756</sup> annexed to it was 40,000,000 dirhams.
- The *kharāj* of al-Rayy and its dependencies was 30,000,000 dirhams.
- The *kharāj* of Ḥulwān was 20,000,000 dirhams.
- The *kharāj* of Mosul, its dependencies and adjacent areas, was 45,000,000 dirhams.
- The *kharāj* of Azerbaijan was 30,000,000 dirhams.

This was after Mu‘āwiya had deducted from every land what the kings of Persia used to set aside for themselves as their exclusive revenue from the cultivated estates:<sup>1757</sup> Mu‘āwiya made them his own exclusive property for himself<sup>1758</sup> and allotted them as grants<sup>1759</sup> to certain members of his family. The governor of Iraq<sup>1760</sup> used to deliver to him 100,000,000 dirhams from the revenue of his caliphal estates in these areas.<sup>1761</sup> It was from them that his grants and gifts came.

In Mu‘āwiya’s days, the *kharāj* of Egypt was established at 3,000,000 dinars, but ‘Amr b. al-Āṣ used to deliver very little of it to Mu‘āwiya.<sup>1762</sup> When ‘Amr died, the revenue was delivered to Mu‘āwiya. The troops would be given their stipends and 1,000,000 dinars would be delivered to him.

<sup>1756</sup> Al-Jabal, or al-Jibāl, is a province in northern Iran.

<sup>1757</sup> Arabic *mā kānat mulūku fārisa tastaṣfihi li-anfusihā min al-diyā‘i l-‘āmirati*. Literally, “what the kings of Persia used to take as *ṣawāfi* (crown property) for themselves from the cultivated estates.”

<sup>1758</sup> Arabic *wa-ja‘alahū ṣāfiyatān lahū li-nafsihi*. The notion of a *ṣāfiya* (pl. *ṣawāfi*) is often rendered as “crown land,” but it is best to keep to the literal sense of the Arabic, or to use the expression “caliphal estates,” rather than introduce notions of “the Crown.” Indeed, the redundancy of the Arabic (“he made them *his* own exclusive property *for himself*”) emphasizes Mu‘āwiya’s personal ownership: that these properties belonged directly to Mu‘āwiya the man, rather than to a legal entity designated as “the Crown.” There is, of course, an implicit criticism of such behavior as an innovation, akin to Mu‘āwiya’s calling himself a king.

<sup>1759</sup> Arabic *fa-aqta‘ahū* (he made it *iqtā‘*). On the history of the term, see the article by Cl. Cahen in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Iqtā‘*.

<sup>1760</sup> Arabic *ṣāḥib al-irāq* (the master of Iraq): most likely the governor, but possibly another official.

<sup>1761</sup> Compare this figure with the figure mentioned above by al-Ya‘qūbī, ed. Leiden, 2:258–259.

<sup>1762</sup> Compare this statement with al-Ya‘qūbī’s earlier statement (ed. Leiden, 2:263): “Amr therefore would not send Mu‘āwiya any of Egypt’s revenue.”

- The *kharāj* of Palestine rested at 450,000 dinars.
- The *kharāj* of Jordan rested at 180,000 dinars.
- 2:278 – The *kharāj* of Damascus rested at 450,000 | dinars.
- The *kharāj* of the military district of Ḥimṣ rested at 350,000 dinars.
- The *kharāj* of Qinnasrīn and the ‘Awāṣim rested at 450,000 dinars.
- The *kharāj* of the Jazīra, consisting of Diyār Muḍar and Diyār Rabī‘a, rested at 55,000,000<sup>1763</sup> dirhams.
- The *kharāj* of Yemen rested at 1,200,000 dinars—others say 900,000 dinars.

When things stabilized for Mu‘āwiya, he appointed Fayrūz al-Daylamī as governor over Yemen. Then he replaced him with ‘Uthmān b. ‘Affān al-Thaqafī.<sup>1764</sup> Later he appointed Ibn Bashīr al-Anṣārī as governor.<sup>1765</sup>

Mu‘āwiya did in Syria, the Jazīra, and Yemen what he had done in Iraq, setting aside for himself and making his own the estates that had belonged to the (former) kings, and he granted them to members of his family and entourage. He was the first to have such estates throughout the world, even in Mecca and Medina, and loads of dates and wheat from them used to be delivered to him every year.

Mu‘āwiya had dispatched Ibn Sawwār b. Hammām<sup>1766</sup> to the frontier of India. Ibn Sawwār marched to Makrān with 4,000 men and stayed there for several months. Then he attacked al-Qīqān and fought its people, doing so boldly. Ibn Sawwār and most of that army were killed; those who survived returned to Makrān. Mu‘āwiya wrote Ziyād to send out a man of determination and judgment; so Ziyād dispatched Sinān b. Salama al-Hudhalī.<sup>1767</sup> Sinān came

<sup>1763</sup> The MSS have 55,000; Houtsma added a second *alf* (thousand), bringing the number up to 55,000,000. Although he gave no reason for this addition, it was probably based on a comparison with the revenue of the other provinces in the list.

<sup>1764</sup> ‘Uthmān b. ‘Affān al-Thaqafī (unrelated to the caliph of similar name) was a Companion of the Prophet who settled in Ḥimṣ. He was sent by the caliph ‘Uthmān b. ‘Affān to Yemen in order to find out what its people were like, and he returned and reported to ‘Uthmān on them. Later Mu‘āwiya appointed him governor of Yemen and Damascus. See Ibn ‘Asākir, *Dimashq*, 38:435; Ibn Samura, *Tabaqāt fiqhahā’ al-Yaman*, 40, 50; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, 3:480; Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣāba*, 2:462.

<sup>1765</sup> Al-Nu‘mān b. Bashīr al-Anṣārī was governor of Yemen for only one year. See Ibn Samura, *Tabaqāt fiqhahā’ al-Yaman*, 50.

<sup>1766</sup> On ‘Abdallāh b. Sawwār b. Hammām al-‘Abdī, see Ibn Sa‘d, *Tabaqāt*, 5:32; Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta’rīkh*, 180, 207, 208; al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 433.

<sup>1767</sup> On Sinān b. Salama b. al-Muḥabbīq al-Hudhalī, see Ibn Sa‘d, *Tabaqāt*, vii/1, 90; Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta’rīkh*, 209, 212–213, 297, 308; al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 433–435; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, 2:357; al-Dhahabī, *Ta’rīkh*, 74.

to Makrān and stayed there. Ziyād then dismissed him and appointed Rāshid b. ‘Amr al-Judaydi al-Azdī. Rāshid attacked al-Qīqān, was victorious, and took booty. He attacked part of Sind and conquered the lands of India—in those days India was less powerful than Sind. Rāshid was killed in Sind.

Ziyād remained in the governorship of Iraq for twelve years. He was shrewd, manly, and forceful. 2:279

Ziyād was the first person to institute registry departments and to have copies made of letters. He recruited secretaries in charge of correspondence from among the Arabs and from among non-Arab converts (*mawālī*) who had acquired eloquence (in Arabic).

[Ziyād used to say:] “The secretaries who record the *kharāj* tax must come from among the chiefs of the non-Arabs who are knowledgeable about matters of the *kharāj*.”

He also used to say: “The foundation of sovereignty (*sultān*) consists of four things: abstaining from unlawful wealth, closeness to those who do good, harshness to evildoers, and truthfulness of tongue.”

He was the first person to give ample salaries to his agents: 1,000 dirhams to each of them and 25,000 dirhams to himself.

Ziyād used to say: “The governor must know the people of his province better than they know themselves.” A man stood up before him and said: “God prosper the Governor! Do you know me?” Ziyād said: “Yes, thoroughly: I know you by your name, your father’s name, your *kunya*,<sup>1768</sup> the chief (*‘arīf*)<sup>1769</sup> of your military unit, your clan (*‘ashīra*), and your family (*fasīla*). I know you all so well that when I see a garment on one of you and then on someone else to whom it has been lent, I recognize it.”

Two men brought their dispute to Ziyād. One of them said: “God prosper the Governor! This man boasts of the favor that he claims to enjoy with the Governor.” Ziyād said: “He has told the truth. I will tell you how it might benefit him and harm you: if you turn out to owe him, I will rigorously make you pay him; however, if he owes you, I will judge against him and myself pay on his behalf.”

Ziyād said from the pulpit: “The greatest liar is a commander who stands on the pulpit with 100,000 people below him and lies to them. By God, I will not

<sup>1768</sup> The *kunya* (agnomen) is the part of a name that identifies the bearer as “father of so-and-so” (*abū fulān*) or “mother of so-and-so” (*umm fulān*).

<sup>1769</sup> On the various divisions which Ziyād instituted in Iraq, as a part of his organization of the military, including the *‘irāfāt*, each headed by an *‘arīf*, see Martin Hinds, “Kūfan Political Alignments and Their Background in the Mid-Seventh Century A.D.,” in *Studies in Early Islamic History*, 2.

promise you a benefit<sup>1770</sup> without fulfilling it, and I will not punish you unless I have commanded you.”<sup>1771</sup>

Ziyād used to say to his companions: “Not every person can reach me, nor is every one who reaches me able to speak. Therefore, put in a good word for those to whom you are favorably disposed, for | I am quite prepared to withhold if I wish to do so.”<sup>2:280</sup>

Ziyād used to say: “There are four offices which should be held only by mature men of vigorous judgment:<sup>1772</sup> the frontier campaigns (*thaghhr*), the summer campaigns, the police, and judgeship. The chief of police must be forceful and far from inattentiveness. The chief of the guard must be mature, abstemious, trustworthy, and of unblemished character. The secretary must have five traits: depth of judgment; ability to flatter; professional mastery; not postponing today’s work until tomorrow; and giving his master good counsel. The chamberlain (*hājib*) must be judicious and intelligent and must have served kings before becoming their chamberlain.”

Ziyād died in Kufa in the year 54.<sup>1773</sup>

It has been related<sup>1774</sup> that Ziyād summoned certain men who he had been told were partisans (*shī'a*) of ‘Alī, so that he might call on them to curse ‘Alī and to repudiate him; otherwise he would strike off their heads. They were seventy men. Ziyād ascended the pulpit and began uttering threats and menaces. One of the men fell asleep while he was sitting, and one of his companions said to him, “Do you fall sleep when you have been brought to be killed?” He said: “Between one column and another there is a difference.<sup>1775</sup> I dreamt of something amazing during my sleep.” “What did you dream?” they asked. He said: “I saw a black man enter the mosque, and his head struck the ceiling. ‘Who are you?’ I asked. He said, ‘I am the severe critic,<sup>1776</sup> the neck-crusher.’

<sup>1770</sup> Reading with M, *khayran*; Houtsma read C as *ajran* (pay).

<sup>1771</sup> Reading with M, *hattā ataqaddama ilaykum*, rather than with C and ed. Leiden, *hattā ataqaddama 'alaykum*. For the idiom, see Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. Q-D-M.

<sup>1772</sup> Literally, “who bite on their wisdom teeth,” a metaphor for vigorousness, soundness, and firmness of judgment. See Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. *nājidh*.

<sup>1773</sup> 54 A.H. = December 16, 673 – December 5, 674. Al-Tabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 2:159, and al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, 3:216 (§ 1824), place his death in the previous year. Al-Mas'ūdī gives a date of Ramaḍān 53 (August 20 – September 18, 673).

<sup>1774</sup> Cf. al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, 3:216 (§ 1824).

<sup>1775</sup> This is apparently proverbial, meaning: we are not all of the same character. The columns are presumably those of the mosque.

<sup>1776</sup> “The severe critic” translates *al-naqqād*, which is Houtsma’s emendation on the basis of al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, 3:216 (§ 1825), where the first part of this report is cited. The MSS have *al-raqqād*, the sleeper, which does not fit the context.

‘Where are you heading?’ I asked. He said: ‘To crush the neck of this tyrant who is speaking on these wooden beams.’<sup>1777</sup> While Ziyād was speaking on the pulpit, suddenly he grasped his finger and cried out, ‘My hand!’ Then he fell from the pulpit unconscious and was brought into the palace. He had been stricken with plague in the little finger of his right hand, and he could not keep still.<sup>1778</sup> A physician was summoned. Ziyād said to him, | ‘Cut off my hand!’ The physician said: ‘Commander, tell me about the pain that you feel: is it in your hand or in your heart?’ Ziyād said: ‘By God, except in my heart!’ The physician said, ‘Then you will be fine.’

When Ziyād was about to die, he wrote to Mu‘āwiya:

I write to the Commander of the Faithful when I am in the last day of this world and the first of the next. I have appointed Khālid b. ‘Abdallāh b. Khālid b. Asīd<sup>1779</sup> as my successor.

When Ziyād died and his bier was set down to be prayed over, his son ‘Ubaydallāh<sup>1780</sup> came forward, but Khālid b. ‘Abdallāh came to him, pushed him aside, and stepped forward and prayed over him.

When Ziyād’s burial was over, ‘Ubaydallāh went immediately to Mu‘āwiya. When Mu‘āwiya was told that it was ‘Ubaydallāh, he said to him: ‘Son, what prevented your father from naming you his successor? If he had done so, I would have done so.’ ‘Ubaydallāh said: ‘I entreat you by God, Commander [of the Faithful]; let no one ask me after you, ‘What prevented his father and his paternal uncle<sup>1781</sup> from appointing him?’’ So Mu‘āwiya appointed him governor over Khurāsān and gave him the two frontiers of India.

<sup>1777</sup> That is, on the pulpit (*minbar*).

<sup>1778</sup> Reading the unpointed word in the MSS as *yataqārr*. Houtsma read it as *yataghādhādh*, meaning perhaps that the infection was suppurating.

<sup>1779</sup> Khālid b. ‘Abdallāh b. Khālid b. Asīd was Basran who lived to a venerable age. During what came to be called the second *fitna*, he sided at first with Muṣ‘ab b. al-Zubayr; then he went over to ‘Abd al-Malik’s side and participated with him in battle in which Muṣ‘ab was killed. ‘Abd al-Malik appointed him twice over Basra, in 71/690–691 and 74/693–694, and al-Walīd I appointed him over Mecca in 93/711–712. See Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta’rikh*, 268, 293, 296; al-Tabarī, *Ta’rikh*, index; Ibn ‘Asākir, *Dimashq*, 16:122; al-Dhababī, *Siyar*, 7:94.

<sup>1780</sup> ‘Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād (d. 67/688), the most prominent of Ziyād’s sons, eventually succeeded his father as governor of Kufa and then of Khurāsān and Basra for Mu‘āwiya and then for Yazid I. See the article by C. F. Robinson in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. ‘Ubayd Allāh b. Ziyād.

<sup>1781</sup> That is, Mu‘āwiya.

When al-Mundhir<sup>1782</sup> died, ‘Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād appointed Sinān b. Salama<sup>1783</sup> in his place. He fought the people of al-Qīqān and al-Būqān,<sup>1784</sup> and God granted him victory over them.

‘Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād went to Khurāsān. He began with Bukhārā, which was ruled at that time by a queen called Khātūn. He fought its people until he conquered the city. Then he crossed the river of Balkh,<sup>1785</sup> becoming the first Arab to cross it. The enemy fought him fiercely, but victory was his. Then he left Khurāsān and came back to Mu‘āwiya, who appointed him governor over Basra in the year 56<sup>1786</sup>—others say at the beginning of the year 57.<sup>1787</sup>

Mu‘āwiya appointed ‘Abdallāh b. Ziyād<sup>1788</sup> governor over Khurāsān, but then he found him to be weak, so he dismissed him from office and appointed ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Ziyād.<sup>1789</sup> But he did not find the latter to be commendable, so he dismissed him. ‘Abd al-Rahmān brought back an enormous fortune. He is reported to have said, “I have brought with me enough money to suffice me for a hundred years at one thousand dirhams a day.” But the fortune evaporated. In the days of al-Hajjāj,<sup>1790</sup> ‘Abd al-Rahmān was seen riding a donkey. “Where is the money?” he was asked. He said: “Nothing | suffices except God’s countenance.<sup>1791</sup> And the donkey isn’t mine; it’s borrowed!”

After ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Ziyād, Mu‘āwiya appointed Sa‘id b. ‘Uthmān b. ‘Affān<sup>1792</sup> over Khurāsān. Sa‘id crossed the river and came to Bukhārā. The queen of Bukhārā, Khātūn, sued for peace, and he agreed to it. Then she

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<sup>1782</sup> That is, al-Mundhir b. al-Jārūd al-‘Abdī (d. 61/680–681 or 62/681–682); see al-Balādhurī, *Futūh*, 432–433.

<sup>1783</sup> Cf. above, ed. Leiden, 2:278.

<sup>1784</sup> For the conquest of al-Qīqān and al-Būqān, see al-Balādhurī, *Futūh*, 432–435.

<sup>1785</sup> The Oxus, known in Arabic as Jayhūn, but also as Nahr Balkh.

<sup>1786</sup> 56 A.H. = November 25, 675 – November 13, 676.

<sup>1787</sup> 57 A.H. = November 14, 676 – November 2, 677.

<sup>1788</sup> On ‘Abdallāh b. Ziyād b. Abīhi, see al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, iv/1, index; al-Tabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, index.

<sup>1789</sup> On ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Ziyād b. Abīhi, see al-Balādhurī, *Futūh*, 355, 413; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, iv/1, index; al-Tabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:13, 188–190, 195, 392; Ibn ‘Asākir, *Dīmashq*, 34:342.

<sup>1790</sup> Al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf al-Thaqafī was the governor of Iraq from 75/694 until his death in 95/714. See the article by A. Dietrich in *ER<sup>2</sup>*, s.v. *Al-Hadjdjādj* b. Yūsuf.

<sup>1791</sup> Alluding to Qur’ān 55:27: “All that dwells upon the earth is perishing, yet still abides (*yabqā*) the Countenance of thy Lord, majestic, splendid.” The speaker has changed *yabqā* to *yakft* (suffices) to echo his previous boast.

<sup>1792</sup> On Sa‘id b. ‘Uthmān b. ‘Affān who was appointed by Mu‘āwiya to be governor of Khurāsān in 56/675–676, see Ibn Sa‘d, *Tabaqāt*, 5:113; Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta’rīkh*, 224, 225; al-Balādhurī, *Futūh*, 411–413, 417, 422; al-Tabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:3056, 2:177–180, 3:2352.

reneged about the agreement, hoping to get the better of Sa‘īd. Sa‘īd fought them, was victorious, and killed a great number of them. He advanced to Samarqand and besieged it, but he was unable to take it. He did, however, capture a fortress in which there were sons of kings. When these fell into his hands, the enemy sued for peace, but he swore that he would not depart until he entered the city; so the city gate was opened for him and he entered. He then bombarded the fortress<sup>1793</sup> of the city with stones. Qutham b. al-‘Abbās b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib was with him and died in Samarqand.<sup>1794</sup> When ‘Abdallāh b. al-‘Abbās received word of his death, he said, “What a great distance there is between where he was born and where he died: he was born in Mecca and his grave is in Samarqand!” Sa‘īd b. ‘Uthmān went back to Mu‘āwiya, who replaced him with Aslam b. Zur‘a.<sup>1795</sup> Sa‘īd went to Medina, taking the captive Soghdian princes with him. They rose up against him and killed him, then they killed each other, so that none of them remained alive. Aslam b. Zur‘a remained for several months; at that time the governors of Khurāsān used to reside in Herat. Then Mu‘āwiya appointed Khulayd b. ‘Abdallāh al-Ḥanafī,<sup>1796</sup> who was his last governor over Khurāsān.

Sa‘d b. Abī Waqqāṣ wanted to have an appointment under Mu‘āwiya, but Mu‘āwiya denied him one, and so he stayed in his house—he used to live in a palace of his ten miles outside of Medina, and he continued to reside in it until he died. His death occurred in the year 55.<sup>1797</sup> He was carried on men’s hands from his palace to Medina, and he was buried in al-Baqī‘.<sup>1798</sup>

Four of the wives of God’s Messenger died during the days of Mu‘āwiya. Hafṣa bt. ‘Umar died in the year 45,<sup>1799</sup> and | Marwān b. al-Hakam, the governor of Medina, prayed over her. Ṣafiyya bt. Ḥuyayy b. Akhṭab died in the year 50.<sup>1800</sup>

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<sup>1793</sup> The text uses the word *quhandiz*, derived from the Persian words *kuhan* (ancient) and *diz* (citadel), the name given in Khurāsān to the citadel or fortress in the middle of a big city. See Yāqūt, *Buldān*, 4:419.

<sup>1794</sup> On the supposed tomb at Samarqand of this cousin of the Prophet, see the article by H. H. Schaeder, C. E. Bosworth, and Yolande Crowe in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Samarqānd.

<sup>1795</sup> On Aslam b. Zur‘a al-Kilābī, see al-Balādhurī, *Futūh*, 363, 368, 413; al-Ya‘qūbī, *Buldān*, 298; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:65, 81, 168, 172, 179, 180, 189, 390–391; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, 1:53.

<sup>1796</sup> On Khulayd b. ‘Abdallāh al-Ḥanafī, see Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta’rīkh*, 165–166; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:2904, 2:79–81, 155–156, 161–163.

<sup>1797</sup> 55 A.H. = December 6, 674 – November 24, 675.

<sup>1798</sup> That is, Baqī‘ al-Gharqad, the cemetery of the Medinans; see the note to 2:267.

<sup>1799</sup> 45 A.H. = March 24, 665 – March 13, 666.

<sup>1800</sup> 50 A.H. = January 29, 670 – January 17, 671.

Juwayriya bt. al-Ḥārith<sup>1801</sup> died in the year 56.<sup>1802</sup> ʻĀ’isha bt. Abī Bakr died in the year 58,<sup>1803</sup> and Abū Hurayra, who was a deputy of Marwān over Medina, prayed over her, with the result that someone who was present said, “The most antagonistic person to her has prayed over her!”

Abū Hurayra died in the year 59.<sup>1804</sup>

Mu‘āwiya was a man of forbearance, shrewdness, and generosity with money, though only from design, being a man who stinted when it came to his own food. Sa‘id b. al-Āṣ said: “I once heard Mu‘āwiya say: ‘I do not put my sword where my whip suffices; I do not put my whip where my tongue suffices; and if there were just a hair between me and the people, it would not break.’ Someone asked, ‘How so, Commander [of the Faithful]?’ He said, ‘When they pulled it I would let go of it, and when they let go of it I would pull it.’”

When he received word that someone had said something he disliked, he would silence him<sup>1805</sup> with gifts, or perhaps trick him and send him to the wars, setting him in the front ranks. Most of his actions involved craftiness and trickery.

Mu‘āwiya led the pilgrimage only twice in all the years of his rule: in the year 44<sup>1806</sup> and in the year 50.<sup>1807</sup> He intended to carry off the pulpit of God’s Messenger, but an earthquake damaged it so badly that it was believed to be the end of the world, so he left it. Later he added five steps to it at its base. He performed the lesser pilgrimage of Rajab in the year 56.<sup>1808</sup> He was the first person who covered the Ka‘ba with brocade (*dībāj*) and brought slaves to serve it.

<sup>1801</sup> Reading the first name as it appears in M; Houtsma read the unpointed word in C as Khawla, but no such women is known to have died in 56. Juwayriya bt. al-Ḥārith al-Muṣṭaliqiyā, from the Khuzā‘a, was a beautiful woman who was taken captive by the Muslims during the campaign of al-Muraysī in 5/626–627. She fell into the share of the Thābit b. Qays, who offered her her freedom for a sum of money. The Prophet paid the sum for her and married her in the following year. According to al-Yāqūbī she died in 56/675–676; others say in the year 50/670. See Ibn Sa‘d, *Tabaqāt*, 8:83; Ibn Qutayba, *Ma‘ārif*, 139; Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, 4:804; Ibn al-Athīr, *Uṣd*, 5:419; al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfi*, 9:226; Ibn Ḥajar, *Isāba*, 4:265.

<sup>1802</sup> 56 A.H. = November 25, 675 – November 13, 676.

<sup>1803</sup> 58 A.H. = November 3, 677 – October 22, 678.

<sup>1804</sup> 59 A.H. = October 23, 678 – October 12, 679.

<sup>1805</sup> Arabic *qaṭa’ā lisānahu* (he would cut out his tongue).

<sup>1806</sup> 1 Dhū l-Hijja 44 = February 23, 665.

<sup>1807</sup> 1 Dhū l-Hijja 50 = December 20, 670.

<sup>1808</sup> Rajab 56 = May 20 – June 18, 676. On the pre-Islamic roots of performing the lesser pilgrimage during the month of Rajab, see the articles in *EI*<sup>2</sup> by R. Paret, s.v. ‘Umra, and by M. J. Kister, s.v. Radjab.

The persons with the greatest influence over him were 'Amr b. al-Āṣ, Yazīd b. al-Ḥurr al-'Absī,<sup>1809</sup> and al-Ḍahḥāk b. Qays al-Fihri. Al-Ḍahḥāk was in charge of his police; Abū Mukhāriq, a client (*mawlā*) of Ḥimyar,<sup>1810</sup> was in charge of his bodyguard (*haras*); and his chamberlain (*hājib*) was his client Riyāḥ.<sup>1811</sup>

Mu'āwiya had a grim face, bulging eyes, an ample beard, a broad chest, big buttocks, and short legs and thighs.

He ruled for nineteen years and eight months. He died on the first day of Rajab<sup>1812</sup>—others say on the fifteenth of Rajab<sup>1813</sup>—of the year 60 at the age of 77—others say 80. He had become weak and thin and had lost his two front teeth.

Ṣāliḥ b. 'Amr said: I saw Mu'āwiya on the pulpit wearing a black turban which he had let down over his mouth. He was saying:

People, I have become old. My strength is gone, and I have been stricken in my best parts. May God have mercy on anyone who prays for me.

Then he wept, and the people wept with him.

When Mu'āwiya died, al-Ḍahḥāk b. Qays came out and put his shrouds on the pulpit. Then he said: "Mu'āwiya was the Arabs' eyetooth and rope,<sup>1814</sup> and he has died. These are his shrouds. We are going to wrap him in them and place him in his grave, and that will be our last meeting." Al-Ḍahḥāk b. Qays

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<sup>1809</sup> Yazīd b. al-Ḥurr al-'Absī was a Damascene notable who participated in the battle of Ṣifīn on the side of Mu'āwiya and was one of the witnesses to the arbitration agreement. Mu'āwiya appointed him chief of police, and, as governor of Syria under ʻUthmān, he appointed him as head of the summer campaigns against the Byzantines. See Khalifa b. Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rikh*, 180, 228; al-Balādhurī, *Futūh*, 164; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:3338; Ibn 'Asākir, *Dimashq*, 65:151.

<sup>1810</sup> The *kunya* of Abū Mukhāriq, a client of Ḥimyar, is uncertain. Ibn 'Asākir, *Dimashq*, 67:200, gives it as Abū l-Mukhtār. His name is given as either al-Mukhtār or Mālik. See Khalifa b. Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rikh*, 228; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 2:205.

<sup>1811</sup> Riyāḥ b. 'Abda/'Ubayda al-Ghassānī Abū Nātil is mentioned in the sources as the chief of police of the caliphs 'Abd al-Malik and al-Walid I, not of Mu'āwiya. It is reported that he was also appointed by al-Walid I to head the army sent to the frontier area of al-Tuwāna. See Khalifa b. Khayyāṭ, *Ta'rikh*, 299, 312; Ibn 'Asākir, *Dimashq*, 18:257. "Riyāḥ" is unpointed in the MSS. Houtsma read it as Rabāḥ, but no Rabāḥ is associated with Mu'āwiya in the sources.

<sup>1812</sup> 1 Rajab 60 A.H. = April 7, 680.

<sup>1813</sup> 15 Rajab 60 A.H. = 21 April 21, 680.

<sup>1814</sup> That is, their chief and mainstay.

al-Fihri prayed over him because Yazid<sup>1815</sup> was away at the time. He was buried in Damascus.

He left four sons: Yazid, 'Abdallāh, Muḥammad, and 'Abd al-Rahmān.

Those who led the pilgrimage in his days were:

- In the year 41:<sup>1816</sup> 'Utba b. Abī Sufyān;
- [in the year 42:<sup>1817</sup> 'Anbasa b. Abī Sufyān];
- in the year 43:<sup>1818</sup> Marwān b. al-Ḥakam;
- in the year 44:<sup>1819</sup> Mu'āwiya b. Abī Sufyān;
- in the year 45:<sup>1820</sup> Marwān b. al-Ḥakam;
- in the year 46:<sup>1821</sup> 'Utba b. Abī Sufyān;
- in the year 47:<sup>1822</sup> 'Utba b. Abī Sufyān;
- in the year 48:<sup>1823</sup> Marwān b. al-Ḥakam;
- in the year 49:<sup>1824</sup> Sa'īd b. al-Āṣ;
- in the year 50:<sup>1825</sup> Mu'āwiya b. Abī Sufyān;
- in the year 51:<sup>1826</sup> Yazid b. Mu'āwiya;
- in the year 52:<sup>1827</sup> Sa'īd b. al-Āṣ;
- in the year 53:<sup>1828</sup> Sa'īd b. al-Āṣ again;
- in the year 54:<sup>1829</sup> Marwān b. al-Ḥakam;

<sup>1815</sup> Mu'āwiya's son and heir apparent.

<sup>1816</sup> 1 Dhū l-Hijja 41 = March 28, 662. The text is defective, with no information about who led the pilgrimage in 42 A.H. Houtsma simply added after 41 the words [and 42] in brackets, thereby assigning leadership of the pilgrimage in 41 and 42 to 'Utba b. Abī Sufyān. However, other sources (Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta'rīkh*, 205; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 2:27) give the leader in 42 A.H. as 'Anbasa b. Abī Sufyān, the brother of 'Utba b. Abī Sufyān. It appears that the copyist skipped the material between the first "Sufyān" and the second by homeoteleuton. The translation restores the missing material (*wa-fi sanati thnatayni wa-arba'ina 'Anbasatu bnu Abī Sufyān*) in brackets.

<sup>1817</sup> 1 Dhū l-Hijja in 42 A.H. = March 17, 663.

<sup>1818</sup> 1 Dhū l-Hijja in 43 A.H. = March 5, 664.

<sup>1819</sup> 1 Dhū l-Hijja in 44 A.H. = February 23, 665.

<sup>1820</sup> 1 Dhū l-Hijja in 45 A.H. = February 12, 666.

<sup>1821</sup> 1 Dhū l-Hijja in 46 A.H. = February 1, 667.

<sup>1822</sup> 1 Dhū l-Hijja in 47 A.H. = January 22, 668.

<sup>1823</sup> 1 Dhū l-Hijja in 48 A.H. = January 10, 669.

<sup>1824</sup> 1 Dhū l-Hijja in 49 A.H. = December 31, 669.

<sup>1825</sup> 1 Dhū l-Hijja in 50 A.H. = December 20, 670.

<sup>1826</sup> 1 Dhū l-Hijja in 51 A.H. = December 9, 671.

<sup>1827</sup> 1 Dhū l-Hijja in 52 A.H. = November 28, 672.

<sup>1828</sup> 1 Dhū l-Hijja in 53 A.H. = November 17, 673.

<sup>1829</sup> 1 Dhū l-Hijja in 54 A.H. = November 6, 674.

- in the year 55:<sup>1830</sup> Marwān b. al-Ḥakam;
- in the year 56:<sup>1831</sup> al-Walīd b. ‘Utba b. Abī Sufyān;<sup>1832</sup>
- in the year 57:<sup>1833</sup> al-Walīd b. ‘Utba b. Abī Sufyān again;
- | in the year 58:<sup>1834</sup> al-Walīd b. ‘Utba again;
- in the year 59:<sup>1835</sup> ‘Uthmān b. Muḥammad b. Abī Sufyān.<sup>1836</sup>

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During the time of his rule the following men led the military campaigns:<sup>1837</sup>

In the year 41,<sup>1838</sup> Mu‘āwiya dispatched Ḥabīb b. Maslama. Ḥabīb made a peace settlement with the ruler of the Byzantines since he did not wish to be distracted by him.<sup>1839</sup>

In the year 43,<sup>1840</sup> Busr b. [Abī] Arṭāt led the campaign to the land of the Byzantines and wintered there.

1830 1 Dhū l-Ḥijja in 55 A.H. = October 27, 675.

1831 1 Dhū l-Ḥijja in 56 A.H. = October 15, 676.

1832 Al-Walid b. ‘Utba b. Abī Sufyān, a member of the Umayyad family, was appointed by his uncle Mu‘āwiya and cousin Yazīd I as governor of Medina and led the pilgrimage for both caliphs several times. When the young caliph Mu‘āwiya (II) b. Yazid b. Mu‘āwiya died, the people of Damascus wanted him for the caliphate, but he refused, and was imprisoned by al-Daḥḥāk b. Qays when he refused the call of the latter to the caliphate of Ibn al-Zubayr. He died of the plague in 64/683–684. See Khalifa b. Khayyāt, index; Muṣ̄ab al-Zubayrī, 132, 133; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh*, index; al-Mas’ūdī, *Murij*, index.

1833 1 Dhū l-Ḥijja in 57 A.H. = October 5, 677.

1834 1 Dhū l-Ḥijja in 58 A.H. = September 24, 678.

1835 1 Dhū l-Ḥijja in 59 A.H. = September 13, 679.

1836 ‘Uthmān b. Muḥammad b. Abī Sufyān led the pilgrimage once under Mu‘āwiya and was governor of Medina for about a year under Yazīd I in 62/681–682, in which year he also led the pilgrimage. He was in Damascus when Mu‘āwiya died, and was among the Umayyads expelled from Medina shortly before the battle of al-Harrā. See Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta’rikh*, 236–237, 254; Ibn Qutayba, *Ma‘ārif*, 345; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh*, 2:195, 402, 405–406, 409; Ibn ‘Asākir, *Dimashq*, 40:22.

1837 Al-Ya‘qūbī apparently means the summer campaigns (*sawā’if*), as he specifies the winter campaigns when he means them.

1838 41 A.H. = May 7, 661 – April 25, 662.

1839 Al-Ya‘qūbī gives no leader of a campaign for the year 42/662–663. That there was a campaign against the Byzantines in that year can be inferred from al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh*, 2:16, where the destination of the campaign is identified as al-Lān, that is, Armenia. Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta’rikh*, 205, mentions that Ḥabīb b. Maslama died in that year “in the land of Armenia.” This indicates that Ḥabīb b. Maslama led the campaign again in 42, not only in 41.

1840 43 A.H. = April 15, 663 – April 3, 664.

In the year 44,<sup>1841</sup> ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Khālid b. al-Walīd led the campaign and reached Qalūniya.<sup>1842</sup>

In the year 45,<sup>1843</sup> ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Khālid b. al-Walīd. He also led a winter campaign in the land of the Byzantines and reached Antioch.

In the year 46,<sup>1844</sup> Mālik b. ‘Abdallāh al-Khath’amī<sup>1845</sup>—others say Mālik b. Hubayra al-Sakūnī.<sup>1846</sup> He also led a winter campaign in the land of the Byzantines.

In the year 47,<sup>1847</sup> Mālik b. Hubayra al-Sakūnī. He also led a winter campaign in the land of the Byzantines.

In the year 48,<sup>1848</sup> [Abū] ‘Abd al-Rahmān al-Qaynī.<sup>1849</sup> He reached Antioch the Black.<sup>1850</sup>

<sup>1841</sup> 44 A.H. = April 4, 664 – March 24, 665.

<sup>1842</sup> The name and location are uncertain. The MSS read *’.q.lw* followed by two undotted tooth-letters and *tā’ marbūṭa*. Houtsma restored Qalūniya on the basis of another source. Yāqūt, *Buldān*, 4:393, places Qalūniya in Anatolia (*bi-l-Rūm*), 60 stages from Constantinople. Another possibility is Qalawdhiya (Latin/Greek Cladias) a fortress mentioned by al-Balādhurī, *Futūh*, 186–187, as near Malatya (Melitene) on the upper Euphrates.

<sup>1843</sup> 45 A.H. = March 24, 665 – March 13, 666.

<sup>1844</sup> 46 A.H. = March 13, 666 – March 2, 667.

<sup>1845</sup> Mālik b. ‘Abdallāh al-Khath’amī, nicknamed *Mālik al-sarāyā* (Mālik of the Raiding Parties), led campaigns against the Byzantines for forty years during Mu‘āwiya’s governorship and caliphate and during the caliphates of Yazid I and ‘Abd al-Malik. See Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta’rīkh*, 208, 225, 235; al-Balādhurī, *Futūh*, 191; al-Tabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:82, 171, 181, 196; Ibn ‘Asākir, *Dimashq*, 56:466.

<sup>1846</sup> Mālik b. Hubayra al-Sakūnī was governor of Hims for Mu‘āwiya and headed Marwān b. al-Hakam’s infantry in the battle of Marj Rāhiṭ. He died in 65/684–685. See Ibn Sa’d, *Ṭabaqāt*, VII/2, 138; Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta’rīkh*, 208, 209; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, IV/1, 16; al-Tabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, index; Ibn ‘Asākir, *Dimashq*, 56:508.

<sup>1847</sup> 47 A.H. = March 3, 667 – February 19, 668.

<sup>1848</sup> 48 A.H. = February 20, 668 – February 8, 669 C.E.

<sup>1849</sup> Restoring the name on the basis of al-Tabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:84, 85. *Abū* is missing in C and smudged in M (if it is there at all); al-Qaynī is unpointed in both MSS. Houtsma read the name as ‘Abd al-Rahmān al-Utbī. Abū ‘Abd al-Rahmān al-Qaynī’s name was al-Nu’mān b. Asad b. Farwa, and he was nicknamed *Dhū l-shawka* (the one with furor in fighting). He fought in the battle of Ajnādayn during the early conquests and led campaigns into Byzantine lands for Mu‘āwiya. See Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta’rīkh*, 208–209; Ibn ‘Asākir, *Dimashq*, 67:57.

<sup>1850</sup> Arabic *Anṭākiya al-Sawdā’*. No other source gives the city of Antioch this epithet. Yāqūt, *Buldān*, 1:267, mentions that Antioch’s mountain overshadows the city “so that the sun

In the year 49,<sup>1851</sup> Faḍāla b. ‘Ubayd.<sup>1852</sup> God granted conquest at his hands, and he took many captives.

In the year 50,<sup>1853</sup> Busr b.[ Abī] Arṭāt led the campaign. Sufyān b. ‘Awf led the winter campaign.

In the year 51,<sup>1854</sup> Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān<sup>1855</sup> led the campaign. Faḍāla b. ‘Ubayd al-Anṣārī led the winter campaign.

In the year 52,<sup>1856</sup> Sufyān b. ‘Awf. He died, having appointed ‘Abdallāh b. Mas‘ada al-Fazārī as his successor.

In the year 53,<sup>1857</sup> Muḥammad b. Mālik.<sup>1858</sup> Tarsus is said to have been conquered in this year by Junāda b. Abī Umayya al-Azdī.<sup>1859</sup>

In the year 55,<sup>1860</sup> Mālik b. ‘Abdallāh al-Khath‘amī. He also led the winter campaign in the land of the Byzantines.

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rises there only at the second hour of the day." Yāqūt (3:227) also mentions a town called al-Sawdā' and places it in the province of Ḥimṣ (*min kuwar Ḥimṣ*).

1851 49 A.H. = February 9, 669 – January 28, 670.

1852 Faḍāla b. ‘Ubayd b. Nāfidh al-Anṣārī al-Awsī al-‘Umarī participated in the conquest of Egypt. He was among the ‘Uthmāniyya who did not pledge obedience to ‘Alī after the killing of ‘Uthmān. He resided in Damascus and served as judge there for Mu’āwiya. He also led campaigns for the latter into Byzantine lands and led a naval campaign in 50/670–671. He died in 53/672–673 (but other dates are given). See Ibn Sa’d, *Tabaqāt*, VII/2, 124; Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta’rīkh*, 209, 218, 227; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:3070, 2:86–87, 111, 205; Ibn ‘Asākir, *Dimashq*, 48:290.

1853 50 A.H. = January 29, 670 – January 17, 671.

1854 51 A.H. = January 18, 671 – January 7, 672.

1855 Otherwise unidentified.

1856 52 A.H. = January 8, 672 – December 26, 672.

1857 53 A.H. = December 27, 672 – December 15, 673.

1858 All that the sources say about Muḥammad b. Mālik is that he led a winter campaign into Byzantine lands in 54/673–674. See Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta’rīkh*, 223; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:163. Note that al-Ya’qūbī does not include the campaigns of the year 54/673–674 in his list.

1859 Junāda b. Abī Umayya al-Azdī was a Syrian who participated in the conquest of Egypt and resided in Jordan. He was in charge of naval campaigns under Mu’āwiya and conquered Rhodes, Arwād, and Crete. He died in 80/699–700 (but other dates are given). See Ibn Sa’d, *Tabaqāt*, VII/2, 151; Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta’rīkh*, 143, 224, 227, 280; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:2821–2822, 2:157, 163, 173, 181, 188 196; Ibn ‘Asākir, *Dimashq*, 11:292.

1860 55 A.H. = December 6, 674 – November 24, 675.

In the year 56,<sup>1861</sup> Yazīd b. Mu‘āwiya; he reached Constantinople.<sup>1862</sup> Mas‘ūd b. Abī Mas‘ūd<sup>1863</sup> led the winter campaign. Yazīd b. Shajara<sup>1864</sup> was in charge of the land forces, and ‘Iyād b. al-Ḥārith<sup>1865</sup> was in charge of the naval forces. All of this is said.

In the year 57,<sup>1866</sup> ‘Abdallāh b. Qays.<sup>1867</sup>

2:286 In the year 58,<sup>1868</sup> Mālik b. ‘Abdallāh al-Khath‘amī—others say: ‘Amr b. Yazid | al-Juhānī.<sup>1869</sup> It is said that Yazid b. Shajara came back<sup>1870</sup> by sea.

In the year 59,<sup>1871</sup> ‘Amr b. Murra al-Juhānī<sup>1872</sup> led the campaign on land. In that year there was no [campaign] by sea.

The religious scholars (*fuqahā'*) in the days of Mu‘āwiya were:

- ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Abbās,
- ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb,
- al-Miswar b. Makhrama al-Zuhri,<sup>1873</sup>

1861 56 A.H. = November 25, 675 – November 13, 676.

1862 See above, ed. Leiden 2: 272.

1863 The sources mention Mas‘ūd b. Abī Mas‘ūd as a leader of summer campaigns and a winter campaign in 56/675–676. See Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta’rīkh*, 224; Ibn ‘Asākir, *Dimashq*, 58:14.

1864 On Yazid b. Shajara al-Rahawī, see Ibn Sa‘d, *Tabaqāt*, vii/2, 156; Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta’rīkh*, 198, 223, 225; al-Bukhārī, 8:316; Ibn Qutayba, *Ma‘ārif*, 448; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:3448, 2:86, 173, 181, 1564; Ibn Abī Ḥātim, 9:270; Ibn Ḥazm, 413; Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, 4:1577; Ibn ‘Asākir, *Dimashq*, 65:220.

1865 According to al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:173, ‘Iyād b. al-Ḥārith led the *land* campaign in 56/675–676.

1866 57 A.H. = November 14, 676 – November 2, 677.

1867 ‘Abdallāh b. Qays al-Fazārī (or al-Anṣārī), a Companion of the Prophet, is said to have raided Sicily in 53/672–673 and Constantinople at an unidentified date, when he was defeated but brought back many captives. He was killed in 57/676–677 during the winter campaign into Byzantine territory. See Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta’rīkh*, 225, 230; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, index; Ibn ‘Asākir, *Dimashq*, 32:118.

1868 58 A.H. = November 3, 677 – October 22, 678.

1869 ‘Amr b. Yazid al-Juhānī is otherwise unknown. Al-Ya‘qūbī could have meant ‘Amr b. Murra al-Juhānī, who, according to him, led the campaign in the following year.

1870 Reading with M, *wa-qafala*; Houtsma read the word as *qīla* (it was said).

1871 59 A.H. = October 23, 678 – October 12, 679.

1872 ‘Amr b. Murra al-Juhānī participated in the conquest of Palestine and led campaigns into Byzantine territory for Mu‘āwiya, who called him “the lion of Juhayna.” He visited Egypt and died in the caliphate of ‘Abd al-Malik. See Ibn Sa‘d, *Tabaqāt*, 4:68; Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta’rīkh*, 225–226; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:2457, 2:188; Ibn ‘Asākir, *Dimashq*, 46:337.

1873 Al-Miswar b. Makhrama al-Zuhri was the nephew of ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. ‘Awf and a

- al-Sā’ib b. Yazīd,<sup>1874</sup>
- ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥāṭib,<sup>1875</sup>
- Abū Bakr b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥārith,<sup>1876</sup>
- Sa‘īd b. al-Musayyab,
- ‘Urwa b. al-Zubayr,
- ‘Aṭā’ b. Yasār,<sup>1877</sup>
- al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. Abī [Bakr],
- ‘Abīda b. Qays al-Salmānī,<sup>1878</sup>
- al-Rabī‘ b. Khuthaym al-Thawrī,<sup>1879</sup>
- Zirr b. Ḥubaysh,<sup>1880</sup>

Companion of the Prophet. He lived in Medina until ‘Uthmān was killed; then moved to Mecca. There he was killed by the mangonels of the besieging Umayyad army led by al-Ḥuṣayn b. Numayr in 64/683–684. See Khalīfa b. Khayyāt, *Ta’rīkh*, 177, 255; al-Bukhārī, 7:410; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, IV/1, index; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, index; Ibn ‘Asākir, *Dimashq*, 58:158; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, 4:395; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, 3:390; al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfi*, 25:588.

- 1874 Al-Sā’ib b. Yazīd al-Kindī, originally a captive from ‘Ayn al-Tamr, was appointed by the Prophet over al-Yamāma, and was later put by ‘Umar in charge of the market of Medina, together with ‘Abdallāh b. Utba b. Mas‘ūd. He also served as a judge. He died probably in 91/709–710, although dates ranging between 71/690–691 and 94/712–713 are given. See Khalīfa b. Khayyāt, *Ta’rīkh*, 280; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:373, 2064, 2752, 3032; Ibn ‘Asākir, *Dimashq*, 20:106; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, 2:257; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, 3:437; idem, *Ta’rīkh*, 363; al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfi*, 15:104.
- 1875 ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥāṭib b. Abī Balta‘ā al-Lakhmī was a Medinan Companion of the Prophet. He and al-Nu‘mān b. Bashīr are reported to have brought ‘Uthmān’s blood-stained shirt to Damascus. He died in Medina in 68/687–688. See Ibn Sa‘d, *Tabaqāt*, 5:46; Ibn Qutayba, *Ma‘ārif*, 318; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:2982.
- 1876 Abū Bakr b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥārith was one of the seven jurists of Medina. He died in 94/712–713. See the article by Ch. Pellat in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Fuḳahā’ al-Madīna al-Sab‘a.
- 1877 ‘Aṭā’ b. Yasār, a client of the Prophet’s wife Maymūna, was a Medinan who died in 94/712–714 (but widely varying dates are given). See Ibn Sa‘d, *Tabaqāt*, 5:129; Khalīfa b. Khayyāt, *Ta’rīkh*, 329 Ibn Qutayba, *Ma‘ārif*, 459; Ibn ‘Asākir, *Dimashq*, 40:438.
- 1878 ‘Abīda b. Qays al-Salmānī was appointed by ‘Umar as judge of Kufa and later supported ‘Alī. He died c. 72/691–692. See Khalīfa b. Khayyāt, *Ta’rīkh*, 268; Ibn Qutayba, *Ma‘ārif*, 425, 579, 548; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 7:84.
- 1879 Al-Rabī‘ b. Khuthaym al-Thawrī was a Kufan known for his piety who participated in some campaigns. He died c. 70/689–690. See Ibn Sa‘d, *Tabaqāt*, 6:127; Abū Nu‘aym, *Hilya*, 2:105; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, 4:258; al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfi*, 14:80; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 3:242.
- 1880 Zirr b. Ḥubaysh al-Asadī, said to have been born in pre-Islamic times but never to have met the Prophet, was a Kufan who died at an advanced age c. 81/700–701. See Ibn Sa‘d, *Tabaqāt*, 6:71; Khalīfa b. Khayyāt, *Ta’rīkh*, 288; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:2729, 2:213, 288, 3:2333, 2553; Abū Nu‘aym, *Hilya*, 4:81; Ibn ‘Asākir, *Dimashq*, 19:18.

- al-Ḥārith b. Qays al-Ju‘fī,<sup>1881</sup>
- ‘Amr b. ‘Utba b. Farqad,<sup>1882</sup>
- al-Aḥnaf b. Qays,
- al-Ḥārith b. ‘Amīra<sup>1883</sup> al-Zabīdī,<sup>1884</sup>
- Suwayd b. Ghafala al-Ju‘fī,
- ‘Amr b. Maymūn al-Awdī,<sup>1885</sup>
- Abū Mu‘āwiya ‘Abdallāh b. al-Shikhhīr,<sup>1886</sup>
- Shaqīq b. Salama,<sup>1887</sup>

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- 1881 Al-Ḥārith b. Qays al-Ju‘fī fought on ‘Alī’s side at Ḳifṭīn. He died in 48/668–669. See Ibn Sa‘d, *Tabaqāt*, 6:116; Abū Nu‘aym, *Hilya*, 4:132; al-Tūsī, *Rijāl*, 38; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, 4:74; al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfi*, 11:241.
- 1882 ‘Amr b. ‘Utba b. Farqad al-Sulamī, a Companion of the Prophet, was a Kufan ascetic. He was among the party that buried Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī. He served as governor of Māsabahān and participated in the conquest of Balanjar. See Ibn Sa‘d, *Tabaqāt*, 6:143; Ibn Qutayba, *Ma‘ārif*, 345; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:2891–2893, 2897.
- 1883 The mss and ed. Leiden read ‘Umayr, but the correct spelling and pronunciation are given in Ibn Hajar, *Iṣāba*, 1:370.
- 1884 Al-Ḥārith b. ‘Amīra al-Zabīdī al-Ḥārithī returned from Yemen with Mu‘ādh b. Jabal and stayed with him in his house, but escaped being afflicted by the plague in which Mu‘ādh, among others, died. Al-Ḥārith then went to study with Abū l-Dardā‘ in Ḥimṣ, and then went to Kufa, where he studied with ‘Abdallāh b. Mas‘ūd. He later studied with Salmān al-Fārisī in al-Madā'in, and then returned to Syria. He died in the caliphate of Mu‘āwiya or that of Yazid I. See Ibn ‘Asākir, *Dimashq*, 11:458; al-Dhahabī, *Mīzān*, 1:440; Ibn Hajar, *Iṣāba*, 1:370.
- 1885 ‘Amr b. Maymūn al-Awdī al-Madhhījī was a Yemeni born in pre-Islamic times. He met Mu‘ādh b. Jabal in Yemen and settled in Kufa, where he became an associate of ‘Abdallāh b. Mas‘ūd. He died in 74/693–694 or 73/692–693. See Ibn Sa‘d, *Tabaqāt*, 6:80; Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta’rīkh*, 275; Ibn Qutayba, *Ma‘ārif*, 426, 448–449; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, index; Abū Nu‘aym, *Hilya*, 4:148; ‘Asākir, *Dimashq*, 46:406.
- 1886 This is how the name appears in both mss (though mostly unpointed), but Houtsma emended it to Muṭarrif b. ‘Abdallāh b. al-Shikhhīr, who is the former’s son, on the basis of the appearance of the latter’s name in Ibn Qutayba, *Ma‘ārif*, 90, 436. This is a strong possibility, given that Muṭarrif (d. 95/713–714; see Ibn ‘Asākir, *Dimashq*, 58:289) was more famous and influential than his father. However, the biography of his father, ‘Abdallāh b. al-Shikhhīr, does qualify him to be considered by al-Ya‘qūbī among the religious scholars of Mu‘āwiya’s time. According to the sources, he became a Muslim in the year 8/630, at the conquest of Mecca. See Ibn Sa‘d, *Tabaqāt*, VII/1, 22; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, 3:182; Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhīb*, 5:251.
- 1887 Shaqīq b. Salama al-Asadī (d. 82/701–702) participated in the battle of al-Qādisiyā as a youth, fought on ‘Alī’s side at Ḳifṭīn, and was put in charge of the treasury by Ziyād. He was known in Kufa for his learning, piety, and intelligence. See Ibn Sa‘d, *Tabaqāt*, 6:125; Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta’rīkh*, 288; Ibn Qutayba, *Ma‘ārif*, 449; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, index; Abū

- ‘Amr b. Shurahbil,<sup>1888</sup>
- ‘Abdallāh b. Yazid al-Khaṭmī,<sup>1889</sup>
- al-Ḥārith al-A’war al-Hamdānī,
- Masrūq [b]. al-Ajda’,<sup>1890</sup>
- ‘Alqama b. Qays al-Nakha‘ī,<sup>1891</sup>
- Shurayḥ b. al-Ḥārith al-Kindī,<sup>1892</sup>
- Zayd b. Wahb al-Hamdānī.<sup>1893</sup>

Nu‘aym, *Hilya*, 4:101; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, 3:3; Ibn Khallikān, *Waṣfayāt*, 2:476; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, 4:161; al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfi*, 16:172.

- 1888 ‘Amr b. Shurahbil al-Hamdānī (d. 63/682–683) was an associate of ‘Abdallāh b. Mas‘ūd. See Ibn Sa‘d, *Tabaqāt*, 6:71; Abū Nu‘aym, *Hilya*, 4:141; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, 4:114; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, 4:135; Ibn Ḥajar, *Isāba*, 3:114; idem, *Tahdhīb*, 8:47.
- 1889 ‘Abdallāh b. Yazid al-Khaṭmī al-Awsī (d. c. 70/689–690) was a Companion of the Prophet from the Anṣār who participated in the truce at al-Ḥudaybiya. He lived in Kufa and fought on ‘Ali’s side in the Battle of the Camel, at Ṣiffīn, and at al-Nahrawān. He was appointed governor of Kufa for Ibn al-Zubayr. See Ibn Sa‘d, *Tabaqāt*, 6:10; Khalīfa b. Khayyāt, *Ta’rīkh*, 125, 259; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, index; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, 3:274; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, 3:197; al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfi*, 17:677.
- 1890 Masrūq b. al-Ajda‘ ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Hamdānī al-Wadā‘ī was a Kufan who was born before Islam. He fought in the battle of al-Qādisiyya and on ‘Ali’s side at al-Nahrawān and was known for his piety. He served as a judge but would not accept a salary for his work. He died c. 62/681–682 and was buried in Wāsiṭ. See Ibn Sa‘d, *Tabaqāt*, 6:50; Khalīfa b. Khayyāt, *Ta’rīkh*, 176, 228, 251; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:145, 295, 1994, 2960, 3146; Abū Nu‘aym, *Hilya*, 2:95; Ibn ‘Asākir, *Dimashq*, 57:396.
- 1891 The MSS and ed. Leiden have al-Khaṭhamī, but such a person is unknown, whereas ‘Alqama b. Qays al-Nakha‘ī was a well-known scholar during the caliphate of Mu‘āwiya, and his name does not appear in al-Yāqūbī’s history under any other caliphal period. ‘Alqama al-Nakha‘ī, the uncle of the famous Ibrāhīm al-Nakha‘ī, was the jurist of Kufa and its foremost authority in Qur’ānic recitation and ḥadīth. He died c. 62/681–682. See Ibn Sa‘d, *Tabaqāt*, 6:57; Khalīfa b. Khayyāt, *Ta’rīkh*, 196, 236, 251; Abū Zur‘a, *Ta’rīkh*, 650; al-Ṭabarī. *Ta’rīkh*, index; Abū Nu‘aym, *Hilya*, 2:98; Ibn ‘Asākir, *Dimashq*, 41:154; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, 4:53; Ibn Ḥajar, *Isāba*, 3:110; idem, *Tahdhīb*, 7:276.
- 1892 Shurayḥ b. al-Ḥārith al-Kindī Abū Umayya (d. c. 76/691–692), was the judge of Kufa for over fifty years under ‘Umar, ‘Uthmān, ‘Ali, and Mu‘āwiya. See the article by E. Kohlberg in *ER*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Shurayḥ b. al-Ḥārith (or b. Shurahbil) b. Ḳays, Abū Umayya al-Kindī.
- 1893 Zayd b. Wahb al-Hamdānī, whose name will occur again in al-Yāqūbī’s history among the religious scholars during the caliphate of ‘Abd al-Malik, is not known to the other sources. If al-Yāqūbī made a mistake in his name, he could be one of two possible scholars. The first is Zayd b. Wahb *al-Juhanī*, a Kufan supporter of ‘Ali, who died c. 83/702–703 (see al-Dhahabī, *Ta’rīkh*, 70, 360). The second is the much less known Kufan Zayd b. *Yuthay‘* al-Hamdānī. See Ibn Sa‘d, *Tabaqāt*, 6:155; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 3:427.

### The Days of Yazīd b. Mu‘āwiya

Yazīd b. Mu‘āwiya, whose mother was Maysūn bt. Bahdāl al-Kalbī, became ruler  
 2:287 on | the first day of Rajab in the year 60.<sup>1894</sup> On that day the Sun was in Taurus,  $1^{\circ} 20'$ ; the Moon in Scorpio,<sup>1895</sup>  $2^{\circ} 30'$ ,<sup>1896</sup> Saturn in Cancer,  $11^{\circ}$ ; Jupiter in Aries,  $19^{\circ}$ ; Mars in Gemini,  $22^{\circ} 30'$ ; Venus in Gemini,  $8^{\circ} 50'$ ; and Mercury in Taurus,  $20^{\circ} 30'$ .

Yazīd was away.<sup>1897</sup> When he came to Damascus, he wrote to al-Walīd b. ‘Utba b. Abī Sufyān, who was the governor of Medina:

When this letter of mine reaches you, summon al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī and ‘Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr, and press them to swear allegiance to me. If they refuse, strike off their heads and send their heads to me. Press the people also to swear allegiance to me. Whoever refuses, carry out the decree against him and against al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī and ‘Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr. Peace.

His letter<sup>1898</sup> reached al-Walīd at night. He sent for al-Ḥusayn and ‘Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr and told them the news. They said, “Let us wait until tomorrow

<sup>1894</sup> 1 Rajab 60 A.H. = April 7, 680.

<sup>1895</sup> C contains that following marginal note: “Only if it is the middle of the month, will the moon be in Scorpio and the sun in Taurus. At the beginning of the month, it will be with the sun in Taurus; so check this.” The note is correct. If the sun is in Taurus,  $1^{\circ} 20'$ , and the moon in Scorpio,  $2^{\circ} 30'$ , it will be *full moon*, which can occur only on the middle day of the lunar month. Furthermore, 1 Rajab 60 (7 April 680) is about two weeks after the vernal equinox, which should put the sun at about  $15^{\circ}$  Aries; it would reach  $1^{\circ} 20'$  Taurus about April 21 (15 Rajab). The latter, in fact, is the date given in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:216, for the swearing of allegiance to Yazid, with an alternate date of 20 Rajab (April 26). In other words, the horoscope in al-Yaqūbī works for 15 Rajab 60, but not for 1 Rajab. One can emend al-Yaqūbī’s *mustahall* (the first day) to *nīsf* (the middle); or, more likely, the author has combined two traditions, one that gave the date of Yazīd’s accession as 1 Rajab and one that gave it as 15 Rajab, taking the horoscope from the latter without realizing the difficulty that this causes.

<sup>1896</sup> Reading with M, *darajatāni*. C reads *darajāt* (degrees), which led Houtsma to assume a lacuna, with a number having dropped out. Suspiciously, the word *darajatāni* in M is in the nominative case, where an accusative (*darajatayni*) would be expected. The text may have been disturbed.

<sup>1897</sup> That is, at the time of his father’s death; see above, ed. Leiden, 2:284.

<sup>1898</sup> In M, the scribe first wrote the word as *al-kitāb* (the letter), then wrote above it *kitābuhi* (his letter), and wrote next to it the sign for “correct” (*sahḥi*). In C, the scribe wrote *kitāb*

morning, and the people will come to you.”<sup>1899</sup> Marwān<sup>1900</sup> said to al-Walīd: “By God, if they leave, you will never see them. So compel them to swear allegiance, or strike off their heads!” Al-Walīd said, “By God, I would not sever the bonds of kinship with them.” Al-Ḥusayn and ‘Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr left al-Walīd’s presence and took to the road that very night.

Al-Ḥusayn left for Mecca and stayed there for some days. The people of Iraq wrote to him and dispatched messengers on the heels of messengers. The last letter that reached him from them was that of Hāni’ b. Abī Hāni’<sup>1901</sup> and Sa‘īd b. ‘Abdallāh al-Khath‘amī.<sup>1902</sup>

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate. To al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī, from his party (*shī'a*), who are believers | and Muslims: Come quickly, for the people await you, having no imam but you. Hurry! Hurry! Peace.

2:288

Al-Ḥusayn sent to them Muslim b. ‘Aqīl b. Abī Ṭālib<sup>1903</sup> and wrote to inform them that he was coming on the heels of his letter. When Muslim arrived in Kufa, they met with him; they gave him their oath of allegiance (to al-Ḥusayn), their pledge, and their pact, and bound themselves to help him, side with him, and be loyal to him.

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*kitābu* (the letter his letter) and put a line over the first word, perhaps meaning to cross it out. This is one of the evidences that C is a direct copy of M.

1899 Reading with M: *nusbiḥu wa-ya'tika l-nās*. For some reason, Houtsma emended *wa-ya'tika* to *wa-na'tika* and added the word *ma'a* (with), yielding: “In the morning we will come to you with the people.”

1900 That is, Marwān b. al-Ḥakam.

1901 The index of ed. Leiden conflates this Hāni’ b. Abī Hāni’ with Hāni’ b. ‘Urwa al-Murādī, the Kufan Yemeni leader whom al-Yāqūbī will mention soon as a leading partisan of al-Ḥusayn, but two different men appear to be involved. The Hāni’ b. Abī Hāni’ mentioned here apparently is the same as the Hāni’ b. Hāni’ al-Sabī‘i mentioned in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 2:234–235, along with Sa‘īd b. ‘Abdallāh (called “al-Ḥanafī” in al-Ṭabarī, but “al-Khath‘amī” in al-Dīnawarī, *Akhbār*, ed. Leiden, 243) as the messengers who brought the Kufans’ letter to al-Ḥusayn and carried the latter’s letter back to the Kufans. The *nisba* of this Hāni’ is sometimes given as “al-Hamdānī” (the Sabī‘ were a branch of the Hamdān). See also Naṣr b. Muzāḥīm, *Waq'at Siffīn*, 323; Ibn Sa‘d, *Tabaqāt*, 6:155; al-Dhahabī, *Ta'rīkh*, 409.

1902 Called “al-Ḥanafī” in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 2:234, 322, but “al-Khath‘amī” in al-Dīnawarī, *Akhbār*, 243.

1903 Muslim b. ‘Aqīl b. Abī Ṭālib was al-Ḥusayn’s cousin. See the article by E. Kohlberg in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Muslim b. ‘Akīl b. Abī Ṭālib.

Al-Ḥusayn set out from Mecca towards Iraq. Yazīd had appointed ‘Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād as governor of Iraq and had written to him:

Word has reached me that the people of Kufa have written to al-Ḥusayn to come to them and that he has left Mecca, heading towards them. Of all provinces, yours has been most afflicted by him, and your days of all days. Therefore, if you kill him, well and good; otherwise, you shall return to your lineage and to ‘Ubayd’s paternity.<sup>1904</sup> So beware lest he elude you! Peace.<sup>1905</sup>

### The Death of al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī

‘Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād came to Kufa, where Muslim b. ‘Aqīl was staying with Hāni’ b. ‘Urwa,<sup>1906</sup> who was very ill and was a friend of Ibn Ziyād. When Ibn Ziyād arrived in Kufa, he was informed of Hāni’’s illness and went to visit him. Hāni’ said to Muslim b. ‘Aqīl and his companions—there were a number of them: “When Ibn Ziyād sits down next to me and becomes comfortable, I shall say, ‘Bring me something to drink.’ Come out then and kill him.” He brought them into the house, and he himself sat down in the portico (*riwāq*).

‘Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād came to visit him. When he had become comfortable, Hāni’ b. ‘Urwa said, “Bring me something to drink,” but they did not come out. “Bring me something to drink,” he said. “What is keeping you?” Then he said: “Bring me something to drink, even if it costs me my life!” Ibn Ziyād understood; he got up, left Hāni’, and sent the police to search for Muslim.

Muslim and his supporters revolted, having no doubt about the people’s loyalty and the soundness of their constancy.<sup>1907</sup> He fought ‘Ubaydallāh, but he was captured. | ‘Ubaydallāh killed him, and he was dragged by his feet through the market. ‘Ubaydallāh also killed Hāni’ b. ‘Urwa because Muslim had stayed in his house and because he had helped him.

<sup>1904</sup> Reading with M, *ubuwwa* (paternity), instead of C, *abū* (which Houtsma emended to *abīka*, “your father”). Houtsma’s emendation of ‘Ubaydallāh (in both MSS) to ‘Ubayd is certainly correct. By threatening to restore ‘Ubaydallāh’s descent from ‘Ubayd (as his grandfather, not his father), rather than from Abū Sufyān, Yazid was threatening to remove ‘Ubaydallāh’s claim to be related to the Umayyad house.

<sup>1905</sup> “Peace” (*wa l-salām*) is in M, but not in C or ed. Leiden.

<sup>1906</sup> Hāni’ b. ‘Urwa al-Murādi was an influential Yemeni chief in Kufa. See the article by L. Veccia Vaglieri in *EI<sup>2</sup>*, s.v. Hāni’ b. ‘Urwa al-Murādi.

<sup>1907</sup> Reading with M: *thabātihim*. Houtsma read C as *nīyātihim* (their intentions).

Al-Ḥusayn set out for Iraq. When he arrived at al-Quṭquṭāna,<sup>1908</sup> news of the killing of Muslim b. 'Aqīl reached him. When 'Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād learned that al-Ḥusayn was close to Kufa, he sent out al-Ḥurr b. Yazīd,<sup>1909</sup> who prevented al-Ḥusayn from turning aside. 'Ubaydallāh then sent out 'Umar b. Sa'īd b. Abī Waqqāṣ<sup>1910</sup> together with an army to deal with al-Ḥusayn. 'Umar met al-Ḥusayn at a place on the Euphrates called Karbalā'.<sup>1911</sup> Al-Ḥusayn had with him 62 or 72 men of his family and companions; 'Umar b. Sa'īd had 4,000.

'Umar's men blocked al-Ḥusayn's access to water and prevented him from reaching the Euphrates. He pleaded with them by God, may He be glorified and exalted, but they insisted on fighting him unless he surrendered; then they would take him to 'Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād, and he would make a decision about him and execute Yazīd's decree concerning him.

It is related on the authority of 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn,<sup>1912</sup> who said:<sup>1913</sup> I was sitting on the eve of the morning on which my father, al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī, was killed, with my aunt Zaynab<sup>1914</sup> tending to me in my illness. My father entered, reciting:

O Time, what a bad friend you are!  
Morning and evening, how many

<sup>1908</sup> Al-Quṭquṭāna is just over 20 miles from al-Qādisiyya. See Yāqūt, 4:374.

<sup>1909</sup> Al-Ḥurr b. Yazīd led the vanguard sent by 'Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād against al-Ḥusayn; however, when the Syrian troops led by 'Umar b. Sa'īd b. Abī Waqqāṣ arrived a few days later, al-Ḥurr joined al-Ḥusayn's side and was killed with him. See the article by M. J. Kister in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Ḥurr b. Yazīd (for Kister's 'b. Ka'nb,' one should read 'b. Ḳa'nb'; see Caskel, *Čamhara*, 2:465).

<sup>1910</sup> On this son of Sa'īd b. Abī Waqqāṣ, who achieved notoriety as leader of the army that attacked and killed al-Ḥusayn, see, among other sources: Ibn Sa'īd, *Tabaqāt*, 5:125; Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta'rīkh*, 235, 263–264; al-Jāḥid, *Burṣān*, 82; al-Bukhārī, 6:158; al-Balādhurī, *Futūh*, 281, 285; Ibn Qutayba, *Ma'ārif*, 243; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, index.

<sup>1911</sup> Karbalā' lies on the Euphrates about 75km north of Kufa and about 100km south of Baghdad. See the article by E. Honigmann in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Karbalā'.

<sup>1912</sup> 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn (d. 94/712–713), a son of al-Ḥusayn, survived the battle at Karbalā' because he was too sick to fight. Known by his title "Zayn al-Ābidīn," he was accounted the fourth Imam by the Shi'a. See the article by E. Kohlberg in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Zayn al-Ābidīn.

<sup>1913</sup> Exactly where the narrative of 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn ends is not clear.

<sup>1914</sup> Zaynab al-Kubrā (the Elder) was al-Ḥusayn's sister, a daughter of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib by Fāṭimah, the Prophet's daughter; she was married to her cousin 'Abdallāh b. Ja'far b. Abī Ṭālib. She was with her brother al-Ḥusayn when he was killed, and was brought with the surviving members of her family to the caliph Yazīd in Damascus. Yazīd was gracious to them and sent them back to Medina. See Ibn Sa'īd, *Tabaqāt*, 8:341; al-Zubayrī, *Nasab Quraysh*, 41; Ibn Qutayba, *Ma'ārif*, 143, 210–211; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, index.

Slain seekers and companions will you have!  
 And Time is satisfied with no substitute!  
 Command belongs only to the Majestic One;  
 And every living being shall walk that road.

2:290

I understood what he said and knew what he meant. My tears choked me, but I pushed them back, and I knew that affliction had befallen us. As for my aunt Zaynab, when she heard what I heard—women by nature are delicate and anxious—she could not keep from jumping up, her garment dragging and her head uncovered, and saying: “Alas for a mother bereaved of her child! [Would that] death had deprived me of life today! Already Fāṭīma, ‘Alī, and my brother al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī are dead.” Al-Ḥusayn looked at her, pushing back | the lump in his throat, and said, “Sister, fear God, for death must inevitably come.” She struck her face, tore the front of her dress, and fell in a swoon, crying out, “Woe is me! Alas for a mother bereaved of her child!” Al-Ḥusayn came to her and poured water over her face and said to her, “Sister, take comfort in God’s solace, for I and every Muslim have an example in God’s Messenger.” Then he said, “I adjure you, and do you vindicate my oath: tear no garment over me, scratch no face over me, and do not invoke woe and ruin over me!” Then he took her and seated her next to me—I was very ill—and went out to his companions.

The next day, al-Ḥusayn went out and talked to his opponents. He extolled his right before them, reminded them of God, may He be glorified and exalted, and of His Messenger, and asked them to open the way for him to turn back. They insisted on fighting him or on taking him and escorting him to ‘Ubaydal-lāh b. Ziyād. Al-Ḥusayn talked to group after group, and man after man, but they would answer, “We do not know what to say.”<sup>1915</sup> Then he turned to his supporters and said: “These people want only me. You have done your duty; leave, for you are free.” They said: “No, by God, O son of God’s Messenger! Not until our lives perish before yours!” So he asked God to bless them.

Zuhayr b. al-Qayn<sup>1916</sup> rode out on a horse of his and cried out: “People of Kufa! I warn you of God’s punishment! I warn you, O servants of God! The children of Fāṭīma are more worthy of love and assistance than the children

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<sup>1915</sup> Arabic *mā naqūlu*, as it appears in ed. Leiden. The last word is unpointed in both manuscripts, and may also be read as *mā taqūlu* (what you are saying).

<sup>1916</sup> Zuhayr b. al-Qayn al-Bajali had left Mecca at the same time as al-Ḥusayn. Al-Ḥusayn talked to him, and convinced him to join him. He refused al-Ḥusayn’s offer to leave him, and fought bravely before being killed at Karbalā’. See al-Ṭabarī, *Tarīkh*, index.

of Sumayya. If you do not help them, do not fight them! O people! There is no longer any son of a prophet's daughter on the surface of the earth except al-Husayn. Anyone who assists in killing him, even by a word, God will trouble his life in this world and punish him with the severest punishments of the hereafter."

Then they advanced, one after another, until al-Husayn remained alone, with no one of his family, children, or relatives with him. He was standing by his horse, when an infant who had just been born to him | was brought to him. He recited the call to prayer (*adhān*) in its ear and started to chew a date and rub it in its mouth.<sup>1917</sup> At that moment, an arrow came at him and landed in the infant's throat, killing it. Al-Husayn pulled the arrow out of the infant's throat, and it began to splatter him with its blood. He was saying, "By God, you are more precious in God's sight than the She-camel, and Muhammad is more precious in God's sight than Ṣalīḥ!"<sup>1918</sup> He went and set the infant down with his children and his brother's children. Then he attacked the enemy and killed many of them. An arrow came at him, striking the upper part of his chest and coming out his back. He fell. The enemy rushed up and cut off his head—they sent it to 'Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād. They plundered his camp, despoiled his womenfolk, and carried them off to Kufa. When the women entered the city, its women came out crying and weeping. 'Alī b. al-Husayn said, "These weep<sup>1919</sup> for us; but who has killed us?"

Al-Husayn's dependents and children were taken away to Syria, and al-Husayn's head was impaled on a spear. His killing took place on the 10th of Muḥarram in the year 61.<sup>1920</sup> There is disagreement about the day: some say it was a Saturday; others say it was a Monday; still others say it was a Friday.<sup>1921</sup> It was in October of the months of the non-Arabs.

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<sup>1917</sup> Chewing a date and rubbing it in a newborn's mouth is called *tahnik*. Like reciting the *adhān* (the call to prayer) in a newborn's ear, it is an act which the Prophet is reported to have performed. See Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. ܚ-ܻ-ܻ-ܻ.

<sup>1918</sup> Ṣalīḥ, one of the Arabian prophets mentioned in the Qur'ān, was sent to the tribe of Thamūd with a miraculous she-camel as his sign. The camel was to be left to feed unharmed and drink unhindered. When the people of Thamūd killed the camel, God destroyed them. See the article by A. Rippin in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ṣalīḥ.

<sup>1919</sup> Following Houtsma's emendation, *yabkīna* (feminine plural), making the subject the women of Kufa. The MSS read *yabkūna* (masculine plural), making its subject the Kufans generally.

<sup>1920</sup> 10 Muḥarram 61 A.H. = October 10, 680.

<sup>1921</sup> Modern tables make it a Wednesday.

Al-Khwārazmī said: On that day, the Sun was in Libra,  $17^{\circ} 20'$ ; the Moon in Aquarius,  $20^{\circ} 20'$ ; Saturn in Cancer,  $29^{\circ} 20'$ ; Jupiter in Capricorn,  $12^{\circ} 40'$ ; Venus in Virgo,  $5^{\circ} 50'$ ; Mercury in Libra,  $5^{\circ} 40'$ ; and the Ascending Node in Gemini,  $1^{\circ} 45'$ .

The head was set before Yazīd, and Yazīd started beating its front teeth with a stick.

2:292 The first woman to scream in Medina was Umm Salama, the wife of God's Messenger. The Messenger had given her a bottle containing soil and had said her, "Gabriel has informed me that my Community will kill al-Ḥusayn, and he has given me this soil." (Umm Salama said,) "The Messenger told me, 'When the soil becomes pure blood, know that al-Ḥusayn has been killed.'" She kept the bottle with her. When that time came, she began to look at the bottle every hour. When she saw that it had turned into blood, she cried out: "Alas for al-Ḥusayn! Alas for the grandson of God's Messenger!" The women began to scream from every side, so that Medina was in an uproar unlike anything that had been heard before.

Al-Ḥusayn was fifty-six years old on the day he was killed; he had been born in the year 4 of the Hijra.<sup>1922</sup>

Al-Ḥusayn was asked, "What have you heard from God's Messenger?" He said: "I heard him say: 'God likes lofty things and hates mean things.' I also recall from him that he would utter the *takbīr* and I would utter it after him; when he heard my *takbīr*, he repeated it up to seven times. He taught me, *Say, He is God, the One*,<sup>1923</sup> and he taught me the five prayers. I also heard him say: 'He who obeys God, God exalts him, and he who disobeys God, God abases him; he who is sincerely devoted to God, God adorns him; he who trusts what is with God, God helps him;<sup>1924</sup> and he who exalts himself before God, God humbles him.'"

Someone said that he heard al-Ḥusayn say: "Truthfulness is strength, and lying is weakness; a secret is a trust; neighborhood is kinship; assistance is friendship; work is experience; a good disposition is a form of worship; silence is adornment; stinginess is poverty, and generosity is wealth; gentleness is understanding."

Al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī once encountered al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī<sup>1925</sup>—al-Ḥasan did not recognize him. Al-Ḥusayn asked him, "Venerable sir, will you be satisfied with

<sup>1922</sup> 4A.H. = June 13, 625 – June 1, 626.

<sup>1923</sup> Qur'ān 112:1.

<sup>1924</sup> Reading with M, *yū'muhu*. Houtsma read C as *yughnīhi* (frees him from want).

<sup>1925</sup> Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110/728), a preacher, pietist, and ascetic, was an important figure in the development of Islamic religious thought. See the article by H. Ritter in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ḥasan al-Baṣrī.

yourself on the day you are resurrected?" Al-Hasan said, "No." Al-Husayn said, "Do you tell your soul to abandon what you will not approve for yourself on the day you are resurrected?" Al-Hasan said, "Yes, though without its truly happening." Al-Husayn said, "Who then will be more deceiving of himself than you on the day you are resurrected, when you do not tell your soul in truth to abandon what you do not approve for yourself?" Then al-Husayn left. Al-Hasan al-Baṣrī asked, "Who was that?" He was told, "Al-Husayn b. 'Alī." Al-Hasan said, "You have made things easier for me."<sup>1926</sup>

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Al-Husayn had the following children: 'Alī the Elder (*al-Akbar*), who had no descendants and was killed at al-Taff<sup>1927</sup> (his mother was Laylā bt. Abī Murra b. 'Urwa b. Mas'ūd al-Thaqafī);<sup>1928</sup> and 'Alī the Younger (*al-Asghar*), whose mother was Ḥarār bt. Yazdagird<sup>1929</sup>—al-Husayn used to call her Ghazāla.<sup>1930</sup>

Someone said to 'Alī b. al-Husayn, "How few are your father's children!" He said: "It is a wonder how even I was born to him! He used to pray one thousand *rak'as* in one day and one night, so when did he have time for women?"<sup>1931</sup>

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'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr remained in Mecca, repudiating Yazīd. He called the people to himself and expelled Yazīd's governor. Yazīd sent to him Ibn Iḍāh al-Ash'arī<sup>1932</sup> and wrote to him, granting him safe conduct and informing him that he had sworn not to accept his oath of allegiance except when he was in an iron collar—as soon as he had pledged allegiance, he would free him. Marwān

<sup>1926</sup> That is, you have made it easier for me to accept defeat in a debate on a religious issue, given that my opponent was a man of superior intellect and piety.

<sup>1927</sup> That is, at Karbalā'—al-Taff is the name of the region in which Karbalā' lies. According to al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 2:356, 'Alī the Elder was the first to be killed at Karbalā'.

<sup>1928</sup> On Laylā bt. Abī Murra b. 'Urwa b. Mas'ūd al-Thaqafī, see al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 2:356, 387.

<sup>1929</sup> Yazdagird was the last Sasanian king of Iran. However, there is uncertainty about the identity of 'Alī the Younger's mother (cf. al-Zubayrī, *Nasab Quraysh*, 58; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, 2:547). Although al-Ya'qūbī's text is not explicit, these are only al-Husayn's sons—he also had two daughters, Fāṭimah and Sukayna (see Muṣ'ab al-Zubayrī, *Nasab Quraysh*, 59; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, 2:547).

<sup>1930</sup> Arabic for gazelle.

<sup>1931</sup> If one follows the author's use of titles, one would need to insert after this paragraph and before the next something like THE DAYS OF 'ABDALLĀH B. AL-ZUBAYR OR RETURN TO THE DAYS OF YAZĪD B. MU'ĀWIYA. There is no title in either MSS.

<sup>1932</sup> 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Iḍāh al-Ash'arī had fought on Mu'āwiya's side at Ṣifīn. See Khalīfa b. Khayyāt, *Ta'rīkh*, 251, 252; al-Dīnawarī, *Akhbār*, 263; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 2:397–398, 417; Ibn 'Asākir, *Dimashq*, 73:231.

b. al-Ḥakam, who was the governor of Medina, was loath to have Ibn al-Zubayr accept the offer,<sup>1933</sup> having become alarmed when word of the killing of al-Ḥusayn reached him. Marwān<sup>1934</sup> therefore sent to him one of his confidants with a poem in which he said:

Take it,<sup>1935</sup> though it is not a course of action for the proud,  
and even a man who grovels would have something to say about it.

Being very proud, Ibn al-Zubayr did not do it, and he gave Ibn ‘Idāh a coarse answer. So Ibn ‘Idāh said, “Al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī used to be more exalted in Islam and among its people, and you see what has happened to him.” Ibn al-Zubayr said to him, | “Al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī went out to those who did not acknowledge his right, but the Muslims have agreed on me.” Ibn ‘Idāh said, “But there are Ibn ‘Abbās and Ibn ‘Umar: they have not pledged allegiance to you.” And he departed.

Ibn al-Zubayr pressed ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Abbās to pledge allegiance to him, but Ibn ‘Abbās refused. When Yazīd received word that ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Abbās had refused Ibn al-Zubayr, he was pleased. He wrote to Ibn ‘Abbās:

I have received word that the deviator<sup>1936</sup> Ibn al-Zubayr has invited you to pledge allegiance to him and has proposed to you that you enter

<sup>1933</sup> Retaining the reading of the MSS: *fa-kariha an yujība Ibn al-Zubayr ilā dhālikā*. Houtsma emended it unnecessarily to *fa-kariha Ibn al-Zubayr an yujība ilā dhālikā* (Ibn al-Zubayr was loath to accede to that), which causes a drastic change in the meaning.

<sup>1934</sup> The text has a vague pronoun “he,” but it is clear from al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:397–398, that it was Marwān who sent the warning poem to Ibn al-Zubayr.

<sup>1935</sup> That is, “take the collar.” In most of the parallels, Yazīd sends Ibn al-Zubayr a symbolic silver chain so that by wearing it he can swear allegiance and satisfy Yazīd’s oath without the humiliation of a real fetter around his neck. The fuller version of the poem quoted by al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:226, 397–398, is worth quoting here:

Take it. True, it is not a course of action for the strong.

Even a humiliated man would hesitate to accept it.

Yet, ‘Āmir, the people have offered you such a course of action.

And no one among the neighbors is going to blame you.

(Trans. I. K. A. Howard in *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, xix, 15.) As Marwān cleverly calculated, reciting the poem to Ibn al-Zubayr (especially in its abbreviated form) would have the effect of making Ibn Zubayr reject even a symbolic humiliation. The verse is by al-‘Abbās b. Mirdās; see al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, IV/1, 305, 311. For Marwān’s motive, see Wilferd Madelung, *The Succession to Muḥammad*, 348.

<sup>1936</sup> Arabic *mulhid*. The term, ultimately of Qur’ānic origin (7:80, 41:40, and 22:25), was

into obedience to him, so that you might be a supporter in falsehood and a partner in sinfulness; and that you have refused him and clung to allegiance to us, out of loyalty to us and obedience to God, on the basis of what He has made known to you—namely, our right. Therefore may God grant you, as a relative, the best of what He grants to those who are kind to their relatives. Whatever I may forget, I shall not forget to treat you well, to recompense you handsomely, and to hasten to you the gift that you deserve from me for your nobility, obedience, and kinship to the Messenger. Direct your attention, may God have mercy on you, to those of your people who are near you and to those who come to you from distant lands, people whom the deviator is attempting to draw in<sup>1937</sup> with his tongue and honeyed words. Let them know your good opinion concerning obedience to me and adherence to the oath of allegiance to me, for they will be more obedient to you and more heedful of you than they are of the deviator who rejects God's prohibitions. Peace.

'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās wrote back to Yazīd:

From 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās, to Yazīd b. Mu'āwiya: I have received your letter mentioning Ibn al-Zubayr's inviting me to pledge allegiance to himself and my refusing him the pledge of allegiance to which he invited me. While it is indeed as it has reached you, it was neither your praise that I sought nor your affection; God knows full well what I intended.

You claimed that you would not forget to be affectionate to me. | Upon my life, out of what is in your hands you give us only a small part of what is our right; indeed you withhold from us the wide and the long of it.

2:295

You asked me to urge people toward you and away from Ibn al-Zubayr. No! Not with pleasure or with joy, when you have killed al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī. May your mouth be filled with dust and may stones be your lot. If you indulge such hopes, you are one whose reason has slipped away, a liar, and a thoughtless person. Do not think—may you have no father<sup>1938</sup>—that I have forgotten your killing al-Ḥusayn and the youths of the Banū 'Abd al-Muttalib, who are lamps in darkness and stars among luminaries!

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used in the Umayyad period (as opposed to its later usage to mean heretic or atheist) to denote those who desert the community of the faithful and rebel against the legitimate caliph. See the article by W. Madelung in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Mulḥid*.

<sup>1937</sup> Reading with M, *yastajirruhu*. Houstama read C as *yasharuhu* (deceive, charm).

<sup>1938</sup> Arabic *lā abā laka*. This is a formula of reproof not meant literally. Yazīd's father, Mu'āwiya, was, of course, dead by the time the letter was written.

Your soldiers left them thrown on the ground, defiled with dirt, stripped naked, unshrouded, wind-blown, with the wolves taking turns at them, and the limping hyenas coming to them time and again<sup>1939</sup>—until God afforded them some people who had not participated in shedding their blood, who covered them with their shrouds. By God, it is to my and their great distress that you, Yazīd, have taken up the seat that you occupy.

Whatever things I may forget, I shall not forget your setting on them the pretender,<sup>1940</sup> the adulterer son of the adulterer, the remote one in kinship, the one whose mother and father are ignoble, the one who, when your father claimed him, your mangy father acquired nothing but shame and humiliation<sup>1941</sup> in the hereafter and in the world, in death and in life. God's Prophet said: 'The child belongs to the bed, and to the adulterer belong stones.'<sup>1942</sup> Your father attached this man to his own father, just as one attaches a rightly-guided son to a chaste and pure father! Thus your father made the *sunna* die out of ignorance, and willfully gave life to innovations and misleading changes.

Whatever things I may forget, I shall not forget your driving al-Ḥusayn b. 2:296 ʻAlī from the sanctuary of God's Messenger to God's sanctuary,<sup>1943</sup> and your covertly sending men to assassinate him. You thereby made him depart from | God's sanctuary to Kufa. He departed fearful and apprehensive—he who had been the most honored of Mecca's people in Mecca<sup>1944</sup> of old, and the most honored of its people there of late; he who would

<sup>1939</sup> Reading the MSS unpointed word as *tantābuhum*. Houtsma read it *tunshi'u bikhim* (sniffing them).

<sup>1940</sup> Arabic *al-daī*. Ibn ‘Abbās scornfully rejects ‘Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād's claim to descent, through his father Ziyād, from Abū Sufyān. For Mu‘āwiya's claim that Ziyād was the son of Abū Sufyān, see above, ed. Leiden, 2:259.

<sup>1941</sup> Reading with the MSS: *mā ktasaba abūka l-‘arru illā bihi l-khizya wa-l-madhallata*. Houtsma emended to *mā iktasaba abūka bihi illā l-‘ara wa-l-khizya wa-l-madhallata* (your father acquired nothing but disgrace, shame, and humiliation).

<sup>1942</sup> Meaning: the child belongs to the owner of the bed on which it is born, and the adulterer (and adulteress, the Arabic has the masculine, but it has always been interpreted as inclusive of both genders) should be stoned. The ḥadīth occurs in all the Sunnī ḥadīth collections. See, for example, Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, 1:25, 2:179, 4:168, 238, 5:267, 6:37. For the other collections, see al-Tawḥīdī, *al-Baṣā’ir*, 7:288, n. 848.

<sup>1943</sup> That is, from Medina to Mecca.

<sup>1944</sup> Arabic *a'azza ahli l-baṭhā'i bi-l-baṭhā'i qadīman*: literally, "the most honored of the people of the *baṭhā'* (the central depression in which Mecca is located) in the *baṭhā'* of old."

have been the most obeyed of the people of the two sanctuaries<sup>1945</sup> in the two sanctuaries if he had taken a stand in them, and if he had permitted fighting to take place in them.<sup>1946</sup> But he was loath to be the one to violate the sanctity of the House<sup>1947</sup> and that of God's Messenger. He deemed grievous what you did not deem grievous, inasmuch as you covertly sent men to him there, so that he would fight in the sanctuary, and what Ibn al-Zubayr did not deem grievous, inasmuch as he showed contempt for the Sacred House and exposed it to those who err from the way, and himself set out eagerly after the world.<sup>1948</sup> But it is you—you!—who, I think, flout God's prohibitions in the Sanctuary—nay, there is no doubt about it. It is you who are the perverter and music-maker,<sup>1949</sup> for you are an ally of women and given to entertainments. Therefore when al-Ḥusayn saw your bad judgment, he headed to Iraq, not wishing to collude with you. *And God's commandment was a destiny decreed.*<sup>1950</sup>

You are the one who wrote to Ibn Marjāna<sup>1951</sup> to face al-Ḥusayn with troops. You ordered him to deal with him swiftly, to grant him no delay, and to press him hard, so that he might kill him and those of the Banū 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib who were with him—*People of the House, from whom God has removed uncleanness and cleansed with a thorough cleansing.*<sup>1952</sup>

<sup>1945</sup> That is, of the sanctuaries of Mecca and Medina.

<sup>1946</sup> "... in them ... in them": the MSS have *bihā* (in *it*, or in *them*, more than two), which might indicate that only Mecca is meant. The text, however, is clear that the two cities are meant, especially since the author mentions later "the sanctity of the House (Mecca) and the sanctity of God's Messenger (Medina)." The singular therefore should be emended to the dual: *bihimā*.

<sup>1947</sup> That is, the Ka'bā.

<sup>1948</sup> Reconstructing the text as follows from M: *wa-'arradahu li-l-ghāwīna wa aqbala ithra l-`ālam*, where the last word, *al-`ālam*, means worldly power; *al-ghāwīn* is a Qur'ānic word. Houtsma could reconstruct the sentence only partially, reading *li-l-`āfir* (to the wanderer) for *li-l-ghāwīn* (to those wandering in error); he left the following three words without points and merely transcribed their shape.

<sup>1949</sup> Reading with M, *al-'azif*. Houtsma's read C as *al-'arif* (the prefect, the master, the knowledgeable one), none of whose meanings make sense in the context of the letter. That a word dealing with entertainment is needed here is clear from the following sentence. A derivative of the verb *'azafa* (to play a musical instrument) is therefore appropriate. However, the form *'azif* is problematical, as it normally signifies the *action* of playing an instrument, not the *player* of an instrument.

<sup>1950</sup> Qur'ān 33:38.

<sup>1951</sup> Ibn Marjāna is a term of abuse for 'Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād; Marjāna was his mother.

<sup>1952</sup> Qur'ān 33:33, slightly altered.

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We are those people; we are not like your boorish and hot-tempered<sup>1953</sup> fathers—the donkeys! Al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī asked him to be left in peace. He asked them to be allowed to turn back; but you, seizing on the fewness of his supporters and the uprooting of his family, attacked them. They killed them as if they—and as if you—were killing the first family of the Turks.<sup>1954</sup> Therefore nothing is more amazing to me than your seeking my friendship and help, when you have killed the sons of my father<sup>1955</sup> and your sword drips with my blood. You will receive my retaliation! God willing, my blood will not be unavenged on you. You will not outrun my vengeance; and if you outrun my taking it in this world, prophets and prophets' families were killed before us, | and the appointed time was God's: He is a sufficient supporter of the oppressed and exacter of vengeance from the oppressors. So do not be proud at having the upper hand over us today, for, by God, we shall surely get the upper hand over you some day.

As for what you mentioned regarding my loyalty and what you claimed would come to me of my right: even if that is so, by God I pledged obedience to your father knowing full well that [my uncle's sons]<sup>1956</sup> and all of my father's descendants were more entitled to this matter<sup>1957</sup> than your father. But you people of Quraysh contended<sup>1958</sup> with us, took exclusive possession of our authority (*sultān*) from us, and thrust us away from our right. So away with those who dare to wrong us, who misled foolish people against us, and who took charge of the matter, excluding us! Away with them, as Thamūd, the people of Lot, the companions of Midian, and those who disbelieved the messengers perished!

Among the most amazing of wonders—Time shows you amazing things as long as you live!—is your carrying off the daughters of ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib and young lads of his progeny to you in Syria like fetched cap-

<sup>1953</sup> Reading with M, *al-humāti l-akbādi*. Houtsma read *al-jufāti al-akbādi* (the coarse-livered).

<sup>1954</sup> Reading with M, *ka-annamā qatalū ahla bayti l-turki wa-ka’annaka*. Houtsma's conjectural emendation was: *ka-annamā qatalū ahla baytin [min] al-turki wa-l-kufri* (as if they were killing a family [of] the Turks and unbelief).

<sup>1955</sup> Referring to his grandfather, ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib.

<sup>1956</sup> Inserted by Houtsma on the basis of ms Leiden 915, which contains a version of this letter.

<sup>1957</sup> Arabic *amr*, meaning the caliphate.

<sup>1958</sup> Reading with M, *kābartumūnā*. The word is unpointed in C; Houtsma read it as *kāthartumūnā* (you outnumbered us).

tives, to show people that you have subdued us and will do us in.<sup>1959</sup> Upon my life, if you feel secure mornings and evenings because my hand has been wounded, I hope that your wounds will become numerous from my speech and from my refuting and establishing, so that your joy<sup>1960</sup> does not last. God will grant you only a brief respite after your killing of the progeny of God's Messenger, until He seizes you painfully and removes you, reprehensible and sinful, from the world. Live, then—may you have no father—for, by God, what you have committed has destroyed you in God's sight. Peace be upon those who obey God.

Yazīd appointed ‘Uthmān b. Muḥammad b. Abī Sufyān over Medina. Ibn Minā,<sup>1961</sup> the overseer of Mu‘āwiya's estates (*ṣawāfi*), came to him and informed him that he had been about to send off the | wheat and dates that he used to send every year from those estates, but the people of Medina had prevented him from doing so. ‘Uthmān b. Muḥammad sent for a group of them and spoke harshly to them. They rose up against him and against the Banū Umayya who were with him in Medina, expelling them from the city, pursuing them, and stoning them.

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When the news reached Yazīd b. Mu‘āwiya, he sent for Muslim b. ‘Uqba<sup>1962</sup> and had him brought from Palestine, although he was sick. He brought him into his house and told him the story. Muslim said: “Commander [of the Faithful], dispatch me to them. By God, I will turn the place upside down!”—meaning the City of the Prophet. Yazīd dispatched him with 5,000 men to Medina, and he attacked its people at the battle of al-Harra.<sup>1963</sup> The people of Medina fought him fiercely and dug a trench around the city. Muslim made an attempt on one

<sup>1959</sup> Reading with M, *tamurru*. For this meaning, see al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh, Glossarium*, s.v. M-R. Houtsma emended the word to *ta’muru* (will hold sway).

<sup>1960</sup> Reading with M, *al-jadhal*. Houtsma read the unpointed word in C as *jadal* (argument, debate), which does not fit the context.

<sup>1961</sup> It is difficult to identify Ibn Minā, since his full name is not mentioned and his father's name Minā indicates that he is a non-Arab. He could be al-Ḥakam b. Minā, who was a slave of the family of Abū ‘Amir al-Rāhib, of the Anṣār. The latter gave him to Abū Sufyān, and Abū Sufyān sold him to al-‘Abbās b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib, who freed him. During the Prophet's time, he participated in the battle of Tabūk. See Ibn Sa’d, *Tabaqāt*, 5:228; al-Bukhāri, *al-Ta’rīkh*, 2:343; Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *al-Jarh*, 3:127; Ibn ‘Asākir, *Dimashq*, 15:63; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 2:440.

<sup>1962</sup> On Muslim b. ‘Uqba al-Murrī, see the article by H. Lammens in *EI<sup>2</sup>*, s.v. Muslim b. ‘Uqba.

<sup>1963</sup> The battle of al-Harra (the word refers to any area of black broken volcanic stones that looks as if it had been burned by fire) took place on 26 or 27 Dhū l-Ḥijja 63 (26 or 27 August 683). See the article by L. Veccia Vaglieri in *EI<sup>2</sup>*, s.v. al-Harra.

side of the trench, but it proved impossible for him. Marwān<sup>1964</sup> tricked some of the inhabitants; he entered together with one hundred horsemen, and then the cavalry followed and entered the city. Few people in it were not killed. Muslim so violated the sanctuary of God's Messenger that that virgins later gave birth not knowing who had impregnated them. Then he forced the people to swear allegiance on the basis of being slaves to Yazīd b. Mu‘awiyā.<sup>1965</sup> A man from the Quraysh would be brought forward and told, "Swear allegiance as a sign that you are a complete slave"<sup>1966</sup> to Yazīd." If he said no, he was beheaded.

'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn came to him and asked, "On what basis do you want<sup>1967</sup> me to give you the oath of allegiance?" Muslim said, "On the basis that you are a brother and a cousin." 'Alī said, "Even if you want me to swear allegiance before you on the basis of my being a complete slave, I will do it." Muslim said, "This man has not put you to shame."<sup>1968</sup> When the people saw that 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn had acceded, they said, "Behold the grandson of God's Messenger has sworn allegiance as Muslim wanted." So they also swore allegiance as Muslim wanted. That was in the year 62.<sup>1969</sup>

2:299 Muslim's army numbered 5,000 men: 1,000 men from Palestine, led by Rawḥ b. Zinbā' al-Judhāmī,<sup>1970</sup> 1,000 men from Jordan, led by Ḥubaysh b. Dulja al-Qaynī,<sup>1971</sup> 1,000 men from Damascus, led by 'Abdallāh b. Mas'ada al-Fazārī; 1,000 men from the people of Ḥimṣ, led by al-Ḥuṣayn b. Numayr al-Sakūnī,<sup>1972</sup>

1964 That is, Marwān b. al-Hakam.

1965 That is, as if they had been non-Muslims who had resisted the terms offered by the Muslim armies. Such captives were regularly enslaved, but Muslim's treatment of the citizens of the oldest Islamic city is presented as outrageous.

1966 Arabic *‘abd qinn*. The exact meaning is uncertain. The dictionaries (e.g. *Lisān al-Arab*, s.v.) give a variety of explanations. One is that it refers to a slave born in one's household to a slave father, as opposed to a slave acquired by purchase.

1967 Reading with M, *turīdu*. In C the word has been repeated by dittography, leading Houtsma to read *yurīdu Yazīd* (does Yazīd want). The two words have the same ductus in unpointed Arabic script.

1968 Arabic *mā ahshamaka hādhā*: literally, "This one (that is, Yazīd) has not put you to shame."

1969 62 A.H. = September 20, 681 – September 9, 682. This date, however, does not agree with the date usually given for the battle of al-Ḥarra (see above, note 1963).

1970 On Rawḥ b. Zinbā' al-Judhāmī, see the article by G. R. Hawting in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Rawḥ b. Zinbā'.

1971 On Ḥubaysh b. Dulja al-Qaynī, see Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta’rīkh*, 196, 261; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:578–579, 642; Ibn ‘Asākir, *Dimashq*, 12:86.

1972 On al-Ḥuṣayn b. Numayr al-Sakūnī, see the article by H. Lammens in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Ḥuṣayn b. Numayr.

and 1,000 men from Qinnasrīn, led by Zufar b. al-Ḥārith al-Kilābī.<sup>1973</sup> The manager of the affairs of the people of Medina and their chief in fighting the Syrians was ‘Abdallāh b. Ḥanẓala b. Abī ‘Āmir al-Anṣārī.<sup>1974</sup>

Muslim b. ‘Uqba left Medina for Mecca in order to fight Ibn al-Zubayr. When he reached the mountain pass at al-Mushallal,<sup>1975</sup> he became deathly ill. He appointed al-Ḥuṣayn b. Numayr as his successor and said to him: “You donkey’s pack-saddle! But for Ḥubaysh b. Dulja al-Qaynī, I would not have appointed you. When you get to Mecca, your work will be nothing but to take a position, fight, then depart!”<sup>1976</sup> Then he said, “O God, if you punish me after my obedience to your caliph Yazīd b. Mu‘āwiya and the killing of the people of al-Ḥarra, I shall be truly wretched.” Then his soul departed, and he was buried at the pass of al-Mushallal. The concubine (*umm walad*) of Yazīd b. ‘Abdallāh b. Zam‘a<sup>1977</sup> came and exhumed him and crucified him at al-Mushallal; then the people came and stoned him. When al-Ḥuṣayn b. Numayr received word, he turned back, buried him, and killed a number of people of that place; some say that he spared not one of them.

Al-Ḥuṣayn b. Numayr came to Mecca and battled Ibn | al-Zubayr in the sanctuary: he bombarded it with fire until he burned the Ka‘ba.<sup>1978</sup> When the two sides faced each other, Ibn al-Zubayr’s judge, ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Umayr al-Laythī,<sup>1979</sup> stood by the Ka‘ba and shouted at the top of his voice: “People of

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<sup>1973</sup> On Zufar b. al-Ḥārith al-‘Āmirī al-Kilābī, see Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta’rīkh*, 195, 260; al-Bukhārī, 3:430; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, index; al-Jahshiyārī, *al-Wuzarā*, 35; Ibn ‘Asākir, *Dimashq*, 19:34.

<sup>1974</sup> On ‘Abdallāh b. Ḥanẓala, known as Ibn al-Ghasil, who was killed in the battle of al-Ḥarra, see the article by Isaac Hasson in *ET*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. ‘Abdallāh b. Ḥanẓala.

<sup>1975</sup> Al-Mushallal is a mountain pass descending towards the sea in the direction of Qu-dayd. See Yaqūt, *Mu’jam al-buldān*, 5:136, s.v. al-Mushallal.

<sup>1976</sup> The Arabic is as laconic as Caesar’s Veni, vidi, vici: *al-wiqāf, thumma l-thiqāf, thumma l-inṣirāf*.

<sup>1977</sup> While he was still at Medina, Muslim b. ‘Uqba had killed her master, Yazid b. ‘Abdallāh b. Zam‘a, together with his brother immediately after the battle of al-Ḥarra because they said that they would pledge allegiance only “in accordance with the Book of God and the *sunna* of His Prophet.” See al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:418–419.

<sup>1978</sup> For details of the siege and the use of a *manjaniq* (trebuchet) to hurl stones and flaming charges into Mecca, see al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:426–427. Note that some of the reports collected by al-Ṭabarī place responsibility for the fire on the carelessness of Ibn al-Zubayr’s followers, who had lit fires around the building.

<sup>1979</sup> On ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Umayr b. ‘Amr al-Laythī, see Ibn Qutayba, *Ma‘ārif*, 587; al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 359, 363, 393, 400; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 1:2828–2829, 2:752, 1436.

Syria! This is God's sanctuary that even in the Time of Ignorance was a refuge where birds and game were safe. Therefore fear God, O people of Syria!" The Syrians shouted back: "Obedience, obedience! Attack, attack! Departure before evening!" This went on until the Ka'ba was burned. Ibn al-Zubayr's supporters said, "Let us put out the fire!" But Ibn al-Zubayr prevented them, wanting the people to become angry over the fate of the Ka'ba. One of the Syrians said, "Sanctity and obedience met, and obedience overcame sanctity." The burning of the Ka'ba took place in the year 63.<sup>1980</sup>

Yazīd appointed Salm b. Ziyād<sup>1981</sup> over Khurāsān and sent with him a number of tribal nobles (*ashrāf*), one of whom was Ṭalḥat al-Ṭalaḥāt—he was Ṭalḥa b. ‘Abdallāh b. Khalaf al-Khuza‘ī—along with al-Muhallab b. Abī Šufra, ‘Umar b. Ubaydallāh<sup>1982</sup> b. Ma‘mar al-Taymī, and ‘Abdallāh b. Khāzim al-Sulamī. Salm b. Ziyād went to Khurāsān and stayed in Nishāpūr. Then he went to Khwārazm and conquered it. Then he went to Bukhārā, whose queen was Khātūn. When she saw the size of his army, she became alarmed and wrote to Ṭarkhūn, the king of Soghdia:<sup>1983</sup> "I will marry you. Come to me to take possession of Bukhārā." The king came to her with 120,000 men. When Salm b. Ziyād received word of Ṭarkhūn's approach, he sent out al-Muhallab b. Abī Šufra as his vanguard; he went out, and the troops followed after him. When they came close to Ṭarkhūn's soldiers, Ṭarkhūn's men advanced toward them and the fighting raged. The Muslims showered them with arrows; Ṭarkhūn was killed, his men were defeated, and many of them were killed. On that day, the Muslims' shares of booty amounted to 2,400 (dirhams) for a cavalryman and 1,200 (dirhams) for an infantryman.

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Ibn Ziyād stayed in Khurāsān until Yazīd died. He hid the news of his death until it spread among the people. Salm then left Khurāsān, deputizing Ibn Khāzim al-Sulamī; fearing that the latter would rebel against him, he sought

<sup>1980</sup> 63 A.H. = September 10, 682 – August 29, 683. This differs from the report in al-Tabarī (on the authority of al-Wāqidī), dating the burning of the Ka'ba to 3 Rabi‘ 1 64 (October 30, 683).

<sup>1981</sup> On Salm b. Ziyād b. Abīhi, the third of Ziyād's sons, see the article by C. E. Bosworth in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Salm b. Ziyād b. Abīhi.

<sup>1982</sup> The MSS read ‘Abdallāh, which is incorrect (cf. above, ed. Leiden, 2:192). Houtsma corrected the reading in the *Addenda et emendanda* of volume 1 of ed. Leiden.

<sup>1983</sup> Soghdia (Arabic, al-Sughd or al-Šughd) was the region of central Asia stretching from the Oxus to the Jaxartes rivers (in modern Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, and Kirgizstan). The inhabitants spoke an Iranian language, Soghdian, and the chief city was Samarcand. See the article by W. Barthold in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Šughd.

to beguile him. Having received word<sup>1984</sup> that the troops were restless, Salm gave him his appointment and departed.

Ibn Khāzim stayed in Khurāsān and accomplished wonders, and no one<sup>1985</sup> would defy him.<sup>1986</sup> Sulaymān<sup>1987</sup> advanced to Herat and continued fighting him, while Aws b. Tha‘labā revolted in al-Ṭālaqān. (Ibn Khāzim) continued to fight both of them and fought the Turks; in all of this he was victorious over them.

Yazīd b. Mu‘āwiya died in Ṣafar of the year 64<sup>1988</sup> in a place called Ḥuwārīn.<sup>1989</sup> He was carried to Damascus and buried there; Mu‘āwiya b. Yazīd prayed over him.

He had four sons: Mu‘āwiya, Khālid, Abū Sufyān, and ‘Abdallāh.

The persons with the greatest influence over him were: Ḥumayd b. Ḥurayth b. Bahḍal al-Kalbī,<sup>1990</sup> Rawḥ b. Zinbā‘ al-Judhāmī, al-Nu‘mān b. Bashīr, and

<sup>1984</sup> Vocalizing *balaghahu* instead of Houtsma's *ballaghahu* (he informed him).

<sup>1985</sup> Reading with M, *wa-lam yakun aḥadun yaruddu ‘alayhi*. The word *aḥadun* has fallen out of C, leaving a sentence that can be parsed as passive: *wa-lam yakun yuraddu ‘alayhi* (and he could not be defied).

<sup>1986</sup> One or more sentences have fallen out of the MSS at this point.

<sup>1987</sup> As corrected by Houtsma. M reads Salm, corrected to Aslam, the reading followed in C. On the basis of al-Balādhurī, *Futūh*, 414, Houtsma emended to Sulaymān. This would be Sulaymān b. Marthad, from the Banū Sa‘d b. Mālik b. Dubay‘a. After the death of Yazīd, the people in Khurāsān agreed at first to be governed by Salm b. Ziyād. Salm wrote to ‘Abdallāh b. Khāzim and departed from Khurāsān, deputizing al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufra. Upon meeting Sulaymān b. Marthad in Sarakhs, and finding him angry at the deputization of al-Muhallab, Salm appointed Sulaymān over specific parts of Khurāsān including Marw. When ‘Abdallāh b. Khāzim was appointed by Ibn al-Zubayr as governor of Khurāsān, he conquered Marw and then fought Sulaymān b. Marthad and killed him in 64/683–684. See al-Balādhurī, *Futūh*, 414; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:489–490, 496. The two sources give slightly varying reports on the events of this period in Khurāsān.

<sup>1988</sup> Ṣafar 64 A.H. = September 29 – October 27, 683.

<sup>1989</sup> Ḥuwārīn is a town near Tadmur (Palmyra) in Syria. See Yāqūt, 2:315–316.

<sup>1990</sup> This is the reading of M (albeit with “Ḥurī” in place of “Ḥurayth”); C has Ḥumayd b. Bashīr. Houtsma emended the name to Ḥassān b. Bahḍal. Ḥumayd b. Ḥurayth b. Bahḍal al-Kalbī, also referred to as Ḥumayd b. Bahḍal, or merely as “Ibn Bahḍal” in poetry, is mentioned several times during the caliphates of Marwān and ‘Abd al-Malik. He fought for the Umayyads against ‘Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād in 67/686, but against them and on the side of ‘Amr b. Sa‘id al-Ashdaq during the latter’s attempt to seize power from ‘Abd al-Malik in 69/688; see al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:487, 707–708, 784–785, 787, 790. More famous than Ḥumayd al-Kalbī is another Kalbī, Ḥassān b. Mālik b. Bahḍal (d. 69/688–689), whose name Houtsma placed here: he was a tribal chief among the Kalb tribe in Syria,

‘Abdallāh b. Riyāḥ.<sup>1991</sup> ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Āmir al-Hamdānī<sup>1992</sup> was in charge of his police; Sa‘īd,<sup>1993</sup> a client (*mawlā*) of the Kalb, was in charge of his bodyguard; and his chamberlain was Ṣafwān, his client.<sup>1994</sup>

When al-Ḥusayn b. Numayr was fighting Ibn al-Zubayr, Marwān b. al-Hakam wrote to him: “Let what has happened<sup>1995</sup> not frighten you; proceed with your business.”

The news<sup>1996</sup> also reached Ibn al-Zubayr. It spread among the troops, and the men’s morale broke. Al-Ḥuṣayn b. Numayr sent a message to Ibn al-Zubayr, saying, “Let us meet tonight under a safe conduct.” So they met. Al-Ḥuṣayn b. | Numayr said to him: “Yazīd has died, and his son is a boy. Would you like me to take you to Syria—there is no one in Syria—and give you my oath of allegiance, whereupon no two people will disagree about you?” Raising his voice, Ibn al-Zubayr said, “No, by God, other than Whom there is no god—unless in retaliation for the people of al-Ḥarra you kill a like number of Syrians!” Al-Ḥuṣayn said to him: “Whoever claimed that you were a smart one?<sup>1997</sup> I say to you what is to your advantage in secret and you say to me what is to your detriment in public!” Then he left.

Sa‘īd b. al-Musayyab used to call the years of Yazīd b. Mu‘āwiya years of evil omen: in the first year, al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī and the family of God’s Messenger were killed; in the second, the sanctuary of God’s Messenger was profaned and

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Yazid's cousin on the mother's side, and Yazid was his brother-in-law. He played an important role in bringing Marwān b. al-Ḥakam to the caliphate in 64/684. See the article by H. Lammens and L. Vecchia Vagliari in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ḥassān b. Mālik. It is probably Ḥassān's prominence during Yazid's rule and his relation to him that made Houtsma change the name. Nevertheless, the text is clear in identifying Ḥumayd b. Ḥurayth al-Kalbī, not Ḥassān.

<sup>1991</sup> ‘Abdallāh b. Riyāḥ is otherwise unknown. If there is a mistake in the name, and he is ‘Abdallāh b. Rabāḥ, rather than Riyāḥ, he would be the venerable Basran Anṣārī who visited Mu‘āwiya and was killed during the governorship of ‘Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād (but other dates are given). See Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Tabaqāt*, 200; al-Dhahabī, *Ta’rīkh*, 206; al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfi*, 17:163.

<sup>1992</sup> ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Āmir al-Hamdānī al-Awzā’ī al-Azdī was in charge of Yazid's police after Ḥurayth b. Bahḍal. He lived into the caliphate of ‘Abd al-Malik. See al-Bukhārī, *al-Ta’rīkh*, 5:156; Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *al-Jarh*, 5:123; Ibn ‘Asākir, *Dimashq*, 29:282.

<sup>1993</sup> His full name was Sa‘īd b. Zayd, a client of the Kalb. See Ibn ‘Asākir, *Dimashq*, 21:95.

<sup>1994</sup> On Ṣafwān see Ibn ‘Asākir, *Ta’rīkh Dimashq*, 24:182.

<sup>1995</sup> That is, Yazid's death.

<sup>1996</sup> That is, the news of Yazid's death.

<sup>1997</sup> Houtsma, following al-Mas‘ūdi, *Murij*, 3:281 (§ 1954), added *fa-huwa aḥmaq* (he is stupid), turning the sentence into a statement. The addition is unnecessary.

the sanctity of Medina was violated; in the third, blood was spilled in God's sanctuary and they burned down the Ka'ba.

Those who led the pilgrimage during the rule of Yazīd b. Mu‘āwiya were:

- in the year 60:<sup>1998</sup> ‘Amr b. al-Sa‘īd b. al-‘Āṣ;
- in the year 61:<sup>1999</sup> al-Walīd b. ‘Utbā;
- in the year 62:<sup>2000</sup> al-Walīd b. ‘Utbā b. Abī Sufyān.

Men who led the military campaigns during his rule: in the year 61, Mālik b. ‘Abdallāh al-Khathāmī led the summer campaign; that was the campaign of Sūriya.<sup>2001</sup>

### The Days of Mu‘āwiya b. Yazīd b. Mu‘āwiya

Then Mu‘āwiya b. Yazīd b. Mu‘āwiya, whose mother was Umm Hāshim bt. Abī Hāshim b. ‘Utbā b. Rabī‘a, ruled for forty days—others say four months. He followed a good course of action.<sup>2002</sup> He delivered a speech to the people and said:

After praising and exalting God, we say: People! We have been afflicted by you, and you have been afflicted by us; and we are not ignorant of how you hate us and reproach us. Indeed, my grandfather, Mu‘āwiya b. Abī

<sup>1998</sup> 1 Dhū l-H̄ijja 60 A.H. = September 2, 680.

<sup>1999</sup> 1 Dhū l-H̄ijja 61 A.H. = August 22, 681.

<sup>2000</sup> 1 Dhū l-H̄ijja 62 A.H. = August 11, 682.

<sup>2001</sup> The expedition led by Mālik b. ‘Abdallāh al-Khathāmī is mentioned in al-Tabārī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:196 (year 60 A.H.). Sūriya is the less common Arabic name for Syria (al-Shām is the usual term). Yāqūt, who implies that Sūriya was also the name of a particular place in al-Shām, cites al-Balādhurī, *Futūh*, 137, where the Roman emperor Heraclius, having been defeated by the Arabs, bids farewell to Sūriya with the words: “On you, O Sūriya, be peace! What a good land this is for the enemy.” Al-Balādhurī then explains, “He meant al-Shām”—the Arabic for Syria—“because of its many pastures.” Why this summer campaign received this name is unclear.

<sup>2002</sup> Arabic *wa-kāna lahu madhabun jamil*. Literally, “he had a good *madhab*.” In its original sense, a *madhab* is “a way, course, mode, or manner, of acting or conduct or the like” (Lane, *Lexicon*, 1:983b). Later it was applied in a technical sense to the various schools of Islamic jurisprudence. Here it refers specifically to his repudiation of the anti-‘Alid policy of his two predecessors. Al-Yāqūbī proceeds to cite the speech in which he made this change explicit.

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Sufyān, struggled for power against someone<sup>2003</sup> more entitled to it than he in his kinship to God's Messenger and having a greater right in Islam as the earliest of the Muslims, the first of the believers, the cousin of the Messenger of the Lord of the Worlds, and the father of | the descendants of the Seal of the Messengers.<sup>2004</sup> He perpetrated on you what you know, and you perpetrated on him what you do not deny, until his death came to him and he became hostage to his actions. Then my father was placed in charge, and he was not disposed to do good. He pursued his desires and deemed his errors good. His hopes were high, but he failed to realize them; his appointed term was short, and so his power diminished, his days were cut off, and he ended in his grave, hostage to his sins and captive to his crimes.

Then he wept and said:

What is most grievous to us is our knowledge of his evil downfall and his vile place in the hereafter, having killed the Messenger's progeny, desecrated the Sanctuary, and burned down the Ka'ba. I am not the one to take charge of your affairs, nor the one to bear the claims you make. So do as you like; for, by God, if the world is a place of profit, we have obtained a share of it; and if it is an evil, then what the family of Abū Sufyān have obtained of it is sufficient.

Marwān b. al-Ḥakam said to him, "Then rule us in accordance with 'Umar's<sup>2005</sup> way of conduct!" He said: "I would not take charge of you, alive or dead. Since when has the son of Yazīd b. Mu'āwiya become like 'Umar? And where can I find one man like 'Umar's men?"

Mu'āwiya b. Yazīd died when he was twenty-three years old. Khālid b. Yazīd b. Mu'āwiya prayed over him—others say 'Uthmān b. Muḥammad b. Abī Sufyān. He was buried in Damascus, where he used to reside.

<sup>2003</sup> That is, 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib.

<sup>2004</sup> Cf. Qur'ān 33:40 ("the Seal of the Prophets," referring to Muḥammad).

<sup>2005</sup> Literally, "according to the *sunna* of 'Umar (b. al-Khaṭṭāb)."

### The Days of Marwān b. al-Ḥakam and ‘Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr, and Some of the Days of ‘Abd al-Malik

‘Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr b. al-‘Awwām, whose mother Asmā’ was the daughter of Abū Bakr, had taken control of Mecca and proclaimed himself Commander of the Faithful; most of the regions rallied to him.

As we have already related, the account of his beginning belongs in the reign of Yazīd b. Mu‘āwiya and in his battling al-Ḥuṣayn b. Numayr. When Yazīd b. Mu‘āwiya died, people from everywhere rallied to Ibn al-Zubayr. In Egypt, | ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Jaḥdam al-Fihri was Ibn al-Zubayr’s governor, and the people there were loyal to him; Nātil b. Qays al-Judhāmī was in Palestine, al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Qays al-Fihri in Damascus, al-Nu‘mān b. Bashīr al-Anṣārī in Ḥimṣ, Zufar b. al-Ḥārith al-Kilābī in Qinnasrīn<sup>2006</sup> and al-‘Awāṣim,<sup>2007</sup> ‘Abdallāh b. Muṭī‘ in Kufa, al-Ḥārith b. ‘Abdallāh b. Abī Rabī‘a in Basra, and ‘Abdallāh b. Khāzim al-Sulamī in Khurāsān. Every region rallied to Ibn al-Zubayr except Jordan,<sup>2008</sup> whose chief at this time was Ḥassān b. Bahḍal al-Kalbī.<sup>2009</sup> Ibn al-Zubayr expelled the Umayyads from Medina; Marwān, about to leave, came to his son, ‘Abd al-Malik, who was sick with smallpox, and said to him, “Son, Ibn al-Zubayr has expelled me!” ‘Abd al-Malik responded, “What prevents you from taking me with you?” “How can I take you when you are in this condition?” asked Marwān. ‘Abd al-Malik said, “Wrap me in some cotton; surely this is a decision that Ibn al-Zubayr hasn’t thought through.” So Marwān left and took out ‘Abd al-Malik. Later Ibn al-Zubayr did think it through and realised that he had erred. He sent someone to bring them back, but they escaped him.

By the time Marwān arrived (in Syria), Mu‘āwiya b. Yazīd had died and affairs in Syria were in an unsettled state, so he put forward his claim.<sup>2010</sup> [The

<sup>2006</sup> The town of Qinnasrīn, which gave its name to a military district (*jund*), lay south of Aleppo in northern Syria. See the articles by N. Elisséeff in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Қиннасрін, and by D. Sourdel in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Djund.

<sup>2007</sup> *Al-‘Awāṣim*, literally, the “protectresses,” refers to the Muslim fortified settlements that lay between Antioch and Manbij in northern Syria. See the article by M. Canard in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-‘Awāṣim.

<sup>2008</sup> Arabic *al-Urdunn*; the area adjacent to the Jordan River, referring to the military district (*jund*) of the same name. See the article by P. M. Cobb in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Urdunn.

<sup>2009</sup> Ḥassān b. Bahḍal (d. 68/688–689) was an important Kalbī chief who had a prominent role in succession intrigues from the death Mu‘āwiya through the succession of ‘Abd al-Malik. See note 1990, above.

<sup>2010</sup> Arabic *fa-da‘ā ilā nafsihi*, literally, “he summoned (people) to himself,” that is, to proclaim him caliph.

leading figures] came together in al-Jābiya<sup>2011</sup> in the province of Damascus, and they deliberated about Ibn al-Zubayr and on their past experiences with the Umayyads; they deliberated about Khālid b. Yazīd b. Mu‘āwiya and ‘Amr b. Sa‘īd b. al-Āṣ after him.<sup>2012</sup> Rawḥ b. Zinbā‘ al-Judhāmī, who supported Marwān, rose to speak: “People of Syria! This is Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, the chief<sup>2013</sup> of the Quraysh, who avenged the blood of ‘Uthmān and fought ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib at the Battle of the Camel and Ḳiffān. Give the oath of allegiance to the eldest (of the three), and proclaim as successor the youngest and, following him, ‘Amr b. Sa‘īd.” So they gave the oath of allegiance to Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, | to be followed by Khālid b. Yazīd and then ‘Amr b. Sa‘īd.

Having entered into the oath of allegiance, they gathered those (tribesmen) who were in their region, and deliberated about which land they should head for. They said, “We should head for Syria, for it is the capital, the caliphs’ residence, and al-Ḍahhāk b. Qays<sup>2014</sup> has taken control of it.” So they set off for Damascus and engaged al-Ḍahhāk at Marj Rāḥīt.<sup>2015</sup> A number of soldiers and of Damascus’s valiant young men were with al-Ḍahhāk; and, as reinforcements, the governor of Ḥimṣ, al-Nu‘mān b. Bāshīr, had sent Shurahbil b. Dhī al-Kalā‘<sup>2016</sup> commanding the soldiers of Ḥimṣ, and Zuṭar b. al-Ḥārith al-Kilābī had sent Qays b. Ṭarīf b. Ḥassān al-Hilālī. The two sides met at Marj Rāḥīt and fought fiercely.<sup>2017</sup> Al-Ḍahhāk b. Qays was killed, along with many of his men, and the survivors of his army fled. When the news reached al-Nu‘mān b. Bāshīr in Ḥimṣ, he fled the city with his Kinānī wife, his household goods, and his

<sup>2011</sup> Al-Jābiya, located in the Golan about 80 km south of Damascus, was an important settlement for pre- and early Islamic Syrian tribes and frequently served as a center for the military district (*jund*) of Damascus. See the article by H. Lammens and J. Sourdel-Thomine in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *al-Djābiya*.

<sup>2012</sup> That is, to succeed Marwān as caliph. Khalifa b. Khayyāṭ, *Ta’rīkh*, 259, has a shortened version of this, dating the *bay’ā* to the middle of Dhū l-Qa’dā, 64 (July 4, 684). (Note that Bonner, *Aristocratic Violence*, 44 says that for frontier material Khalifa is close to al-Yāqūbī.) On the succession, see *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, *xxi*, (trans. Fishbein), 155, n. 561.

<sup>2013</sup> Arabic *shaykh*.

<sup>2014</sup> Al-Ḍahhāk b. Qays, the governor of Damascus, was sympathetic to Ibn al-Zubayr and eventually decided to fight Marwān. See the article by A. Dietrich in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *al-Ḍahhāk b. Qays al-Fihri*.

<sup>2015</sup> On the Battle of Marj Rāḥīt, fought in the vicinity of Damascus, see the article by N. Elisséeff in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Mardj Rāḥīt*.

<sup>2016</sup> His father had died fighting on the Umayyad side at Ḳiffān; see al-Dīnawarī, *Akhbār* (ed. Leiden), 191.

<sup>2017</sup> Khalifa b. Khayyāṭ, *Ta’rīkh*, 259, says that the battle lasted for 20 days.

children. Tribesmen of the Ḥimyar and Bāhila pursued him and killed him in the steppe; they cut off his head and sent it to Marwān b. al-Ḥakam. Zufar b. al-Ḥārith also fled, pursued by the cavalry, as far as Qarqīsiyā,<sup>2018</sup> where ‘Iyād al-Ḥarashī of the tribe of Madhhij was stationed. The latter shut the city gates on him, but Zufar kept using deceit until he managed to enter the city.

Marwān sent Ḥubaysh b. Dulja al-Qaynī<sup>2019</sup> to the Ḥijāz to fight Ibn al-Zubayr. Ḥubaysh got as far as Medina, where Jābir b. al-Aswad b. ‘Awf al-Zuhri was Ibn al-Zubayr's governor. Ibn al-Zubayr wrote to al-Ḥārith b. ‘Abdallāh, his governor of Basra, ordering him to send an army against them, and they met Ḥubaysh in battle, killing him and most of his men. Of the very few who fled to safety were Yūsuf b. al-Ḥakam al-Thaqafī and his son al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf.<sup>2020</sup>

Marwān left for Egypt, and when he reached Palestine he found Nātil | b. Qays al-Judhāmī having overrun the country, so he dispatched Rawḥ b. Zinbā‘ to battle him. When Nātil no longer had enough strength to battle Marwān, he fled and joined Ibn al-Zubayr. Marwān then set out for Egypt, which he entered; its inhabitants came to terms with him and gave him their allegiance. He dismissed Ibn Jahdām al-Fihri, Ibn al-Zubayr's governor—some say he tricked him and killed him. He killed Akdar<sup>2021</sup> b. Ḥumām al-Lakhmī, appointed his son ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Marwān<sup>2022</sup> as governor, and departed.

Sulaymān b. Ṣurad al-Khuza‘ī and al-Musayyab b. Najaba al-Fazārī raised a revolt. Joined by some of the Shī‘a of Iraq, they led a force into rebellion at a place called ‘Ayn al-Warda,<sup>2023</sup> seeking vengeance for the blood of al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī. They said: “We are the Penitents; we repent to God for our failure to support the grandson of the Messenger of God,<sup>2024</sup> and we will act in accordance with God's command to the Israelites, when He said: *Now turn to your Creator and slay one another. That will be better for you in your Creator's sight, and He will*

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<sup>2018</sup> A town in Northern Mesopotamia, on the left bank of the Euphrates near the confluence with the Khābūr; see the article by M. Streck in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Қарқисија.

<sup>2019</sup> Ḥubaysh b. Dulja was a veteran who had fought for Mu‘awiyah at Ḳiffān. On this expedition, see al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh*, 2:578–579.

<sup>2020</sup> The future governor of Iraq under Marwān's successor, ‘Abd al-Malik.

<sup>2021</sup> So M, C, also al-Kindī; ed. Leiden emends to Uṣaydir.

<sup>2022</sup> On the career of this Umayyad prince, see the article by Khalid Yahya Blankinship in *EI*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Marwān.

<sup>2023</sup> Otherwise known as Ra’s al-‘Ayn, on the Euphrates in Northern Mesopotamia; brief notice in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. ‘Ayn al-Warda.

<sup>2024</sup> The words “We are the Penitents ... Messenger of God,” present in M, have fallen out of C, and hence from ed. Leiden. On this movement, known by its Arabic name as al-Tawwābūn (Penitents), see the article by F. M. Denny in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Tawwābūn.

*turn to you; truly He turns, and is All-compassionate.”<sup>2025</sup>* Many people followed them. Marwān sent ‘Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād against them, saying to him, “If you take control of Iraq, it is yours to govern.” ‘Ubaydallāh engaged Sulaymān b. Ṣurad, doing battle until he killed him. Some say that Sulaymān was not killed during Marwān’s reign, but that he was killed during the reign of ‘Abd al-Malik.

When Marwān, returning from Egypt, arrived in al-Ṣinnabra<sup>2026</sup> in the province of Jordan, news reached him that Ḥassān b. Bahḍal had given the oath of allegiance to ‘Amr b. Sa‘īd. So he summoned Ḥassān and said to him, “I have heard that you have given the oath of allegiance to ‘Amr b. Sa‘īd.” When Ḥassān denied this, Marwān said to him, “Give the oath of allegiance to ‘Abd al-Malik.” So he gave the oath to ‘Abd al-Malik and, to succeed him, ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Marwān.

Marwān had been in al-Ṣinnabra only briefly when he died. The circumstances of his death were as follows. Having married the mother of Khālid b. Yazīd b. Mu‘āwiya, Marwān went to see Khālid one day | and insulted him; he did the same on another day. Khālid, now angry, went to see his mother, telling her of what had happened. She said, “By God, he won’t be doing that again!”<sup>2027</sup> She then placed poison in milk, and when he entered, gave it to him to drink. Some say that she placed a cushion on his face, killing him; others say that he died in Damascus and was buried there. Marwān ruled for nine months; he died in Ramaḍān of year 65 at the age of 61.<sup>2028</sup> The commander of his security force (*shurṭa*) was Yahyā b. Qays al-Ghassānī, and his chamberlain (*hājib*) was Abū Sahl al-Aswad.<sup>2029</sup> His son ‘Abd al-Malik led the prayers at his funeral. He left twelve male children: ‘Abd al-Malik, ‘Abd al-‘Azīz, Mu‘āwiya, Bishr, ‘Umar, Abān, ‘Abdallāh, ‘Ubaydallāh, Ayyūb, Dāwūd, ‘Uthmān, and Muḥammad.

‘Abd al-Malik succeeded (to power) over the Syrians.<sup>2030</sup> Fearing that ‘Amr b. Sa‘īd would rebel, he made his way quickly to Damascus. The people rallied to

2025 Qur’ān 2:54.

2026 Ṣinnabra, three miles from Tiberias, had been used as a winter residence by Mu‘āwiya; see Yāqūt, *Mu’jam al-buldān*, s.v.

2027 The Arabic literally means, “He will not drink cold (water) after this!”

2028 Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta’rīkh*, 261, dates Marwān’s death to the beginning (*mustahall*) of Ramaḍān 65 (April 11, 785), but adds a report dating his death to 3 Ramaḍān (April 13, 785); al-Tabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:577, merely states that he died in Ramaḍān of that year.

2029 Khalifa, *Ta’rīkh*, 263, identifies Abū Sahl as his *mawlā*.

2030 The text and the translation are uncertain. The easiest solution is to follow the suggestion made by Landberg, *Critica*, 1:48, to read: *wa-khalafa [‘alā] ahl al-Shām ‘Abd al-Malik*; the translation follows this emendation. M reads: *wa-haffa ahl al-Shām bi-‘Abd al-Malik* (The Syrians surrounded ‘Abd al-Malik). Ed. Leiden reads, *wa-khalafa ahl al-Shām bi-‘Abd al-Malik* (The Syrians became altered concerning ‘Abd al-Malik). But

him, and when he said to them, “I fear that you harbor misgivings,”<sup>2031</sup> a number of Marwān’s supporters rose and said, “By God, if you don’t ascend the pulpit, we will put you to the sword!” So he ascended it, and they gave him the oath of allegiance.

Al-Mukhtār b. Abī ‘Ubayd al-Thaqafī had set out with an armed band with the intention of avenging al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī.<sup>2032</sup> ‘Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād seized him, imprisoned him, and beat him with a rod, slitting his eyelid. ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Umar wrote concerning him to Yazīd b. Mu‘āwiya, and Yazīd wrote to ‘Ubaydallāh, instructing him to release him; he did so and exiled him. Al-Mukhtār then left for the Ḥijāz and joined Ibn al-Zubayr, but when he did not see Ibn al-Zubayr giving him an appointment, he left for Iraq. By the time he arrived, | Sulaymān b. Ṣurad al-Khuzaī had rebelled, seeking to avenge the blood of al-Ḥusayn. When al-Mukhtār arrived in Kufa, the Shī‘a gathered round him, and he said to them: “Muḥammad b. Alī b. Abī Ṭālib<sup>2033</sup> has sent me to you as a commander and has commanded me to fight the spillers of innocent blood.<sup>2034</sup> I will avenge the blood of the oppressed members of his family. By God, I will kill the son of Marjāna,<sup>2035</sup> and take vengeance on behalf of the family of the Messenger of God against the one who has oppressed them.” One faction of the Shī‘a was persuaded, but another said, “We will go out to Muḥammad b. Alī and ask him.” So they went out to him and asked him, and he said, “How dear to us is whoever seeks to avenge us, who takes for us what is our due, and who kills our enemy!”

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if one reads the passive, *wa-khulifa*, one might come out with “The Syrians received a successor in ‘Abd al-Malik.”

<sup>2031</sup> Following M, which clearly reads *fī anfusikum shay'* (literally, “there is something in your minds”).

<sup>2032</sup> For a general treatment of al-Mukhtār’s revolt and what can be determined about his motives from the sources, see the article by G. R. Hawting in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Mukhtār b. Abī ‘Ubayd.

<sup>2033</sup> More often known as Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya, he was ‘Alī’s son by a woman of the Banū Ḥanīfa who came into ‘Alī’s possession after being captured in battle, and thus he was not a direct descendant of the Prophet. He has already been mentioned above in the list of ‘Alī’s children, ed. Leiden, 2:253, and as present at the funeral of his half-brother al-Ḥasan, ed. Leiden, 2:267. The sources portray him as decidedly cool to al-Mukhtār’s attempt to enlist his name in support of his rebellion against the Umayyads (and against Ibn al-Zubayr). For a discussion of the relations between Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya and al-Mukhtār, see the article by Fr. Buhl in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Muḥammad b. Abī ‘Ubayd.

<sup>2034</sup> Arabic *al-muhillīn*, literally, “those who permit (sc. the forbidden).” Cf. al-Tabarī, *Ta’rikh*, 2:598f.

<sup>2035</sup> A scornful name for ‘Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād, referring to his Persian mother; cf. above, ed. Leiden, 2:296.

So they returned to al-Mukhtār, gave him the oath of allegiance, and entered into a covenant with him. Thus a united group was formed.

Now Ibn al-Muṭī‘ was Ibn al-Zubayr’s governor of Kufa, and he began to seek out the Shī‘a and put them in fear. So al-Mukhtār set his followers a time to rebel, and they did so after the sunset prayer, the commander of the army being Ibrāhīm b. Mālik b. al-Ḥārith al-Ashtar,<sup>2036</sup> who called out: “Vengeance for al-Ḥusayn b. Ali!” This took place in year 66.<sup>2037</sup> Close fighting broke out between them and ‘Abdallāh b. al-Muṭī‘; it was a fierce and difficult battle. Finally, Ibn al-Muṭī‘ went to the governor’s palace and called upon the people to swear the oath of allegiance; so they swore allegiance to the Family of the Messenger of God. Al-Mukhtār paid Ibn al-Muṭī‘ 100,000 (dirhams), and said to him, “Take them and be off!” Al-Mukhtār then dispatched his governors to the districts;<sup>2038</sup> they dismissed those present there, and took up their posts.

After killing Sulaymān b. Ṣurad, ‘Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād marched against ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Sa‘īd b. Qays al-Hamdānī, who was al-Mukhtār’s governor of Mosul. ‘Abd al-Rahmān did battle with him and wrote to al-Mukhtār with news of ‘Ubaydallāh’s campaign; so al-Mukhtār dispatched Yazīd b. Anas to him and then Ibrāhīm b. Mālik b. al-Ḥārith al-Ashtar. The latter engaged ‘Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād and killed him; he also killed al-Ḥusayn b. Numayr al-Sakūnī and Shuraḥbil b. Dhī l-Kalā‘ al-Ḥimyarī, and burnt their bodies with fire. (Ibrāhīm) stayed on as governor of Mosul, Armenia, and Azerbaijan on behalf of al-Mukhtār over Iraq. He<sup>2039</sup> then dispatched as messenger a kinsman with the head of ‘Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād to ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn<sup>2040</sup> in Medina, saying to him, “Stand at the door of ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn; when you see the doors open and the people enter, that is the time when his meal is laid out; at that time enter.” So the messenger came to the door of ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn; and when the doors were opened and the people entered for the meal, he called out in his loudest voice: “People of the house of prophecy, the source of messengership, where the angels alit and revelation came down: I am the messenger of al-Mukhtār b. Abī ‘Ubayd. With me is the head of ‘Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād!” Every last woman in all the dwellings of the Banū Hāshim cried out. The messenger entered and pulled out the head; and when ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn saw it, he said, “May God banish

<sup>2036</sup> As emended by Houtsma; the MSS have Mālik b. Ibrāhīm.

<sup>2037</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, *Tarīkh*, 2:613 (Abū Mikhnaf) gives a date of 14 Rabī‘ 1, 66 (October 19, 685).

<sup>2038</sup> That is, the districts under the authority of the governor of Kufa.

<sup>2039</sup> Ibrāhīm is the apparent subject of the verb, but the head may have gone to al-Mukhtār, who then sent it on. In any case, the messenger speaks as if sent by al-Mukhtār.

<sup>2040</sup> The great-grandson of the Prophet and grandson of ‘Alī, and so the fourth imam of the twelver line (d. 94/712 or 95/713).

him to Hell!" Some say that after his father's death, ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn had never been seen laughing except on that day. They also relate that he had camels that brought fruit from Syria, and that when he was brought the head of ‘Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād, he ordered that this fruit should be distributed among the people of Medina. The women of the Prophet's Family dressed up and dyed their hair—none had done so since the slaying of al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī. Al-Mukhtār<sup>2041</sup> tracked down the killers of al-Ḥusayn, killing a great number of them until almost none remained. ‘Umar b. Sa‘d, among others, was killed; he was burned with fire and tortured in all manner of ways.

In Jumādā II of year 64 Ibn al-Zubayr destroyed the Ka‘ba, razing it to the ground.<sup>2042</sup> The circumstances were as follows. When Ibn al-Zubayr decided to destroy it, | al-Ḥuṣayn b. Numayr held back and so, too, did the people. So ‘Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr climbed onto the House and set about destroying it, and when the people saw him destroying it, they did so too. When he had razed it to the ground, Ibn Abbās<sup>2043</sup> left Mecca, finding it intolerable to remain there when the Ka‘ba had been destroyed, and he told Ibn al-Zubayr: "Set some wood around the Ka‘ba lest the people go without a *qibla*."<sup>2044</sup>

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Ibn al-Zubayr related on the authority of his aunt ‘Ā’isha, the wife of the Prophet, that she said: "The Messenger of God said to me, ‘Ā’isha, if your kin ever see fit to destroy and then rebuild the Ka‘ba, let them not raise it higher than the ground (outside the precinct),<sup>2045</sup> and let them fit it with two doors.'" When Ibn al-Zubayr got so far in his razing that he reached the foundations,<sup>2046</sup> the people were greatly shocked, so Ibn al-Zubayr repented of what he had

<sup>2041</sup> M adds the words *raḍiya Allāhu ‘anhu* (may God be pleased with him) after the name of al-Mukhtār. Apparently, the scribe who copied C, the ms on which ed. Leiden was based, also copied these words of benediction, but someone later erased them, leaving the lacuna in C noted by Houtsma.

<sup>2042</sup> Jumādā II 64 began on January 25, 684. On affairs of the Ka‘ba, see Hawting, "The Origins of the Muslim Sanctuary at Mecca," in G. H. A. Juynboll, *Studies in the First Century of Islamic Society*. The fullest discussion of Ibn al-Zubayr's activities may be U. Rubin: "The Ka‘ba: Aspects of Its Ritual Functions and Position in Pre-Islamic and Early Islamic Times," esp. pp. 102f. The parallel in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:537, is quite brief; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:592–593, gives an account of its rebuilding.

<sup>2043</sup> ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Abbās (d. 68/687–688), often called simply Ibn ‘Abbās, was a cousin of the Prophet and, traditionally, the greatest scholar-collector of the first generation. See the article by Claude Gilliot in *EI*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Abbās.

<sup>2044</sup> That is, without a direction toward which to pray.

<sup>2045</sup> Many details of this passage concerning the rebuilding of the Ka‘ba are obscure.

<sup>2046</sup> The words, "the people were greatly shocked ... the (laying of) the foundations" were omitted by the copyist of C and from ed. Leiden. The translation follows M.

done. Then he began the rebuilding. He brought one hundred men of Quraysh to be present at (the laying of) the foundations. Then he (fully) enclosed the Ḥijr,<sup>2047</sup> raising it up. He put two doors on it: one to the east, and one to the west. He gave each door two half-doors—the building's original door had had only one—and made the height of the two doors 11 cubits. The building's height had been 18 cubits, but Ibn al-Zubayr made it 29. He did not raise them<sup>2048</sup> from the ground; rather, he made them level with the surface of the ground.

He had taken the Black Stone into his possession in his house. When the rebuilding reached the spot where the Stone was supposed to be, he ordered that a hole of its size should be dug into the masonry. He then ordered his son ‘Abbād to come and set the Stone in its place while he himself was leading the noon prayer—the people, being occupied by the prayer, would know nothing of this. After ‘Abbād had finished setting it in place, he would call out “God is great!” Thus, on a fiercely hot day, ‘Abbād b. ‘Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr brought out the Stone while his father was leading the noon prayer, passed through the lines (of worshippers), went to the place, and set the Stone. Ibn al-Zubayr lengthened the prayer until he knew it (had been done). When the Quraysh saw this, they became angry | and said, “By God! This is not how the Messenger of God did it.” For the Quraysh had made him arbiter, and he had given each tribe a share (in the work).<sup>2049</sup> When the fire had reached the corner,<sup>2050</sup> the stone had splintered into three sections, and so Ibn al-Zubayr braced it with silver. When the reconstruction was completed, he censed the interior and exterior. He was the first to cense it and drape it with white Egyptian cloth. He performed a minor pilgrimage from al-Tan‘im<sup>2051</sup> and left.

‘Abd al-Malik forbade the people of Syria to perform the pilgrimage.<sup>2052</sup> This was because Ibn al-Zubayr would compel the pilgrims to give (him) the oath of

<sup>2047</sup> *Hijr* denotes an area and its partially enclosing wall northwest of the Ka‘ba.

<sup>2048</sup> The antecedent of the pronoun is unclear. It is probably refers to the “foundations.”

<sup>2049</sup> For al-Ya‘qūbi’s account of how the young Muhammad had taken part in rebuilding the Ka‘ba after its damage by a flood and had given each division of Quraysh a part in the honor of resetting the Black Stone, see above, ed. Leiden, 2:17 ff.

<sup>2050</sup> That is, when the Ka‘ba burnt down when the army sent by Yazīd b. Mu‘āwiya to enforce his authority over Medina and Mecca besieged Mecca. See al-Ya‘qūbi’s account above, ed. Leiden, 2:298–300.

<sup>2051</sup> A pilgrimage station a few miles north of Mecca, just outside the boundary of the sacred area. It is especially important as the point where one enters the state of ritual purity for the minor pilgrimage (*‘umra*).

<sup>2052</sup> Khalifa (*Ta’rikh*, 263ff.) seems to suggest, by listing Ibn al-Zubayr as the leader of the pilgrimage in A.H. 66, 67, 68, 70, and 71, that pilgrimages during this period were

allegiance; seeing this, ‘Abd al-Malik forbade the Syrians to leave for Mecca. But the people became agitated, saying, “You forbid us to perform the pilgrimage to God’s Sacred House, even though God has made it obligatory for us!” So he said to them: “Here is Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī,<sup>2053</sup> who will relate to you that the Messenger of God said, ‘Camel saddles are to be fastened for (traveling to) only three mosques:<sup>2054</sup> the Sacred Mosque, my mosque, and the mosque of Jerusalem.’<sup>2055</sup> [The latter] shall take the place of the sacred mosque for you. This stone upon which, it is related, the Messenger of God set his foot when he ascended to Heaven,<sup>2056</sup> shall take the place of the Ka‘ba for you.” He then built a dome over the stone, hung upon it brocade curtains, and appointed keepers<sup>2057</sup> to look after it. He enjoined people to circumambulate it, just as they circumambulate the Ka‘ba. And it remained so throughout the days of the Umayyads.

‘Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr treated the Banū Hāshim very harshly, showing them so much enmity and hatred that he even omitted the benediction on Muḥammad in his sermon. When he was asked why he had omitted the benediction on the Prophet, he said, “He has evil relatives who stretch out their necks (like camels) at the mention of his name and raise their heads (from prayer) when they hear it.” Ibn al-Zubayr pressed Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyah, ‘Abdallāh b. al-‘Abbās, | along with twenty-four of the Banū Hāshim, to give him the oath of allegiance. When they refused, he imprisoned them in the chamber of al-Zamzam,<sup>2058</sup> and swore by the one God that if they did not give the oath, he would burn them with fire. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyah then wrote to al-Mukhtār b. [Abī] ‘Ubayd:

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considered legally valid. Lecker, “Biographical notes on Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī,” 42 f., has a discussion with a good bibliography.

<sup>2053</sup> Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Muslim b. ‘Ubaydallāh b. ‘Abdallāh b. Shihāb al-Zuhrī, usually known simply as Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī (d. 124/742), was an important traditionist and historian with close ties to the Umayyad dynasty. See the article by M. Lecker in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Zuhrī, Ibn Shihāb.

<sup>2054</sup> For a discussion of this passage and the significance of al-Zuhrī in it, see Josef Horovitz, *The Earliest Biographies of the Prophet and Their Authors*, 52–54.

<sup>2055</sup> The three places are the Meccan sanctuary (*al-masjid al-ḥarām*), the Prophet’s mosque in Medina, and the Mosque of Jerusalem (*masjid bayt al-maqdis*).

<sup>2056</sup> See al-Ya‘qūbi’s narrative of Muḥammad’s Night Journey, ed. Leiden, 2:25–26, above.

<sup>2057</sup> Arabic *sadana* (plural of *sādin*), a term normally used for the keepers of the Ka‘ba.

<sup>2058</sup> The sacred well to the east of the Ka‘ba, alongside the wall that enclosed the Black Stone.

In the name of God, the Merciful and Compassionate. From Muḥammad b. ‘Alī and those of the family of the Messenger of God who are with him, to al-Mukhtār b. Abī ‘Ubayd and those Muslims who are with him: ‘Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr has seized us and imprisoned us in the chamber of al-Zamzam. He has sworn by the one God that he will set fire to it with us in it if we do not give him the oath of allegiance. Come to our aid!

Al-Mukhtār b. Abī ‘Ubayd therefore dispatched to them Abū ‘Abdallāh al-Jadālī, leading a force of 4,000 riders. He arrived in Mecca, broke into the chamber, and said to Muḥammad b. ‘Alī, “Leave me to deal with Ibn al-Zubayr!” But he said, “I will not permit the sort of hostility to kin that he permitted in my case.” When Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭalib<sup>2059</sup> learned that Ibn al-Zubayr had delivered a sermon in which he insulted ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭalib, he entered the Sacred Mosque, placed a camel’s saddle on the ground, and stood on it. After praising and glorifying God and pronouncing the benediction on Muḥammad, he spoke:<sup>2060</sup>

For shame, people of Quraysh! How can you sit there listening, while these things are said before you? How is it that you do not become angry, with ‘Alī being described so? For surely ‘Alī was a true arrow aimed by God against His enemies, striking their faces, forcing them to disgorge their gains, and gripping them by their throats. Surely we must follow the precedents and path set by him; in the calculus of affairs, we have no alternative. *And those who do wrong shall surely know by what overturning they will be overturned.*<sup>2061</sup>

When news of these words reached ‘Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr he said, “This is an excuse for the sons of (women named) Fāṭima; what business is it to the son of the slave girl of the Banū Ḥanīfa?”<sup>2062</sup>

When Muḥammad heard what Ibn al-Zubayr had said, he said:

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<sup>2059</sup> That is, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya.

<sup>2060</sup> Parallel with variants in al-Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj*, 3:279 (§ 1950).

<sup>2061</sup> Qur’ān 26:227.

<sup>2062</sup> A contemptuous reference to the fact that Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya, the son of a concubine, did not share the status of ‘Alī’s children by his wife Fāṭima, the daughter of the Prophet. The version in al-Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj*, 3:279 (§ 1950), is easier to understand. Ibn al-Zubayr, in his version, says: “I have excused the sons of Fāṭimas for speaking, but what business is it to the son of the Ḥanafiyya?”

People of Quraysh! And what sets me apart from the descendants of women named Fātīma? Wasn't Fātīma, daughter of the Prophet, the lawful wife | of my father and the mother of my brothers? Wasn't Fātīma bt. Asad b. Hāshim my grandmother and the mother of my father? Wasn't Fātīma bt. ‘Amr b. ‘Ā'idh b. Imrān b. Makhzūm the grandmother of my father and the mother of my grandmother? By God, were it not for Khadīja bt. Khuwaylid, I would not leave a bone uncrushed in (the clan of) Asad.<sup>2063</sup> I know very well the woman who ought to be blamed!<sup>2064</sup>

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Lacking strength to coerce the Banū Hāshim and having failed in his scheming against them, Ibn al-Zubayr expelled them from Mecca: he expelled Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya to the area of Raḍwā,<sup>2065</sup> and he expelled ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Abbās to al-Tā’if,<sup>2066</sup> doing so in a most disgraceful manner. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya wrote the following letter to ‘Abdallāh b. al-‘Abbās:

I have heard that ‘Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr has sent you to al-Tā’if. God has increased your reward and relieved you of a burden. Cousin, only the righteous are tested, and for the virtuous (God's) generosity is prepared. If you were rewarded only for what you and I like, the reward would be little. Be steadfast, for God has promised good to the steadfast. Peace!

Some report that Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya also went to al-Tā’if, and that he remained there. Ibn ‘Abbās died there in the year 68 at the age of 71.<sup>2067</sup> Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya led the prayers at his funeral. ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Abbās was buried in the congregational mosque of al-Tā’if; a pavilion was pitched over the spot. At the moment of his burial, a white bird appeared and entered the tomb along with him. Some said that it represented his knowledge; others that it represented his pious work.

<sup>2063</sup> Muḥammad's first wife, Khadija, and the Zubayrids were both from the Asad clan of the Quraysh.

<sup>2064</sup> The translation of this somewhat obscure sentence follows the text of M: *wa-innī bi-tilka llatifihā l-ma 'abu khabīr*. In al-Mas'ūdī's version, Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya begins his reply by addressing Ibn al-Zubayr by his mother's name: "You son of Umm Rūmān." This might be another derogatory reference to her, but the passage is obscure.

<sup>2065</sup> An escarpment west of Mecca, where, according to some traditions, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya would remain hidden; see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, s.v.

<sup>2066</sup> A town to the southeast of Mecca, two or three days' journey in this period.

<sup>2067</sup> 68 A.H. = July 18, 687 – July 5, 688.

'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās once said: "The Messenger of God mounted me on the back of his camel and said to me, 'Young man, shall I teach you some words that will put you in good stead before God?' I said, 'Yes, please, Messenger of God!' So he said:

'Remember God, and He will remember you. Remember God, and you will find Him before you. Make mention of God in good times, and He will make mention of you in bad times. Whenever you ask, ask of God; whenever you call for help, | call upon God for it. The pen is dry after (having recorded) what will be. People may endeavor to benefit you in some way that God has not ordained, but they will not be able to do so; they may endeavor to harm you in some way that God has not ordained, but they will not be able to do so. Be truthful in the certainty that in bearing what you loathe there is much good. Know that with patience comes God's help, with distress comes deliverance, and with difficulty comes ease.'

'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās had five sons: 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh, the youngest in age but the one who had precedence due to his eminence and nobility; al-'Abbās, the eldest, who was nicknamed "the long-necked"; Muḥammad; al-Faḍl; and 'Abd al-Raḥmān.

In this year, four banners stood at 'Arafāt:<sup>2068</sup> (the banner of) Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya, leading his men; (the banner of) Ibn al-Zubayr, leading his men; (the banner of) Najda b. Ḥamīd the Ḥarūrī;<sup>2069</sup> and the banner of the Umayyads. Al-Musāwir b. Hind b. Qays<sup>2070</sup> said:

And they have divided into branches, each tribe  
having its own Commander of the Faithful and pulpit.<sup>2071</sup>

<sup>2068</sup> Cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 2:781–782, where the year is identified as 68. In that year, the Day of Standing at 'Arafāt, 9 Dhū l-Ḥijja, fell on July 15, 688.

<sup>2069</sup> That is, the Khārijite. Najda was a spectacularly successful Khārijite leader who gave his name to the Khārijite sub-sect of the Najadāt; he died in 72/691–692. See the article by R. Rubinacci in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Nadjadāt.

<sup>2070</sup> Al-Musāwir b. Hind b. Qays was a poet from the tribe of 'Abs. Little is known about him apart from his being the grandson of the man who sparked a famous pre-Islamic war between the tribes of 'Abs and Fazāra and that he was born in pre-Islamic times but lived on into Umayyad times, long enough to engage in exchanges of satire with the poet al-Marrār b. Sa'īd al-Faq'asī. See Ibn Qutayba, *Kitāb al-Shi'r wa-l-shu'ara'*, 201–202.

<sup>2071</sup> The translation follows M; ed. Leiden omits "and pulpit (*wa-minbar*). If one keeps the word, the line scans as a verse (meter *al-kāmil*).

‘Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr dispatched his brother Muṣ‘ab b. al-Zubayr to (govern) Iraq; he arrived there in the year 68. Al-Mukhtār fought him, and there ensued between them some oft-related battles. Al-Mukhtār was gravely ill in the stomach, but he kept fighting Muṣ‘ab for four months; then his forces began to desert him, until he was left with a small band of men. So he went to Kufa and lodged in the governor’s palace, from which he made daily sorties against the followers of Ibn al-Zubayr, fighting them fiercely in Kufa’s market and then returning to the palace. Now ‘Ubaydallāh b. ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib<sup>2072</sup> was with Muṣ‘ab b. al-Zubayr; so Muṣ‘ab took to saying: | “People! Al-Mukhtār is a liar. He is only deceiving you into thinking that he seeks vengeance for the Family of Muḥammad. But this man here—‘Ubaydallāh b. ‘Alī—who is more entitled to take vengeance, claims that al-Mukhtār’s assertions are falsehoods.” Finally, al-Mukhtār made a sortie one day, and, having battled the followers of Ibn al-Zubayr with the greatest possible ferocity, was killed. His forces, now 7,000 in number, returned to the palace and fortified themselves there. Muṣ‘ab granted them safe passage and drew up for them a letter imposing on himself the strongest oaths and strictest conditions, and it was on the basis of these agreements that they emerged from the palace. But then he had them brought forward one by one and beheaded them. This was one of the most notorious and infamous treacheries in all of Islam.

Ibn al-Zubayr seized Asmā’ bt. al-Nu‘mān b. Bashīr, al-Mukhtār’s wife, and asked her, “What do you say about al-Mukhtār b. Abī ‘Ubayd?” She replied, “I say that he was God-fearing, pure-hearted, and given to fasting.” To this he replied, “Enemy of God! You still insist on exonerating him!” and he ordered that she should be put to death. She was the first woman to be executed while in fetters. ‘Umar b. Abī Rabī‘a al-Makhzūmī said:<sup>2073</sup>

A thing most amazing in my eyes  
is the killing of a fair-skinned, free, graceful-necked woman.

<sup>2072</sup> This son of ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib has been mentioned above, ed. Leiden 2:253. The son of a woman from the tribe of Tamīm (Laylā bt. Mas‘ūd al-Ḥanzaliyya), he is said to have had no offspring. He was a half-brother of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya, in whose name al-Mukhtār was fighting.

<sup>2073</sup> These verses by the Umayyad poet famous for his love poetry are also quoted (with variants) by al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:744 (where the name of al-Mukhtār’s wife is given as ‘Amra, rather than Asmā’). They are quoted (with variants) by al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, 5:264, but attributed to ‘Abdallāh b. al-Zabir al-Asādī (“but some say they are by ‘Umar b. Abī Rabī‘a”), and (unattributed) by al-Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj*, 3:301 (§1992).

They killed her though she had committed no crime:

What a noble victim she was!

Killing and fighting have been ordained for *us*,

but for young women the dragging of skirts.

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When Muṣ‘ab b. al-Zubayr had killed al-Mukhtār, and Iraq was safely in his hands, ‘Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr came to envy him for it. So he sent his son Ḥamza to Basra and wrote to Muṣ‘ab, instructing him to transfer authority in Basra to Ḥamza; which he did, although Ḥamza was very weak and possessed few political skills. Ḥamza proceeded to levy the land-tax (*kharāj*) of Basra and send it on to his father in Mecca. Muṣ‘ab, for his part, went to see his brother ‘Abdallāh, | but the latter treated him rudely; indeed, when Muṣ‘ab entered ‘Abdallāh’s presence and greeted him, ‘Abdallāh would ignore him. Eventually, when Ḥamza came to see ‘Abdallāh, Muṣ‘ab was sent back to Iraq.

‘Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr killed his brother ‘Amr b. al-Zubayr because of enmity between the two and because ‘Amr had given the oath of allegiance to Marwān b. al-Ḥakam. It is also reported that ‘Amr had commanded the security force (*shurṭa*) of ‘Amr b. Sa‘īd, and that when the latter dispatched him to battle his brother ‘Abdallāh, ‘Abdallāh killed him.

Ibn al-Zubayr appointed as governor of Khurāsān al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufra, who had been with Muṣ‘ab. By the time he arrived in Basra, its people had been surrounded by the Khārijites, who had overrun its agricultural land and tax districts, and all that remained under the Basrans’ control was the city itself. Therefore, when al-Muhallab came to the Basrans, their tribal chiefs and notables appealed to him for help. Among those who came were al-Aḥnaf b. Qays, al-Mundhir b. al-Jārūd, and Mālik b. Misma‘, accompanied by their fellow tribesmen. They said to him: “Abū Sa‘īd! You are the leader of the people and the sword of Iraq. Surely you can see what these schismatic Khārijites have done to the people of your garrison city (*mīṣr*). Staying to protect your land and defend your household must be more important to you than Khurāsān!” He replied: “Very well! I will stay to fight them, on condition that I take possession of all that I win from them and wrest from their hands, be it tax revenue or otherwise.” All of the tribesmen accepted al-Muhallab’s terms, except Mālik b. Misma‘, who held back—Mālik was fiercely proud and was known to have much property.<sup>2074</sup> Al-Aḥnaf b. Qays and al-Mundhir b. al-Jārūd accosted him

<sup>2074</sup> Following M: *wa-kuthr ma’rūf*. In C the first word was left undotted and Houtsma read it as *kibr* (pride). The reference to Mālik’s property makes the next sentence more

and said: “Have you considered what are you are refusing to Abū Sa‘īd? Is it something in your hands, or something in your enemy’s hands?” “In my enemy’s hand,” he replied. “By God,” they said, “you’ve hardly acted fairly with him by asking him to save you and your women, and then refusing him what has been wrested from you, when he is giving you what you ask! Get up and do battle with the enemy!” “I’m not strong enough for | that!” he said; and to this they responded, “Then this is nothing but injustice and impotence!” So they all gave al-Muhallab what he had asked for, and he stayed on to fight the Khārijites, their chief at this time being Nāfi‘ b. al-Azraq (after whom they were named the Azāriqa),<sup>2075</sup> eventually driving them out of Basra.

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‘Abd al-Malik marched against Muṣ‘ab b. al-Zubayr in year 71,<sup>2076</sup> engaging him in a place called Dayr al-Jāthalīq, which is 2 farsakhs from al-Anbār.<sup>2077</sup> A number of battles took place between the two sides. ‘Abd al-Malik pressed Muṣ‘ab so hard that most of Muṣ‘ab’s men deserted him—most of the deserters were Rabī‘a tribesmen. Finally, they rushed upon Muṣ‘ab, who at the time was sitting on his litter, and killed him. ‘Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād b. Ẓabyān<sup>2078</sup> struck off his head and took it to ‘Abd al-Malik. When he placed it before him, ‘Abd al-Malik threw himself to the ground in prostration, and as ‘Ubaydallāh tells it, “I was about to cut off his head, and then I would have killed the two kings of the Arabs in a single day!” Someone else has related: “I entered the presence of ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān, and there before him was the head of Muṣ‘ab b. al-Zubayr. ‘Commander of the Faithful,’ I said, ‘I have seen an amazing thing in this place.’ ‘And what have you seen?’ he asked. I replied, ‘I have seen the head of al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī before ‘Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād, the head of ‘Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād before al-

comprehensible: since the Khārijites had laid hands on it, wresting it from Mālik’s hands, he was in no position to deny al-Muhallab its tax revenue.

<sup>2075</sup> On the career of this Khārijite leader, who was killed in 65/685, and the doctrines of the sect named for him, see the article by Keith Lewinstein in *EI*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. Azāriqa.

<sup>2076</sup> 71 A.H. = June 15, 690 – June 3, 691. This is the dating preferred by al-Ṭabarī, but he notes that others date both the battle and the death of Muṣ‘ab to 72; see al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:813.

<sup>2077</sup> That is, just short of 12 km from al-Anbār, a town on the left bank of the Euphrates about 62 km north of the location of the future Baghdad. The name Dayr al-Jāthalīq (Monastery of the Catholicos) was given to the monastery because the head of the Nestorian Christians, the Catholicos, sometimes resided in it. See the article by A. A. Duri in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Dayr al-Djāthalīq, which lists the parallel accounts of the battle.

<sup>2078</sup> According to al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:809–810, ‘Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād b. Ẓabyān had a personal vendetta against Muṣ‘ab because the latter’s chief of police in Basra had killed ‘Ubaydallāh’s brother, allegedly for highway robbery.

Mukhtār b. Abī ‘Ubayd, the head of al-Mukhtār b. Abī ‘Ubayd before Muṣ‘ab b. al-Zubayr, and the head of Muṣ‘ab b. al-Zubayr before you.’ Whereupon ‘Abd al-Malik left the house and ordered it to be razed.” The killing of Muṣ‘ab b. al-Zubayr took place in Dhū l-Qa‘dā of year 72.<sup>2079</sup>

Al-Maḍā’ b. Alwān, Muṣ‘ab b. al-Zubayr’s scribe, related the following: “After killing Muṣ‘ab, ‘Abd al-Malik called for me and said, ‘I happen to know that every last one of Muṣ‘ab’s men and inner circle has written to me requesting safe passage, gifts, presents, | and land grants.’ ‘Commander of the Faithful,’ I said, ‘I happen to know that every last one of *your* men has written to *Muṣ‘ab* for the same purpose; and I have kept their letters.’ ‘Bring them to me!’ he said. I brought him a large bundle, and when he saw it, he said: ‘I have no need to look at them so as to spoil my generosity and turn their hearts against me. Attendant! Burn these! And so they were burned up.”

Once ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān had killed Muṣ‘ab b. al-Zubayr, he urged the troops to move against ‘Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr. Al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf rose and addressed him: “Commander of the Faithful! Send me against him, for I had a dream in which I slaughtered him and sat on his chest and skinned him.” ‘Abd al-Malik said, “He’s all yours!” and sent him off with a force of 20,000 Syrians and others. Al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf arrived and battled the people (of Mecca) so fiercely that Ibn al-Zubayr fortified himself within the Ka‘ba, and al-Ḥajjāj set up trebuchets against him.<sup>2080</sup> When claps of thunder began to affect his men, al-Ḥajjāj called out, “Syrians! Don’t let these frighten you, for they are only the thunderbolts of the Tihāma!”<sup>2081</sup> So he kept on bombarding him with the trebuchet until the Ka‘ba was destroyed. In the midst of the fighting, ‘Abd al-Malik wrote to al-Ḥajjāj: “I commend to you, O Ḥajjāj, what al-Bakrī commanded to Zayd.” So al-Ḥajjāj stood up and addressed the men, saying, “Ten thousand dirhams to any of you who knows what al-Bakrī commanded

<sup>2079</sup> Dhū l-Qa‘dā 72 began on March 25, 692. The date given by al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:813, is earlier in the year: Jumādā II 72, which began on October 30, 691.

<sup>2080</sup> The most detailed account of the siege of Mecca and the destruction of the Ka‘ba can be found in al-Balādhuri, *Ansāb*, 5:358 ff. The Arabic term used here for the engine used to hurl stones and projectiles is *marjanāq* (pl. *majāniq*). The term, conventionally translated as “mangonel,” refers to what is technically a traction trebuchet. For a description, see Paul E. Chevedden, Zvi Shiller, Samuel R. Gilbert, and Donald J. Kagay, “The Traction Trebuchet: A Triumph of Four Civilizations.”

<sup>2081</sup> The Syrians interpreted the thunderstorm as a sign of divine displeasure. Al-Ḥajjāj countered by assuring them that the thunderbolts were merely a normal meteorological phenomenon of the Tihāma, the region in which Mecca lay. The parallel in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:844–845, is more explicit.

to Zayd!" One of the soldiers stepped forward and said, "I know what al-Bakrī commended to him!" Al-Ḥajjāj called for a purse. It was handed it to the man, who then declaimed:<sup>2082</sup>

I say to Zayd, "Do not be agitated!  
 For they know that their own doom lies before your death or mine.  
 If *they* stop fighting, do *you* stop fighting; but if they refuse,  
 kindle the fire with lots of wood. |  
 If biting war sinks deep its teeth,  
 the likes of you or me can match war's utmost."

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Ibn al-Zubayr came to see that his men were flagging—he was rationing them half a measure of dates.<sup>2083</sup> So he said, "You have eaten my dates and disobeyed my command!"—he was very stingy. When Ibn al-Zubayr realised that he no longer had enough strength to fight, he went to see his mother, Asmā' bt. Abī Bakr.<sup>2084</sup> "Mother," he asked her, "how are you?" She answered, "In death there is rest; yet I do not wish to die until after one of two things: if you are killed, I look forward to my reward for bearing your loss; if you are victorious, my heart will be gladdened." He said, "They have offered me safe passage; what do you say about that, Mother?" "Son," she said, "you know yourself best. But if you are right and are summoning people to what is right, don't let the slaves of the Banū Umayya make a mockery of you. If you are not right, do as you wish." "Mother," he said, "surely God knows that I have only striven for what is right, seeking nothing else, never giving in to a base motive. By God, I speak this not to justify myself, but rather to offer some solace to my mother." Then he said, "Mother, I fear that if these men kill me, they will make an example of me."<sup>2085</sup>

<sup>2082</sup> The verses, attributed to Mūsā b. Jābir al-Ḥanafī (the Banū Ḥanifa were a subdivision of the Banū Bakr) and addressed to his brother Zayd, can be found in the *Ḥamāsa* of Abū Tammām (ed. Freytag, 1:189–190).

<sup>2083</sup> Literally, "half a *ṣā‘* of dates." According to the article by A. Bel in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v., which gives an equivalent of 5 pints for the *ṣā‘*, this would amount to two-and-one-half pints of dates a day. Perhaps more to the point, the *ṣā‘* of grain fixed as the legal alms to be given at the ʻId al-Fitr could be measured as the amount of grain that a man could hold with his hands held together, half open, palms upwards. In other words, Ibn al-Zubayr was asking his men to get by on less than a handful of dates a day.

<sup>2084</sup> A longer version of this scene between Ibn al-Zubayr and his mother, the daughter of Abū Bakr, can be found in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:845 ff. See also al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, 5:364.

<sup>2085</sup> Arabic *an yumatḥthilū bī*, literally means "to make an example of," but the verb is regularly used, perhaps by euphemism, for mutilating the corpse of an enemy. As

"Son," she said, "once slaughtered, the sheep feels no pain on being skinned." Ibn al-Zubayr said, "Praise be to God, who has guided you aright and given you patience!" Ibn al-Zubayr went out and spoke: "People! Death has overshadowed you with his clouds, and his mists have surrounded you. Turn your gaze from the shining swords and let everyone attend to his adversary. Let no idle questioning among yourselves preoccupy you, and let no one ask, 'Where is the Commander of the Faithful?' Whoever asks about me, I'll be in the front ranks!" Then he stepped down and fought to the death.

Ibn al-Zubayr's death fell in the year 73; he was 71 years old. He was crucified at al-Tanīm, and left hanging for three | days (some say seven), until his mother Asmā' bt. Abī Bakr, now old and blind, came and stood before al-Ḥajjāj, saying: "Hasn't the time come for this rider<sup>2086</sup> to be taken down? I heard the Messenger of God say that from the Banū Thaqīf would come a destroyer and a liar. As for the destroyer, that is you; as for the liar, that is al-Mukhtār b. Abī Ubayd." "Who is this?" al-Ḥajjāj asked. Someone said, "The mother of Ibn al-Zubayr." So he ordered that the body should be taken down. Some have reported that al-Ḥajjāj proposed to marry her, and while he was doing so, she said, "A hundred-year-old blind woman?" He said, "I only wanted to become an in-law."<sup>2087</sup>

'Abdallāh b. 'Umar passed by the crucified body of 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr and said: "God have mercy on you, Abū Khubayb.<sup>2088</sup> Were it not for three things in you, I would have said that you were who you claimed to be: your desecration of the Holy Sanctuary; your hastiness in causing civil strife (*fitna*); and your niggardliness. I always feared that you were headed for *this mount*,<sup>2089</sup> ever since I saw you casting your eye on some grey she-mules of Ibn Ḥarb<sup>2090</sup> with admiration. But he was a better manager of his worldly affairs than you."

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al-Ya'qūbī will soon report, Ibn al-Zubayr's fears were realized: al-Ḥajjāj exposed his (according to al-Balādhurī) headless body on a cross.

<sup>2086</sup> Arabic *ḥādhā l-rākib*, referring to the body of Ibn al-Zubayr as "riding" or "mounted on" the cross.

<sup>2087</sup> Arabic *mā aradtu illā l-musālafa*. The nuance of *musālafa* is hard to reproduce in English. It is the relation between two men married to two sisters. Asmā' bt. Abī Bakr, the widow of al-Zubayr b. al-'Awwām, was the half-sister of 'Āisha bt. Abī Bakr, the wife of the Prophet; thus by marrying Asmā', al-Ḥajjāj would establish for himself a kind of relationship with the Prophet himself, both having married daughters of Abū Bakr.

<sup>2088</sup> Abū Khubayb is the *kunya* of Ibn al-Zubayr.

<sup>2089</sup> Arabic *ḥādhā l-markab*: a reference to the cross on which his body was 'mounted.'

<sup>2090</sup> That is, Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb (d. c. 32/653), leader of the 'Abd al-Shams clan of the Quraysh and father of Mu'āwiya.

Those who led the pilgrimage during these years were:

- in year 63, 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr;
- in year 64, Ibn al-Zubayr, although some say it was Yaḥyā b. Ṣafwān al-Jumahī;
- in years 65, 66 and 67, Ibn al-Zubayr;
- in year 68, four banners were raised at 'Arafāt: one with Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya and his supporters; one with Ibn al-Zubayr; one with Najda b. ʻAmir al-Ḥarūrī; and one with the Banū Umayya;
- in years 69, 70 and 71, Ibn al-Zubayr.

### The Days of 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān

'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān b. al-Ḥakam came to rule. His mother was ʻĀ'isha bt. Mu'āwiya b. al-Mughīra b. Abī al-Āṣ b. Umayya; both his grandfathers were among those banished by the Messenger of God.<sup>2091</sup> The oath of allegiance was given to him in Syria on the very day that Marwān died, this being in the month of Ramādān in year 65.<sup>2092</sup> On this day the Sun was  $17^{\circ} 20'$  in Taurus; the Moon  $25'$  in Aries; Saturn  $18^{\circ} 50'$  in Virgo, retrograde; Jupiter  $22^{\circ} 10'$  in Gemini; Mars  $19^{\circ} 10'$  in Aries; Venus  $2^{\circ} 20'$  in Cancer; Mercury  $3^{\circ}$  in Gemini; and the Ascending Node  $20^{\circ} 10'$  in Pisces.

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We have already given the account of how 'Abd al-Malik was given the oath of allegiance during the days of Ibn al-Zubayr, of how the provinces were in upheaval, of how various persons had taken control over each province, of Sulaymān b. Ṣurad al-Khuzā'ī, and of Ibrāhīm b. Mālik b. al-Ḥārith al-Ashtar and his killing of 'Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād and al-Ḥuṣayn b. Numayr—all this in addition to other matters that belong in the narrative of the days of Ibn al-Zubayr. For some have argued that only he who controls the two sanctuaries in Mecca and Medina and leads the pilgrimage merits the caliphate; and for this

<sup>2091</sup> For the story of how his paternal grandfather, al-Ḥakam b. Abi l-Āṣ, a late and apparently insincere convert to Islam, was banished from Medina to al-Tā'if, but allowed to return by 'Uthmān, see al-Ya'qūbī, ed. Leiden, 2:189 (fuller account in al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, 5:27). His maternal grandfather, Mu'āwiya b. al-Mughīra, had fled from the Battle of Uhud and had taken refuge with his kinsman 'Uthmān; the Prophet granted him security for three days, but on the fourth day as he was riding back to Mecca he lost his way and was encountered by some Muslims, who killed him. See al-Wāqidī, *al-Maghāzī*, 1:332–334; Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 590; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 1:1431–1432.

<sup>2092</sup> Ramadān 65 began on April 11, 785.

reason we placed the account of Marwān and some of the days of ‘Abd al-Malik in the midst of the account of Ibn al-Zubayr.

Syria, with the exception of Palestine, which was controlled by Nātil b. Qays, was now under the control of ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān, but when he resolved to attack Nātil, news reached him that the Byzantine emperor had besieged al-Maşṣīşa.<sup>2093</sup> Since he was loath to bog himself down fighting the emperor with the provinces in such upheaval, he wrote to him, concluding a truce and sending him great sums of money, so that the Byzantines left. Having secured Syria and dispatched Rawḥ b. Zinbā‘ al-Judhāmī to Palestine, ‘Abd al-Malik left Damascus and made his way to | Buṭnān,<sup>2094</sup> heading for Qarqīsiyā<sup>2095</sup> in order to battle Zufar b. al-Ḥārith. Meanwhile, the situation with Ibn al-Zubayr remained unchanged. When ‘Abd al-Malik reached Buṭnān in the district of Qinnasrīn, he received word that ‘Amr b. Sa‘īd b. al-‘Āṣ had rebelled in Damascus and had proclaimed himself caliph, ousting ‘Abd al-Malik’s deputy in Damascus, ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. ‘Uthmān al-Thaqafī—‘Abd al-Rahmān’s mother was Umm al-Ḥakam bt. Abī Sufyān b. Ḥarb—and seizing the storehouses and treasuries. Realizing that he had erred in leaving Damascus, ‘Abd al-Malik turned on his heels and returned to Damascus. ‘Amr b. Sa‘īd fortified himself and prepared for war. Envoys were exchanged between the two, until they made peace, drawing up a document between them that contained all manner of oaths, pacts, and vows and which stipulated that the caliphate would go to ‘Amr b. Sa‘īd after ‘Abd al-Malik.

‘Abd al-Malik entered Damascus, but ‘Amr b. Sa‘īd’s men remained loyal to their master; they would ride alongside him whenever he rode to see ‘Abd al-Malik. So ‘Abd al-Malik plotted to kill ‘Amr, realising that only in this way could his rule be secure.<sup>2096</sup> One night ‘Amr came to see ‘Abd al-Malik, the latter having set him up with members of his family, some of his clients, and others who were with him. Once ‘Amr had made himself comfortable, ‘Abd al-Malik spoke: “Abū Umayya! The moment you did what you did, I swore that as soon as I vanquished you, I would put your neck in a shackle and bind your hands

<sup>2093</sup> Arabic *tāghiyat al-Rūm* (the Romans’ tyrant) refers to Constantine IV Pogonatos, who retook the town of al-Maşṣīşa (ancient Mospuestia) in Cilicia, on the right bank of the Jayḥān, about 27 km east of Adana, from the Arabs in 65/684–685; see the article by E. Honigmann in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Maşṣīşa.

<sup>2094</sup> A wadi and settlement about 30 km east of Aleppo in northern Syria.

<sup>2095</sup> A town in northern Mesopotamia at the confluence of the Khābūr and Euphrates. See the article by M. Streck in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Қарқисиы.

<sup>2096</sup> Parallel account of the revolt of ‘Amr b. Sa‘īd b. al-‘Āṣ in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:783–791.

to it.”<sup>2097</sup> 'Amr said, “Commander of the Faithful! I beseech you by God not to remember something that is over and done with.” Then those in his attendance spoke up, saying, “How will it harm you to fulfill the oath of the Commander of the Faithful?” 'Abd al-Malik then took out a silver shackle, put it on his neck, and declaimed |:

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I had him approach me so as to settle his fear,  
that then I might attack him like one who is resolute and determined.

'Abd al-Malik then bound 'Amr b. Sa'īd's hands to his neck. Having tightened the screw, he pulled 'Amr toward him, so that he fell on his face, breaking his front teeth. 'Amr then said, “I beseech you, Commander of the Faithful, that you not let a bone of mine that you have broken incite you to subject me to even worse, or to send me out to the public, so that they can see me in this state.” (What he really had in mind was to provoke 'Abd al-Malik into sending him out, because some 30,000 partisans of 'Amr b. Sa'īd were at the door, including 'Anbasa b. Sa'īd.) 'Abd al-Malik replied: “Still trying to trick me, Abū Umayya, even when you're tied up? And it isn't the first time! By God, if I thought that the matter could run smoothly<sup>2098</sup> with the two of us alive, I would be willing to ransom you with the blood of my eyes. But I know that whenever two stallions come together in a herd of camels, one always defeats the other.” He then killed him, dispersed his gathering, and threw 'Amr's head to his partisans; he also exiled his brother 'Anbasa to Iraq. This took place in the year 70.<sup>2099</sup>

Now 'Abdallāh b. Khāzim had been in control of Khurāsān since Salm b. Ziyād had appointed him to be his deputy in the days of Yazīd b. Mu'āwiya;<sup>2100</sup>

<sup>2097</sup> The word used here, *jāmi'a*, refers to a neck shackle to which were attached thongs to bind the hands to the neck. See Lane, *Lexicon*, 2:458.

<sup>2098</sup> The Arabic *anna l-amra yastaqīmu*, is ambiguous; the word *amr* (matter, affair) often refers specifically to political power or the caliphate, which is almost certainly the intention here.

<sup>2099</sup> 70 A.H. = June 25, 689 – June 14, 690; note that al-Ṭabarī puts the death of 'Amr b. Sa'īd in the previous year.

<sup>2100</sup> Salm b. Ziyād was the son of the celebrated governor of Iraq, Ziyād b. Abīhi. His appointment as governor of Khurāsān by Yazīd b. Mu'āwiya has already been mentioned by al-Ya'qūbī, ed. Leiden, 2:300–301, where the appointment by Salm of 'Abdal-lāh b. Khāzim, a tribal notable of the Qays, as his deputy is also noted, probably to placate one of the tribal factions. Salm then left the province, having lost the allegiance of most of the army. As al-Ṭabarī summarizes events: “When Yazīd b. Mu'āwiya and Mu'āwiya b. Yazid died, the people of Khurāsān rose against their officials and drove

and, as we have already explained in our account of Ibn al-Zubayr, ‘Abdallāh recognized Ibn al-Zubayr’s authority. So when ‘Abd al-Malik had matters in hand, he wrote to him as follows: “Give us your obedience and we will leave you in place and reappoint you and your descendants, so long as they defend us and the Muslims.” He dispatched ‘Utba al-Numayrī to deliver the letter, sending along with him the head of Muṣ‘ab b. al-Zubayr. ‘Abdallāh prepared the head for burial, wrapped it in two cloths, sprinkled it with much musk, and buried it. Then he said to ‘Utba al-Numayrī, “Eat the letter!”—to which ‘Utba responded, “What kind of meal is that?” So he burned it up, gave it to him in the form of a drink, and wrote to ‘Abd al-Malik: “I am not | the sort of person who would come before God having sworn two oaths of allegiance: an oath of approval to the son of the Disciple of the Messenger of God,<sup>2101</sup> which I then would strip off; and an oath of duplicity to the son of two men banished by the Messenger of God, which I would put on.”

Meanwhile, the people of Khurāsān hated ‘Abdallāh b. Khāzim for his mistreatment of them, and so a group of them including Bukayr b. Wishāḥ<sup>2102</sup> and Waki‘ b. ‘Umayr attacked him and killed him. His head was sent to ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān; who, when the news and the head reached him, dispatched Umayya b. ‘Abdallāh b. Khalid b. Asīd b. Abī al-‘Īṣ b. Umayya to Khurāsān.<sup>2103</sup> By the time he arrived there, Mūsā b. ‘Abdallāh b. Khāzim al-Sulamī had rebelled; Mūsā wrote to Tarkhūn,<sup>2104</sup> the king of Soghdia, who agreed to come to his aid.

them out. Each tribal group seized control over a district and civil commotion broke out. Ibn Khāzim seized control of Khurāsān and war broke out.” (*Ta’rīkh*, 2:490). See the article by C. E. Bosworth in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Salm b. Ziyād b. Abīhi; and the article by Abdulhadi Alajmi in *EI*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. ‘Abdallāh b. Khāzim.

<sup>2101</sup> Arabic *Ibn Hawārī Rasūl Allāh* refers to Ibn al-Zubayr’s father, al-Zubayr b. al-‘Awwām, one of the earliest converts to Islam, who received this honorific title, perhaps alluding to his presence among the Muslims who emigrated for a time to Ethiopia—*hawārī* (disciple, apostle) is a Ge’ez loanword. See the article by I. Hasson in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Zubayr b. al-‘Awwām.

<sup>2102</sup> For the career of Bukayr b. Wishāḥ, see the article by Elton Daniel in *EI*<sup>3</sup> s.v. Bukayr b. Wishāḥ. The reading of his father’s name is uncertain. *Wishāḥ* is the most usual reading (the name is undotted in the MSS), but the Leiden editor preferred *Wassāj*, the form in which the name occurs in one of the Arabic dictionaries. Cf. the account in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:831–833, where Bukayr is said to have acted at the instigation of ‘Abd al-Malik. Cf. al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 416, where Umayya’s appointment is explained as the appointment of a member of Quraysh who would be above the tribal factional fighting endemic in Khurāsān.

<sup>2103</sup> Although here understood as a proper name, the term is an ancient title used by the Turks of Inner Asia.

For his part, *Bukayr b. Wishāḥ al-Thaqafī* rebelled in Marw with a group of men and overran it. Umayya battled both of them: he began at Marw, where he battled *Bukayr b. Wishāḥ*. The latter fortified himself, but when Umayya granted him safe passage, *Bukayr* came out of the city to him. Then Umayya received a report that *Bukayr* was plotting to assault him, so he had him brought forward and beheaded. Umayya then dispatched his son 'Abdallāh to Herat and Sijistān, but *Rutbil*<sup>2105</sup> met Umayya's son in battle and killed him.

'Abd al-Malik reappointed *al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufra* to lead the war against the Khārijites of Kirmān. He redoubled his efforts, until he killed their leader, Nāfi' b. al-Azraq, after whom they were named the Azāriqa,<sup>2106</sup> and remained in Kirmān. 'Abd al-Malik then appointed him governor of Khurāsān in the place of Umayya.

'Abd al-Malik sent his brother 'Abd al-'Azīz (b. Marwān) to take back the governorship of Egypt and the Maghrib, and appointed his brother *Bishr* as governor of Iraq, and his brother Muḥammad as governor of Mosul. Muḥammad transferred tribesmen of the Azd and Rabī'a from Basra to Mosul. He also led raids in Armenia, whose people had rebelled; he killed some and took others captive. He then wrote to the notables of the land, who were called | *al-Ahrār*,<sup>2107</sup> giving them safe passage and promising to grant them stipends at the highest rate. To receive this, they gathered together in the churches of the district of *Khilāt*.<sup>2108</sup> He ordered that firewood be collected and placed around these churches; he shut the doors on the nobles, ordered that the churches be set afire, and incinerated them all.<sup>2109</sup> Muḥammad b. Marwān remained in Armenia until his death.

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Al-Ḥajjāj set about rebuilding the Ka'ba. He gave it a single door, as it had been before Ibn al-Zubayr made his alterations, and removed the addition of six cubits that Ibn al-Zubayr had made next to the Ḥiqr; he then leveled the ground with the rubble taken from it. He built the door up to its earlier height, reducing its height to its present dimensions, completing the construction in year 74.<sup>2110</sup> He hung seals around the necks of many of the Prophet's Companions, to

<sup>2105</sup> Or *Zunbil*, both terms being putative titles for indigenous rulers of eastern Afghanistan who resisted Islamic rule. See the article by C. E. Bosworth in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Zunbil*.

<sup>2106</sup> See note 2075, above.

<sup>2107</sup> That is, "the Free."

<sup>2108</sup> An Armenian town on the northwest corner of Lake Van, also known in the Arabic sources as *Akhlat*.

<sup>2109</sup> Cf. an account in Michael the Syrian, *Chronique*, 11:16.

<sup>2110</sup> 74 A.H. = May 13, 693 – May 1, 694.

humiliate them;<sup>2111</sup> among these were Jābir b. ‘Abdallāh, Anas b. Mālik, Sahl b. Sa‘d al-Sā‘idī, and a number of others. The seals were made of lead.

Earlier, during the days of Ibn al-Zubayr, Najda b. ‘Āmir al-Hanafī the Khārijite<sup>2112</sup> had rebelled in the region of al-Yamāma; he then went to al-Ṭā’if, where he found that a daughter of ‘Amr b. Uthmān b. ‘Affān had fallen into captivity. He purchased her freedom with 100,000 dirhams of his own money and sent her on to ‘Abd al-Malik. Then he marched to al-Baḥrāyn. Muṣ‘ab b. al-Zubayr sent cavalry after cavalry and army after army against him, but Najda defeated them all. Having led a rebellion lasting five years, with his governors serving in al-Baḥrāyn, al-Yamāma, Oman, Hajar, and the outlying districts of al-‘Irād,<sup>2113</sup> Najda did things that outraged his fellow Khārijites. Upset by the payment of 10,000 (dirhams) to Mālik b. Misma‘ and his dispatching the daughter of ‘Amr b. Uthmān to ‘Abd al-Malik, the Khārijites deposed Najda and installed | Abū Fudayk as their leader; against whom ‘Abd al-Mālik dispatched Umayya b. ‘Abdallāh b. Khālid b. Asīd. Abū Fudayk defeated Umayya, routing him and seizing his baggage train and his women. ‘Abd al-Malik then dispatched ‘Umar<sup>2114</sup> b. ‘Ubaydallāh b. Ma‘mar, who engaged Abū Fudayk in al-Baḥrāyn; ‘Umar, who was accompanied by the Kufan garrison, killed Abū Fudayk and recovered Umayya b. ‘Abdallāh’s women.

‘Abd al-Malik appointed al-Hajjāj as governor of Iraq in this year,<sup>2115</sup> writing him a letter in his own hand: “Hajjāj! For your loyalty to me, I have appointed you over Basra and Kufa.<sup>2116</sup> When you arrive in Kufa, give it a trampling from which Basrans will shrink! Beware the docility of the Ḥijāz, where someone can utter a thousand words without any of them having the slightest effect. I have

<sup>2111</sup> The practice was humiliating because of its association with slavery, captivity, and *dhimmi* status. Al-Balādhuri, *Ansāb*, 11:68, says that al-Hajjāj put seals on the hands of Jābir b. ‘Abdallāh and others, “as is done with the *dhimmīs*.” On the use of seals to indicate the payment of taxes among dhimmīs, and corresponding practices among the Byzantines and Sassanians, see M. Morony, *Iraq after the Muslim Conquest*, 112f.; see also C. F. Robinson, “Neck-sealing in Early Islam.”

<sup>2112</sup> Arabic *al-Ḥarūrī*, a name given to the earliest Khārijites because they had withdrawn from ‘Ali’s camp at a place called Ḥarūrā.

<sup>2113</sup> Al-‘Irād is the area known today as Wādī Ḥanīfa in the central Arabian area of Nadj. The capital of Saudi Arabia, Riyadh, lies in it. See the article by G. Rentz in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-‘Irād.

<sup>2114</sup> M has ‘Amr, incorrectly. See the parallel in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:852–853. On Abū Fudayk, see the article by Keith Lewinstein in *EI*<sup>3</sup>, s.v.

<sup>2115</sup> That is, 75 A.H. Al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:873, places al-Hajjāj’s arrival in Ramadān (December 24, 694 – January 22, 695) of that year. Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta’rīkh*, 295f., and al-Balādhuri, *Ansāb*, 11:269f., place it earlier, in Rajab (October–November 694).

<sup>2116</sup> Arabic *al-‘Irāqayn*: literally, “the two Iraqs.”

aimed at the furthest target<sup>2117</sup>—throw yourself at it and seek that which I seek through you! Peace.” When al-Hajjāj arrived in Kufa, he mounted the pulpit, his head wrapped in his turban, and wielding his bow and quiver. He seated himself on the pulpit and remained silent for so long that the townspeople thought of pelting him with stones. Then he spoke:<sup>2118</sup> “People of Kufa—people of faction, hypocrisy, schism, and vicious morals! The Commander of the Faithful, having emptied his quiver and checked shaft after shaft, has found me to be one of the sharpest and strongest of all, and has loosed me against you. He has appointed me as a whip and a sword to rule you: the whip has been dropped and the sword now remains.” He spoke at length, threatening and terrifying the Kufans. Then he descended from the pulpit, declaiming:

I am a son of splendour, the scaler of heights:  
When I remove the turban, you will recognize me.<sup>2119</sup>

With matters safely in his hands and the provinces at peace, with not a single district requiring pacification, nor indeed his attention, 'Abd al-Malik set out to make the pilgrimage in year 75.<sup>2120</sup> | He arrived in Medina, donned pilgrim's garments at Dhū l-Hulayfa,<sup>2121</sup> and entered Mecca and later the mosque, uttering the invocation, “Here we are, O God! Here we are!”<sup>2122</sup> all the while. He delivered a sermon each day for four straight days, and led the sunset prayer on the eve of 'Arafa,<sup>2123</sup> before proceeding to Jam'.<sup>2124</sup> Included in a sermon he delivered one day was the following:

2:327

<sup>2117</sup> Reading *al-gharaq*; the MSS read *al-'arad* (the purpose).

<sup>2118</sup> Al-Hajjāj's oration became notorious for its ferocity. The parallel in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 2:864–869, even includes a commentary on some of its more unusual expressions. See the translation by Everett Rowson, *The History of al-Tabarī*, xxii, 13 ff., where the various versions of the speech are listed.

<sup>2119</sup> The verses are attributed to Suhaym b. Wathil al-Riyāḥī (d. c. 40/660).

<sup>2120</sup> The pilgrimage month Dhū l-Hijja 75 began on March 23, 695.

<sup>2121</sup> One of the places (*mīqāt*) where one enters the state of ritual purity (*iḥrām*), Dhū al-Hulayfa lay about 10 km from Medina.

<sup>2122</sup> This invocation, called the *talbiya* from its opening words, *Labbayka Allāhumma labbayka*, is recited by the pilgrim as he enters the state of ritual purity, enters the sacred area around Mecca, and at various other times during the pilgrimage. Al-Ya'qūbī has a long section on the various forms of the *talbiya* in pre-Islamic times; see ed. Leiden, 1:296–297, with its notes, and the article by T. Fahd in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Talbiya*.

<sup>2123</sup> A plain (and ridge) that lies about 13 km east of Mecca, where central rites of the pilgrimage take place.

<sup>2124</sup> Another name for Muzdalifa, another gathering point for pilgrims, which lies between 'Arafa and Mīnā.

I have set my hand to this matter,<sup>2125</sup> knowing no one stronger or fitter for it than I; if I had found such a person, I would have appointed him. Ibn al-Zubayr was unfit to lead, and he used to give away God's wealth as if he were giving away his father's legacy. 'Amr b. Sa'īd, for his part, intended to cause civil war, to make lawful things that are forbidden, and to drive away religion; he intended no good for the Muslims, and so God brought him low. I will tolerate anything on your part, save raising a banner of rebellion: the shackle that I placed on the neck of 'Amr remains by my side; and I swear by God that if I place it on anyone else's neck, the only way I will remove it is straight up!<sup>2126</sup>

(While 'Abd al-Malik was in Mecca,) 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās<sup>2127</sup> came to him, censuring Ibn al-Zubayr, and recounting the difficulties experienced by his father and family in refusing Ibn al-Zubayr the oath of allegiance, and how his father had counseled him to join 'Abd al-Malik. 'Abd al-Malik responded graciously to this and brought him and his family to Syria, settling them in a house in Damascus. Throughout his days he never stopped offering him support.

When 'Abd al-Malik was about to leave, he stopped at the Ka'ba and said, "By God, I wish that I hadn't made a single change to it, and that I had left alone Ibn al-Zubayr and what he had undertaken." 'Abd al-Malik then set out on his return to Medina, arriving there in the beginning of year 76.<sup>2128</sup> He spoke very harshly to the Medinans, and his preachers stood and reviled them, too. So Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh, the Qur'ān reciter, stood up and said to one of the preachers, who was still speaking: "You lie! We are not as you say!" The guards seized him and dragged him away, with the result that the Medinans thought that they were going to kill him, but 'Abd al-Malik sent a message to the guards, saying that they should spare him and release him. 'Abd al-Malik remained in Medina for three days; then he returned to Syria.

<sup>2:328</sup> In this year, which was the year 76, the Khārijite Shabīb b. Yazīd al-Shaybānī rebelled in Iraq.<sup>2129</sup> Against him al-Ḥajjāj dispatched army after army, and

<sup>2125</sup> Arabic *hādhā l-amr*, that is, the caliphate.

<sup>2126</sup> That is, taking his head with it.

<sup>2127</sup> Son of 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās, whose banishment from Mecca to al-Ṭā'if by Ibn Zubayr has already been noted by al-Yāqūbī (ed. Leiden, 2:313). 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh was the grandfather 'Abdallāh (al-Saffāḥ), the first 'Abbāsid caliph. See the article by Moshe Sharon in *EI*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās.

<sup>2128</sup> 76 A.H. = April 21, 695 – April 9, 696.

<sup>2129</sup> Shabib b. Yazid was originally a follower of Ṣāliḥ b. Musarriḥ al-Tamīmī, who led a group

Shabīb defeated them all, moving all the while between the Sawād and al-Jabal. Then Shabīb entered Kufa by night,<sup>2130</sup> going so far as to stop at al-Ḥajjāj's door in the governor's palace, pounding it with his club and shouting, "Come on out, you descendant of Abū Righāl!"<sup>2131</sup> Shabīb was actually leading a very small force; he was accompanied by his wife Ghazāla and mother Jahīza. He then went to the congregational mosque and killed the guards there; he even killed Maymūn, the *mawla* of Hawshab b. Yazid—Hawshab was the chief of al-Ḥajjāj's security forces and Maymūn was known as "The Punisher."<sup>2132</sup> Shabīb then led the people in prayer in the congregational mosque, reciting for them the suras of *al-Baqara* and *Āl Imrān*.<sup>2133</sup> At last al-Ḥajjāj came out in pursuit, battling him fiercely in the market of Kufa, and by the time he caught up with him a hundred or so of Shabīb's partisans had joined him. Al-Ḥajjāj fired up the troops and they joined forces until Shabīb was routed. Al-Ḥajjāj sent 'Alqama b. 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Ḥakamī to pursue Shabīb, who kept moving from place to place until he reached al-Ahwāz. Then al-Ḥajjāj sent Sufyān b. al-Abrahān al-Kalbī in pursuit. He pursued him until he reached the Dujayl River,<sup>2134</sup> whereupon Shabīb turned upon him and marched across the pontoon bridge; when he was halfway across, Sufyān cut the Dujayl bridge loose: the pontoons spun away, and Shabīb drowned. Sufyān fished him out with a net, struck off his head,

<sup>2130</sup> Cf. al-Tabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 2:917 ff.

2131 Abū Rīghāl was a semi-legendary pre-Islamic member of al-Ḥajjāj's tribe, the Thaqīf. Said to have been the man who guided the troops of the Ethiopian general Abraha in their attempt to destroy the Ka'ba, he became infamous, and the practice developed of hurling stones at his reputed burial place at al-Mughammis near Mecca. See the article by Roberto Tottoli in *EI*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. Abū Rīghāl. Abū Rīghāl is mentioned by al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 1:973 (see the note in the translation by C. E. Bosworth in *The History of al-Tabari*, v., 223).

2132 Arabic *al-Adhdhab*; cf. al-Tabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 2:918 (trans. Bosworth, xxii, 69).

2133 Suras 2 and 3 of the Qur'ān ("The Cow" and "The Family of 'Imrān"). The recitation of these suras, of 286 and 200 verses respectively, must have taken much longer than the normal reading of Qur'ānic verses required as part of the prescribed prayers.

<sup>2134</sup> Known as the Dujayl of al-Ahwāz, this river is now known as the Kārūn, the largest river of southwestern Persia, in present-day ‘Arabistān, historical Khuzistān.

and sent it to al-Hajjāj; he also killed his wife and his mother. His drowning took place in the year 78.<sup>2135</sup>

After Shabib's death, Abū Ziyād al-Murādī rebelled in Jūkhā.<sup>2136</sup> Al-Hajjāj dispatched al-Jarrāḥ b. ‘Abdallāh al-Ḥakamī, who engaged him in al-Fallūja, killing him. Then, after the death of Abū Ziyād, Abū Ma’bad, a man from the ‘Abd al-Qays | who came forth in the region of al-Baḥrāyīn, went into rebellion. 2:329 Al-Hajjāj sent against him al-Ḥakam [b.] Ayyūb b. al-Ḥakam al-Thaqafī, the governor of Basra at this time, who killed him.

Al-Hajjāj pressed the fight against the Azāriqa, criticizing al-Muhallab for his temporizing. Al-Muhallab therefore redoubled his efforts against them, routing them from one place to the next and finally driving them into Sijistān and killing ‘Atīyya b. al-Aswad al-Ḥanafī, who was one of leaders of the Khārijites. They were so hard pressed that they went to Kirmān, but there they began fighting among themselves because they discovered<sup>2137</sup> that Qaṭarī [b. al-Fujā’ā] had lied to them. They asked him to repent, but he was loath to oblige himself to repent, and so they deposed him. There were two men in his army, ‘Abd Rabbīhi the Elder and ‘Abd Rabbīhi the Younger, and when Qaṭarī refused the army's call to repentance, lest he provide them with a reason to depose him, each of the two men withdrew, leading an army in opposition to Qaṭarī. Al-Muhallab went after ‘Abd Rabbīhi the Younger and eventually killed him. Qaṭarī departed with 22,000 of his men, and they made their way to Ṭabaristān. Al-Muhallab went after ‘Abd Rabbīhi the Elder and dispersed his army.

When Qaṭarī reached Ṭabaristān, he sent a message to the<sup>2138</sup> *iṣbahbadh*<sup>2139</sup> there, asking him to allow him into his lands; he agreed, and Qaṭarī entered. As soon as their wounds healed and their riding animals fattened up, Qaṭarī wrote to him, calling upon him either to convert to Islam or to pay the poll-tax (*jizya*) as a sign of humility;<sup>2140</sup> he also dispatched Abū Na‘āma, leading the Azāriqa,

<sup>2135</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, 2:972 ff., places his death in the year 77 (April 10, 696 – March 29, 697), but notes that some accounts place it in 78 (March 30, 697 – March 19, 698).

<sup>2136</sup> Jūkhā was a district along the eastern course of the Tigris in southern Iraq, east of Wāsiṭ. See Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 42.

<sup>2137</sup> Following M, *waqafū ‘alayhā*; ed. Leiden reads *waqa‘ū ‘alayhā* (they fell upon). On the Azāriqa leader Qaṭarī b. al-Fujā’ā, see the article by Keith Lewinstein in *EI*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. Azāriqa, and by G. Levi Della Vida in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Qaṭarī b. al-Fudjā’ā.

<sup>2138</sup> Following M, *al-iṣbahbadh*; C and ed. Leiden omit the article *al-*.

<sup>2139</sup> The “military chief,” a title derived from Sasanian nomenclature (from Middle Persian *spaḥpat*) found frequently in accounts of the Caspian provinces during early Islam. See the article by C. E. Bosworth in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ispahbadh.

<sup>2140</sup> Echoing Qur’ān 9:29: “Fight those who believe not in God and the Last Day and do not

against him. The *iṣbahbadh* responded: “You came to me as an exile and fugitive and I gave you shelter, and now you send me this message? You are the vilest man on earth.” Qaṭarī then responded that the religion permitted nothing else, and so the *iṣbahbadh* came out to make war on him. His son, brother, and uncle were killed; the *iṣbahbadh*, defeated, fled to al-Rayy, and Qaṭarī took control of Ṭabaristān. The *iṣbahbadh* went to Sufyān b. al-Abraḍ al-Kalbī, who was the governor of al-Rayy at the time and who was now ready | to fight the Azāriqa. He guided Sufyān into Ṭabaristān via a shortcut, and he killed Qaṭarī, whose head he sent to al-Hajjāj in year 79.<sup>2141</sup>

2:330

In the year 78, al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufra was appointed to be in charge of Khurāsān on behalf of al-Hajjāj.<sup>2142</sup> Al-Muhallab’s son, al-Mughīra, was appointed to be in charge of Marw, where he died. Ziyād (b. al-Muhallab) elegized him in an ode that included the line:

Generosity and courage have been laid to rest  
in a tomb on the broad road in Marw.

Al-Muhallab set off and traveled to Soghdia, stopping at Kishsh.<sup>2143</sup> The king of Soghdia entered into a treaty with him, with al-Muhallab taking hostages (as a guarantee), whom he sent to Ḥurayth b. Qutba. Then he left for Balkh, and Ḥurayth took over the land of Soghdia.<sup>2144</sup> Then [...] engaged him in battle. Al-

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forbid what God and His Messenger have forbidden—such men as practise not the religion of truth, being of those who have been given the Book—until they pay the tribute (*jizya*) out of hand and have been humbled.”

<sup>2141</sup> 79 A.H. = March 20, 698 – March 8, 699.

<sup>2142</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:1032–1035, preserves two different accounts (by Abū Mikhnaf and al-Madā’īnī respectively) of the circumstances under which al-Muhallab became al-Hajjāj’s deputy over Khurāsān—al-Hajjāj himself remained titular governor. According to al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:1039, in 79 “al-Muhallab was in charge of Khurāsān for al-Hajjāj; according to some, al-Muhallab was in charge of its military affairs and his son al-Mughīra in charge of its taxes.” Al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:1077–1078, has an account of the death in Rajab 82 (August–September 701) of al-Mughīra b. al-Muhallab (“who was his father’s deputy at Marw over the whole of the province”).

<sup>2143</sup> A town about 50 miles south of Samarqand; see the article by W. Barthold and B. Spuler in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Kash.

<sup>2144</sup> The word *al-Sughd* (Soghdia) is missing in C and ed. Leiden, but is present in M. However, the text of M also seems to be defective. Neither the subject nor the object of the next word, *fa-hārabahu*, (so he made war on him) is clear. The parallel in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:1080–1081, states that Ḥurayth was confronted by Turks, who demanded that

Muhallab became ill, and the illness grew worse because of gangrene on his leg. When death drew near, he appointed his son Yazīd as successor, despite his distaste for his boastfulness and haughtiness, because al-Ḥajjāj had written to him to that effect. Al-Ḥajjāj later took objection to things he had heard about Yazīd and resolved to dismiss him. Fearing that he would resist him, he married Hind, Yazīd's<sup>2145</sup> sister, and wrote to him, summoning him and directing him to leave al-Mufaḍḍal b. al-Muhallab as his deputy. So he came. Al-Ḥajjāj then sent al-Mufaḍḍal a letter of appointment over Khurāsān in place of Yazīd, his brother. Afterward, he appointed Qutayba b. Muslim, who at the time was governing Rayy, to replace him. We have explained this elsewhere in the book.<sup>2146</sup>

Al-Ḥajjāj put Sa‘īd b. Aslam b. Zur‘a al-Kilābī in charge of the two marches of al-Sind<sup>2147</sup> and al-Hind.<sup>2148</sup> He stayed in Makrān,<sup>2149</sup> raiding a district of al-Hind. He was a man attended by misfortune, however, and was killed.<sup>2150</sup> In his place al-Ḥajjāj dispatched Muḥammad b. Hārūn b. Dhīrā‘ al-Namārī, who went to Makrān and campaigned successfully against the enemy, winning victory after victory. | Commanding a force of ships, he set off, heading for al-Daybul and the king of Daybul.<sup>2151</sup> However, the king opposed him with a large army; Muḥammad b. Hārūn and a great many of those with him were killed.

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he ransom himself, but that he fought them. One is tempted to supply the missing subject in al-Ya‘qūbī as *fa-ḥārabahu l-turk* (then the Turks engaged him in battle).

<sup>2145</sup> See al-Tabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:1209.

<sup>2146</sup> This statement is strange, as this is the first appearance of Qutayba b. Muslim in al-Ya‘qūbī’s history. There is a passage on Qutayba in the Geography (*Kitāb al-Buldān*), ed. Leiden, 300, but the History apparently was composed before the Geography, and therefore this is unlikely. For a summary of the career of this Arab leader important for the extension of Arab rule east from Khurāsān, see the article by C. E. Bosworth in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ḳutayba b. Muslim.

<sup>2147</sup> The region along the lower course of the Indus River; on the Arab conquest of the region, see the article by T. W. Haig and C. E. Bosworth in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Sind.

<sup>2148</sup> The Indian sub-continent, in the broadest sense.

<sup>2149</sup> The coastal province of Makrān, now bisected by the border between Iran and Pakistan; see the article by C. E. Bosworth in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Makrān.

<sup>2150</sup> Arabic *wa-kāna rajulan maḥdūdan fa-qutila*. According to Khalīfa b. Khayyāt, *Ta’rīkh*, 277, 296, and al-Balādhurī, *Futūh*, 435, he fell victim to a rebellion among his own troops.

<sup>2151</sup> Al-Daybul was a port in Sind near the mouth of the Indus River. See the article by A. Z. Bazmee Ansari in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Daybul. Ed. Leiden assumes that there is a lacuna between “and” and “the king of al-Daybul.” However, M shows no sign of a lacuna, and the sentence as written in M makes sense: He headed for al-Daybul ... and (to attack) the king of al-Daybul.

'Abd al-Malik appointed Ḥassān b. al-Nu'mān al-Ghassānī<sup>2152</sup> governor of Ifrīqiya and al-Maghrib. He remained there through his governorship and then died, having appointed a man as his deputy. 'Abd al-Malik appointed Mūsā b. Nuṣayr al-Lakhmī<sup>2153</sup> governor of Ifrīqiya in the year 77. Some have said that he was appointed governor by 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Marwān, who at this time was the governor of Egypt. Mūsā b. Nuṣayr conquered all of al-Maghrib, retaining control of it throughout the reign of 'Abd al-Malik.

In year 80,<sup>2154</sup> 'Abdallāh b. Ja'far b. Abī Ṭālib<sup>2155</sup> died in Medina. He was magnanimous and generous. It is said that a man came to him, asking his help in a matter, and 'Abdallāh, having nothing to give him, took off the clothes he was wearing, and said, "O God, if after today there falls upon me any obligation that I cannot discharge, slay me first." He died that very day.

In this year, the Sweeping Flood that carried away the pilgrims' baggage took place.<sup>2156</sup>

'Abd al-Rahmān b. Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath b. Qays<sup>2157</sup> was al-Ḥajjāj's governor of Sijistān. Al-Ḥajjāj dispatched 10,000 choice soldiers with him. Having made his way to Sijistān, 'Abd al-Rahmān stayed at Bust,<sup>2158</sup> then, having gathered his men, he set off, heading for Rutbil, the king of the land. When he

<sup>2152</sup> On the career of this general who played a decisive part in the consolidation of the conquest of North Africa, see the article by M. Talbi in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ḥassān b. al-Nu'mān al-Ghassānī.

<sup>2153</sup> On Mūsā b. Nuṣayr, the military leader responsible for the consolidation of Muslim power in Ifrīqiyyā (roughly modern Tunisia) and for the conquest of the remainder of North Africa and Spain, see the article by C. Lévi Provençal in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Mūsā b. Nuṣayr.

<sup>2154</sup> 80 A.H. = March 9, 699 – February 25, 700.

<sup>2155</sup> The nephew of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib (son of 'Alī's brother Ja'far b. Abī Ṭālib). Al-Ya'qūbī has already mentioned him in connection with the death of his father Ja'far in the expedition to Mu'ta during the Prophet's lifetime (ed. Leiden, 2:67) and as having shown sympathy, along with his uncle 'Alī, for the pious Abū Dharr, mistreated by 'Uthmān (ed. Leiden 2:200). He does not appear to have played much of a political role, but was renowned for his generosity. See the article by Mohammad Ali Amir-Moezzi in *EI*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. 'Abdallāh b. Ja'far b. Abī Ṭālib.

<sup>2156</sup> See al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 2:1039–1040.

<sup>2157</sup> This is al-Ya'qūbī's first mention of 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath (often called simply Ibn al-Ash'ath), whose insurrection against al-Ḥajjāj—and ultimately against 'Abd al-Malik himself—was put down only with difficulty. For its background and an attempt to reconcile the often contradictory accounts, see the article by L. Vecchia Vagliari in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ibn al-Ash'ath.

<sup>2158</sup> Now ruined, the city of Bust lay on the banks of the Helmand River in southern Afghanistan. See the article by J. Sourdel-Thomine in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Bust.

entered Rutbīl's lands, he became fearful of being attacked unexpectedly,<sup>2159</sup> and so he returned to Bust and wrote to al-Hajjāj, informing him of his return and that he had postponed the campaign against Rutbīl to the coming year.  
 2:332 Al-Hajjāj responded with a threatening letter. So he gathered his men to him, | inciting them against al-Hajjāj and calling on them to cast off their allegiance to him. So they renounced al-Hajjāj and swore allegiance to Ibn al-Ash'ath. When all was agreed, he said to them: "We shall march to Iraq and write a treaty between ourselves and Rutbīl. If our enterprise is successful, we shall refrain from attacking him and keep our word to him. If we are not successful, we shall make his territory a place of refuge." The men agreed to this, and he wrote a document between himself and Rutbīl containing these terms. Then he set off for Iraq, having appointed someone as his deputy to govern Sijistān on his behalf, and advanced until he reached al-Ahwāz. When al-Hajjāj heard of his movement, he dispatched 'Abdallāh b. Āmir b. Ša'ša'a against him. Then al-Hajjāj himself went out with an army and made his way to al-Ahwāz. 'Abd al-Rahmān met him, fought him fiercely, and defeated him, so that al-Hajjāj withdrew to Basra. Ibn al-Ash'ath overtook him and fought him in Basra, where Ibn al-Ash'ath was put to flight. When his men saw that he was fleeing to Kufa, they went to 'Abd al-Rahmān b. al-'Abbās b. Rabī'a al-Hāshimī, saying, "He has abandoned us and gone to Kufa, just when that sinner is about to turn on us!"<sup>2160</sup> So he exchanged an oath of allegiance with them, and went to fight al-Hajjāj at al-Zāwiya,<sup>2161</sup> but al-Hajjāj defeated him. 'Abd al-Rahmān then joined Ibn al-Ash'ath in Kufa. Al-Hajjāj advanced from Basra toward Ibn al-Ash'ath, taking the steppe road, and encamped near Ibn al-Ash'ath. Ibn al-Ash'ath came out and encamped at Dayr al-Jamājim.<sup>2162</sup> The cavalry on both sides set to skirmishing morning and evening, the Kufans besting al-Hajjāj's cavalry, and forcing them to retreat every day. Distressed by what he saw, al-Hajjāj wrote a letter to 'Abd al-Malik, which he dispatched as swiftly as possible, saying, "Help! Help!" When 'Abd al-Malik read it, he responded by writing, "Help is on its way! Help is on its way! Help is on its way!"<sup>2163</sup> Then he dispatched army after army. Their

<sup>2159</sup> Following M, *khāfa ghirratahu* (undotted); ed. Leiden, following C, reads *khāfa ghara-rahu* (he became fearful of his peril).

<sup>2160</sup> Reading with M, *wa-hādhā l-fāsiq muntahin 'alaynā*. Ed. Leiden interprets the partially undotted reading of C as *munikh* (is going to besiege us). "That sinner" refers to al-Hajjāj, and brings out the religious dimension of the revolt.

<sup>2161</sup> Al-Zāwiya is identified by Yāqūt as a place near Basra, but with no further information.

<sup>2162</sup> Dayr al-Jamājim (The Monastery of the Skulls) was located, according to Yāqūt, seven farsakhs from Kufa. See the article by Saleh A. El-Ali in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Dayr al-Djamādjim.

<sup>2163</sup> Arabic *yā labbayka!* Literally, "At your service!"

battles were many and fierce. | The last of them was the Battle of Maskin,<sup>2164</sup> in which al-Ḥajjāj defeated Ibn al-Ash'ath. Ibn al-Ash'ath set off in defeat, going directly to Sijistān, but when he arrived at the city of Zaranj,<sup>2165</sup> its governor, 'Abdallāh b. Āmir, prevented him from entering, and so he went on to Bust. It was governed by Iyād b. 'Amr, who gave him leave to enter, but then plotted to betray him in order to ingratiate himself with al-Ḥajjāj. With 'Abd al-Rahmān was a group of Qur'ān-readers from Iraq, including al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, Āmir b. Sharāḥil al-Sha'bī,<sup>2166</sup> Sa'id b. Jubayr, and Ibrāhīm al-Nakha'i, in addition to others of the same class, and he went to Rutbil, the master of Sijistān. His defeat took place in the year 83.<sup>2167</sup> Al-Ḥajjāj set about arresting his partisans, executing a great many of them, but pardoning others, including al-Sha'bī and Ibrāhīm.

In the same year that Ibn al-Ash'ath took flight, al-Ḥajjāj built the city of Wāsiṭ and settled in it, saying, "I will settle between Kufa and Basra."<sup>2168</sup>

<sup>2164</sup> Yāqūt mentions two places of that name. The better known was located along the Dujayl canal, north of the site of the future Baghdad, and Yāqūt locates the battle there; but Yāqūt also mentions a Maskin along the Dujayl river in al-Ahwāz, and Martin Hinds, in his translation of al-Ṭabarī's account of the battle (*Ta'rīkh*, 2:1098 ff.) argues for the latter location. See Martin Hinds, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, XXIII, 47, n. 178.

<sup>2165</sup> Zaranj (Zarang) was the one of the main towns of Sijistān. Al-Ya'qūbī has mentioned its conquest during the caliphate of 'Uthmān (ed. Leiden, 2:192), and he lists the town in his description of Sijistān in the *Geography*, ed. Leiden, 281. See the article by C. E. Bosworth in *EI<sup>2</sup>*, s.v. Zarang; and W. Barthold, *Historical Geography of Iran*, 67 ff.

<sup>2166</sup> Āmir b. Sharāḥil al-Sha'bī (d. between 103/721 and 110/728), often called simply al-Sha'bī (as below), was an important early expert on law and history. According to al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 2:609–613, he supported the rebellion of al-Mukhtār (al-Ya'qūbī makes no mention of this) and then fled to Medina, where his sympathy for the Shī'i cause appears to have ended. However, when he returned to Iraq, he joined Ibn al-Ash'ath's rebellion with other pietists (*qurrā'*, here rendered as "Qur'ān-readers"). He was captured, but al-Ḥajjāj pardoned him when he apologized for his actions (see al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 2:112–113). He apparently became a well-thought-of figure in the entourage of al-Ḥajjāj, so that 'Abd al-Malik later summoned him to Damascus and entrusted him with the delicate mission of going to Egypt to persuade 'Abd al-Malik's brother, 'Abd al-'Azīz, the governor of Egypt, to relinquish his claim as heir apparent in favor of 'Abd al-Malik's son Walīd. Al-Ya'qūbī will mention this mission below, ed. Leiden, 2:334. See the article by G. H. A. Juynboll in *EI<sup>2</sup>*, s.v. al-Sha'bī.

<sup>2167</sup> 83 A.H. = February 4, 702 – January 23, 703.

<sup>2168</sup> The site of Wāsiṭ (the name means 'middle') was chosen to be centrally located between Kufa and Basra (about 275km northwest of Basra and about 150km east-northeast of Kufa) on the medieval course of the Tigris. The site now is in ruins. See the article by Mondher Sakly and R. Darley-Doran in *EI<sup>2</sup>*, s.v. Wāsiṭ.

When the partisans of Ibn al-Ash'ath received word that he had gone to Rutbil, the master of the land, that he had taken up residence with him in safety and security, and that Rutbil had lived up to the agreement between him and Ibn al-Ash'ath, they came together from every direction in the district of Zaranj and made 'Abd al-Rahmān b. al-'Abbās al-Hāshimī their commander. [...]<sup>2169</sup> He<sup>2170</sup> engaged them in Herat, fought them, and defeated them. When al-Hajjāj heard that Ibn al-Ash'ath was staying with Rutbil along with 4,000 of his partisans, he dispatched 'Umāra b. Tamīm al-Lakhmī with a letter to Rutbil, ordering him to send Ibn al-Ash'ath to him, or else he would send 100,000 soldiers to fight him; but Rutbil did not send Ibn al-Ash'ath.

Now the fact that 'Ubayd b. Abī Subay' had great influence over Rutbil made Ibn al-Ash'ath envious, so he decided to use guile against him and sent someone to kill him. 'Ubayd b. Abī Subay' fled | and went to 'Umāra b. Tamīm, who was staying in the city of Bust. 'Ubayd said to him, "If you grant me something, enter into a peace treaty with Rutbil, and refrain from doing any harm to him, he will hand over Ibn al-Ash'ath to you." ['Umāra] wrote to al-Hajjāj about this, and al-Hajjāj responded, saying, "Agree to everything he has asked of you," and he sent him written promises sealed with his own seal. 'Umāra took these and presented them to Rutbil, who, after being subjected to both his threats and his promises, agreed to the arrest of Ibn al-Ash'ath. So 'Umāra seized and bound him, along with others, including his brother, and brought them to al-Hajjāj in chains. But when they reached al-Rukhkhaj,<sup>2171</sup> Ibn al-Ash'ath threw himself

<sup>2169</sup> Although there is no sign of a lacuna in the MSS, Houtsma, the Leiden editor, rightly concluded that something must have fallen out of the text at this point, based on the parallel in Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 4:390, and the parallel in al-Ṭabarī, *Tarīkh*, 2:1101 ff. supports the conclusion. To summarize the account in these two sources: After Ibn al-Ash'ath's partisans, led by 'Abd al-Rahmān b. al-'Abbās al-Hāshimī, made their way to Sijistān to join Ibn al-Ash'ath, a disagreement broke out between them and Ibn al-Ash'ath. The group led by 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Hāshimī, proposed heading for Khurāsān, which they believed they could wrest from al-Hajjāj's governor, Yazīd b. al-Muhallab, while Ibn al-Ash'ath preferred to stay with Rutbil. The groups therefore split up, with 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Hāshimī's group heading north toward Khurāsān and reaching Herat. Meanwhile, the governor of Khurāsān, Yazīd b. al-Muhallab, having received word that 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Hāshimī had established himself at Herat, gave him an ultimatum to leave. Eventually the two sides came to blows, and 'Abd al-Rahmān b. al-'Abbās al-Hāshimī was defeated by Yazīd b. al-Muhallab.

<sup>2170</sup> That is, Yazīd b. al-Muhallab, the governor of Khurāsān for al-Hajjāj.

<sup>2171</sup> Al-Rukhkhaj is the area of southeastern Afghanistan around the later city of Qandahār. See the article by C. E. Bosworth in *EI<sup>2</sup>*, s.v. *al-Rukhkhadj*; Barthold, *Historical Geography of Iran*, 73–74.

from a roof; he was tied to a man named Abū l-[I]b[ā]r,<sup>2172</sup> and they both died. This took place in the year 84.<sup>2173</sup> His head was cut off and brought to al-Ḥajjāj, who, in turn, brought it to 'Abd al-Malik.<sup>2174</sup>

'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān decided to remove his brother 'Abd al-'Azīz (as heir apparent) and have allegiance sworn to his own son al-Walīd as heir apparent.<sup>2175</sup> Since 'Abd al-'Azīz was in Egypt, 'Abd al-Malik wrote instructing al-Ḥajjāj to send al-Sha'bī<sup>2176</sup> to him, which he did. Al-Sha'bī stayed with 'Abd al-Malik for some days, and the caliph was friendly and generous towards him. Eventually he said to him: "I going to entrust you with something that I have never entrusted to anyone else. I have decided to have the oath of allegiance sworn to al-Walid as heir-apparent. So when you go to 'Abd al-'Azīz, put it to him that if removes himself as heir-apparent Egypt shall be his demesne for life (*tu'ma*)."<sup>2177</sup> Al-Sha'bī (later) recounted: "So I went to 'Abd al-'Azīz. I had never seen such an obliging ruler! One day I was talking with him in private, and I said to him: 'May God make you prosper! By God, I've never seen a more perfect ruler, more bountiful benefit, or more complete glory than you and yours! But I have seen 'Abd al-Malik—long serving, deeply fatigued, | rarely resting, and in constant anxiety about ruling the community. By God, how I wish that they would agree with you to make Egypt your demesne for life and make over their allegiance to whomsoever they wish!" To this he replied, 'And who can obtain this for me?' When I understood what he had in mind, I returned to 'Abd al-Malik and reported the news to him. He then removed his brother from the succession and appointed his son al-Walīd as heir-apparent, with his son Sulaymān to follow al-Walid."<sup>2178</sup> Some say that 'Abd al-Malik never removed 'Abd al-'Azīz, but that 'Abd al-'Azīz died while 'Abd al-Malik was considering doing so; it is also said that 'Abd al-'Azīz was given a poisoned drink. These events took place in the year 85.<sup>2179</sup>

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<sup>2172</sup> The name, which does not occur in the parallel accounts, is undotted in C and M, so the reading is conjectural.

<sup>2173</sup> 84 A.H. = January 24, 703 – January 13, 704.

<sup>2174</sup> Three very different accounts of the death of Ibn al-Ash'ath are given by al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 2:1132–1136. Al-Balādhurī, *Futūh*, 400, is the only account that mentions the death of the man who had been chained to Ibn al-Ash'ath; he does not supply the man's name, but adds that he was guarding Ibn al-Ash'ath and had "chained himself to him," so that he died when Ibn al-Ash'ath hurled himself from a cliff or from a roof (al-Balādhurī mentions both possibilities).

<sup>2175</sup> Parallel: al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 2:1164–1171.

<sup>2176</sup> That is, 'Amir b. Sharā'il al-Sha'bī, who has been mentioned above, ed. Leiden, 2:333.

<sup>2177</sup> 85 A.H. = January 14, 704 – January 1, 705.

‘Abd al-Malik appointed Hishām b. Ismā‘il al-Makhzūmī governor of Medina. When out of sheer tyranny and enmity he gave Sa‘id b. al-Musayyab<sup>2178</sup> sixty lashes and had him paraded around, ‘Abd al-Malik wrote to him, reproving him. Hishām b. Ismā‘il’s conduct was poor, and he was openly hostile towards the Family of the Prophet.

The person who exercised the most influence upon ‘Abd al-Malik was Rawḥ b. Zinbā‘ al-Judhāmī. Yazid b. Abī Kabsha al-Saksakī commanded his security force (*shurṭa*) until he dismissed him and appointed ‘Abdallāh b. Yazid al-Ḥakamī. Abū ‘Ayyāsh al-Kihānī commanded his personal guard (*haras*), succeeded by Abū Zu‘ayzi‘a, his client. He joined Basra and Kufa together under (the single governorship of) al-Hajjāj, and Egypt and al-Maghrib under ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Marwān, and afterward under the caliph’s son, ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Abd al-Malik.

‘Abd al-Malik was courageous, shrewd, and sagacious, but he was also miserly. When death approached, he gathered his sons together and counseled them to hold to consensus and concord, and refrain from acting unfairly to each other. Then he said: “Walid! When I die, tuck in your garment, don your mantle, and put on leopard-skin; then call upon the people to give you the oath of allegiance. And to anyone who says ‘By this head of mine,’ say, ‘By the sword.’”<sup>2179</sup>

<sup>2:336</sup> He died on 15 Shawwāl of the year 86.<sup>2180</sup> His reign was 21 | years as measured from the day he was given the oath of allegiance in Syria, or 13 years as measured from the death of Ibn al-Zubayr. He was 60 years old or slightly older. His son, al-Walīd, led the funeral prayers. He was buried in Damascus.

He left behind fourteen sons: al-Walīd, Sulaymān, Yazid, Marwān, Hishām, Bakkār, ‘Abdallāh, Maslama, Mu‘āwiya, Muḥammad, al-Hajjāj, Sa‘id, al-Mundhir, and ‘Anbasa.

Gold and silver coins were first inscribed in Arabic in the days of ‘Abd al-Malik, al-Hajjāj being the one who did this.<sup>2181</sup>

<sup>2178</sup> On Sa‘id b. al-Musayyab, one of the “seven jurists of Medina,” see the note to ed. Leiden, 2:276, above. According to Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta’rīkh*, 289–290, Sa‘id was given a hundred lashes for refusing to swear allegiance to al-Walīd and Sulayman as the new heirs. When he learned of this, ‘Abd al-Malik himself is reported to have said: “What a bad thing Hishām has done! A man like al-Musayyab should not be scourged with whips. He should either have cut off his head or left him alone!” (The last sentence is written in the margin and may not have been part of Khalifa’s text originally.) Cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:1169–1171.

<sup>2179</sup> The meaning of the Arabic is unclear.

<sup>2180</sup> October 9, 705.

<sup>2181</sup> This is al-Ya‘qūbī’s brief reference to what was a general reform of the coinage under

Someone recounted that a man came to Sa'īd b. al-Musayyab and said: "I had a dream in which I saw the prophet Moses standing on the seashore, holding the leg of a man and turning him as a washer turns a garment. He turned him around three times and then cast him out into the sea." Sa'īd replied, "If your dream is true, 'Abd al-Malik will die in three days." And before the end of the third day, the herald of his death arrived. Someone then asked Sa'īd, "How did you know that?" He said, "Because Moses drowned Pharaoh, and the only Pharaoh that I know of now is 'Abd al-Malik."<sup>2182</sup>

Those who led the pilgrimage during his rule were:

- in the years 72, 73, and 74: al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf;
- in the year 75: 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān;
- in the years 76, 77, 78, 79, and 80: Abān b. 'Uthmān b. 'Affān;
- in the year 81: Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik;
- in the year 82: [Abān b. 'Uthmān];
- in the years 83, 84,] and 85: Hishām b. Ismā'il al-Makhzūmī.

Those who led the military campaigns during his rule were as follows:

- in the year 75: Muḥammad b. Marwān led the summer campaign. | When the Byzantines attacked the valleys, Abān b. al-Walīd b. 'Uqba b. Abī Mu'ayṭ and Dīnār b. Dīnār killed them.
- in the year 76: Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥakam led the summer campaign at Marj al-Shāḥm, which is between Malatya and al-Maṣṣīṣa.
- in the year 77: al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik raided Aṭmār. His raids were from the direction of Malatya. Ḥassān b. al-Nu'mān raided by sea. [...]
- in the year 83: 'Abdallāh, again; he conquered al-Maṣṣīṣa and built a small fort there.

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The learned men in his days were:

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'Abd al-Malik. A similar report can be found in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 2:939–940, and a lengthier one in al-Balādhurī, *Futūh*, 465–470. In fact, Arabic-inscribed coins appear earlier than the reign of 'Abd al-Malik; what is intended here is presumably the introduction of aniconic coins, which date to 77 (dinars) and 79 (dirhams). The issue and the bibliography are summarized by Rowson in his notes to the translation of al-Ṭabarī's account: *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, XXII, 90–91.

<sup>2182</sup> "Pharaoh" appears here as an archetypical tyrant.

- ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Abbās,
- ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Umar,
- al-Miswār b. Makhrama al-Zuhrī,
- al-Sā’ib b. Yazīd,
- Abū Bakr b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. al-Ḥārith b. Hishām,
- Khārijah b. Zayd b. Thābit,<sup>2183</sup>
- Sa‘īd b. [al-Musayyab],
- ‘Urwa b. al-Zubayr,
- ‘Atā’ b. Yasār,
- al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad,
- Abū Salama [b.] ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. ‘Awf,<sup>2184</sup>
- Sālim b. ‘Abdallāh,
- Qabīṣa b. Jābir,
- ‘Abīda b. Qays al-Salmānī,
- Shurayḥ b. al-Ḥārith al-Kindī,
- ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Abī Laylā,<sup>2185</sup>
- ‘Abdallāh b. Yazīd al-Khaṭmī,<sup>2186</sup>
- Zayd b. Wahb al-Hamdānī,
- al-Ḥārith b. Suwayd al-Taymī,<sup>2187</sup>
- Murra b. Sharāḥil al-Hamdānī,
- Abū Juḥayfa Wahb b. ‘Abdallāh al-‘Āmirī al-Asadī,
- Yusayr b. ‘Amr al-Sakūnī,<sup>2188</sup>
- Abū l-Sha’thā’ Sulaymān b. al-Aswad,
- al-Aswad b. Mālik al-Ḥarīthī, |
- Ibn Ḥirāsh al-‘Absī,
- ‘Amr b. Maymūn al-Awdī,
- ‘Āmir b. Sharāḥil al-Sha'bī,
- ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Yazīd al-Nakha‘ī,

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<sup>2183</sup> The son of the Prophet’s secretary, he is usually accounted one of “the seven jurists of Medina.” See the article by Ch. Pellat in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Fuṣahā’ al-Madina al-Sab'a.

<sup>2184</sup> The son of ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. ‘Awf al-Zuhrī, who was a member of the six-member Shūrā that chose the new caliph after the death of ‘Umar; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 12:115–118.

<sup>2185</sup> According to al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:1076, 1086, and 1100, he was one of the *qurrā’* (Qur’ān readers) who sided with Ibn al-Ash’ath; he was killed at the Battle of Maskin in 83/702–703.

<sup>2186</sup> Also vocalized as *al-Khuṭamī* or *al-Khaṭamī*.

<sup>2187</sup> Houtsma reads Tamīmī.

<sup>2188</sup> So according to Ibn Sa’d.

- Sālim b. Abī l-Ja‘d,<sup>2189</sup>
- ‘Umāra b. ‘Umayr al-Taymī,<sup>2190</sup>
- Ibrāhīm b. Yazīd Taymī,<sup>2191</sup>
- Abū Ḥaṣbān al-Ḥuṣayn b. Jundub,
- Sulaymān b. Yasār,<sup>2192</sup>
- Abū l-Malīḥ b. Usāma.

### The Days of al-Walid b. ‘Abd al-Malik

Then al-Walid b. ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān, whose mother was Wallāda bt. al-‘Abbās b. Jaz’ al-‘Absiyya, began to rule on the 15th of Shawwāl of the year 86, the day on which ‘Abd al-Malik died. The Sun was then  $15^{\circ} 50'$  in Libra; the Moon  $28^{\circ} 50'$  in Aries; Saturn  $24^{\circ} 30'$  minutes in Taurus, retrograde; Jupiter  $26^{\circ} 30'$  in Aquarius, retrograde; Mars  $21^{\circ} 30'$  in Sagittarius; Venus  $15^{\circ} 30'$  in Scorpio; and Mercury  $10^{\circ} 40'$  in Libra.

Al-Walid ascended the pulpit, announced the death of his father, and said: “People! Maintain your obedience and adherence to the community.<sup>2193</sup> He who makes manifest what he has conceived for himself in his own mind,<sup>2194</sup> I will strike off that in which his eyes are.” Then he descended. He appointed his brother Maslama to fight against the raiders from Byzantium, and the latter set off, leading a large number | of men. He found that the Mardaïtes<sup>2195</sup> of Antioch had rebelled, and he killed a large number of them.

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<sup>2189</sup> Biography in Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 3:432–433.

<sup>2190</sup> So according to Ibn Sa‘d; M reads ‘Umāra b. ‘Umayr al-Laythī.

<sup>2191</sup> M reads *al-Tamūnī*.

<sup>2192</sup> Another of the “seven jurists of Medina”; see the article by Ch. Pellat in *ER*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Fukahā’ al-Madina al-Sab'a*.

<sup>2193</sup> The word used here for “community,” *al-jamā‘a*, comes from a root meaning “gather together,” and signifies the whole body of believers united by the bond of common faith. See the article by L. Gardet in *ER*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Djamā‘a*. The parallel version of al-Walid’s inaugural speech in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:1178, is longer, but includes verbatim the two sentences given by al-Yāqūbī. After “adherence to the community,” the version in al-Ṭabarī adds the explanatory phrase, “for Satan is with the individual (*al-fard*).”

<sup>2194</sup> The Arabic for “what he has conceived in his own mind” is the terse phrase *dhāt nafsihi*, originally “that which his mind possesses,” but here in a negative sense. See Lane, *Lexicon*, 3:985.

<sup>2195</sup> *Jarājima* of the Arabic texts, the Mardaïtes (the term used by Byzantine historians) were a group of inhabitants of the Byzantine-Umayyad frontier named for the town of Jurjūma. Although Christian, they allied themselves at times with the Byzantines and

Al-Walid wrote to al-Ḥajjāj, announcing the death of his father, ‘Abd al-Malik. Al-Ḥajjāj summoned the people to the mosque for prayer and mounted the pulpit. He spoke of ‘Abd al-Malik, praising him and describing his deeds. He said: “By God, he was judicious and courageous, and [the fourth] of the rightly-guided rulers.”<sup>2196</sup> God has chosen for him what is in His presence,<sup>2197</sup> and appointed as successor his equal in virtue and his like in resolve, determination, and carrying out God’s command. So hearken and obey!”

Al-Walid appointed ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz as governor of Medina and ordered him to stand Hishām b. Ismā’īl before the people.<sup>2198</sup> For Hishām b. Ismā’īl al-Makhzūmī had conducted himself poorly, been tyrannical in passing judgments, and offended against the Family of the Messenger of God. When ‘Umar arrived, Hishām said, “I fear no one but ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn!”<sup>2199</sup> While Hishām was standing (before the people in humiliation), ‘Alī passed by him and greeted him. Hishām called out to him, “God knows very well where to place His messages.”<sup>2200</sup> For his part, Sa‘īd b. al-Musayyab did not confront him or any of his courtiers or retinue.<sup>2201</sup>

‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz’s coming to Medina took place in the year 87; his baggage came on thirty camels. Al-Walid imposed conscription upon the people of the Medina, writing to ‘Umar that he should enlist 2,000 of their men.

at times with the Muslims. For a more thorough account, see the article by M. Canard in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Djarādjima* (Mardaïtes).

<sup>2196</sup> Arabic *al-wulāt al-rāshidin al-mahdiyyīn*, literally, “rulers who follow the right way and are rightly guided (by God).” The “Rightly-Guided Caliphs” are traditionally Abū Bakr, ‘Umar, ‘Uthmān and ‘Alī; here those counted are presumably Abū Bakr, ‘Umar and ‘Uthmān. But before attributing too much significance to al-Ḥajjāj’s association of ‘Abd al-Malik with his illustrious predecessors (and his implied omission of ‘Alī, Mu‘āwiya, Yazīd b. Mu‘āwiya, Mu‘āwiya b. Yazīd, and Marwān), one should note that the text of both MSS (M and C) is defective at this point and was corrected by Houtsma on the basis of the parallel in Ibn ‘Abd Rabbīhi, *al-Iqd al-farid*. So it is by no means certain that al-Ya‘qūbī’s original version contained the word “fourth.”

<sup>2197</sup> That is, ‘Abd al-Malik has gone to his eternal reward—a polite way of saying that he has died.

<sup>2198</sup> Hishām b. Ismā’īl al-Makhzūmī was the former governor of Medina, whose hostility to the Family of the Prophet has been mentioned by al-Ya‘qūbī, ed. Leiden, 2:335. Parallel: al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:183–184.

<sup>2199</sup> That is, ‘Alī Zayn al-Ābidin (d. 94/712 or 95/713), the fourth Imam of the Twelver Shi‘ite line; see the article by E. Kohlberg in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Zayn al-Ābidin.

<sup>2200</sup> Cf. Qur’ān 6:124 (which has “message” in the singular).

<sup>2201</sup> The parallel in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:183, explains this as an act of piety by Sa‘īd, who preferred to leave the matter in God’s hands, rather than taunt the man who had had him scourged.

Al-Walīd built the Mosque of Damascus and spent huge sums on it. Construction began in the year 88.<sup>2202</sup> He also wrote to ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz that he should pull down the Mosque of the Messenger of God and that he should incorporate into it the surrounding buildings (*manāzil*) and the apartments of the Prophet’s wives. So he pulled down the apartments and incorporated that into the mosque. But when he began to pull down the apartments, Khubayb b. ‘Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr | went to ‘Umar—the apartments were being razed all the while—and said: “I implore you, ‘Umar, to follow a verse of the Qur’ān: *Surely those who call unto thee from behind the apartments, [the most of them do not understand].*”<sup>2203</sup> ‘Umar, however, gave orders and Khubayb was given a hundred lashes and doused in cold water; it being a cold day, he died. When ‘Umar succeeded to the caliphate and had taken his ascetic turn, he would say, “Who will bring back Khubayb for me?”<sup>2204</sup>

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Al-Wāqīdī related that al-Walīd wrote to Byzantine emperor, informing him that he had torn down the Mosque of the Messenger of God and requesting that he should assist him in this; so the emperor said him 100,000 mithqāls<sup>2205</sup> of gold, 100 workers, and 40 loads of tesserae.<sup>2206</sup> Al-Walid sent it all on to ‘Umar, who renovated the mosque with it. He finished its construction in year 90.<sup>2207</sup>

<sup>2202</sup> 88 A.H. = December 12, 706 – November 30, 707. Curiously, al-Ṭabarī does not include anything about the building of what is now known as the Umayyad Mosque, other than a note at the end of his account of the reign, that al-Walid “built mosques—the mosque of Damascus and the mosque of Medina” (*Ta’rīkh*, 2:1271). Al-Mas’ūdī, *Muṭīj*, 3:365–366 (§ 2115–2116), gives a longer account, and interesting material can be found in al-Balādhurī, *Futūh*, 125–126. For a summary of the traditions about its building see the article by N. Elisséeff, in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Dimashk*.

<sup>2203</sup> See Qur’ān 49:4, where the *ḥujurāt* (apartments, or chambers) are traditionally associated with those of the Prophet’s house, which formed the kernel of the first mosque.

<sup>2204</sup> An expression of regret: cf. the parallel in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:1255, which, does not contain the last sentence.

<sup>2205</sup> After the currency reform of ‘Abd al-Malik, the mithqāl was standardized at 4.25 grams, and the weight of the gold dinar fixed at one mithqāl; hence 100,000 mithqāls of gold equaled 100,000 dinars. As a rough comparison, the u.s. gold quarter eagle (\$2.50) was about equivalent in weight to the dinar, and so the emperor’s “help” could be seen as roughly equivalent to \$250,000 in pre-1933 gold dollars. See the article by G. C. Miles in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Dīnār*.

<sup>2206</sup> Arabic *fusayfisā’*, a loanword from Greek ψῆφος through Aramaic. These colored cubes of stone or glass were for use in mural mosaics. See the article by G. Marçais in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Fusayfisā’*.

<sup>2207</sup> A.H. 90 = November 20, 708 – November 8, 709.

Al-Walīd sent 30,000 dinars to Khālid b. ‘Abdallāh al-Qasrī,<sup>2208</sup> who at this time was the governor of Mecca. They were beaten into sheets and placed on the door of the Ka‘ba, on the columns in its interior, on the corner columns (*arkān*), and on the water-spout (*mīzāb*). He was the first person in Islam to gild the House.

Al-Walīd led the pilgrimage in year 91<sup>2209</sup> in order to see the House—the mosque and its improvements, and the House and its gilding. When he approached Medina, ‘Umar came out and greeted him with the nobles of the city. Al-Walīd entered the mosque and began to look at it. The guards had every one present there leave, except for Sa‘īd b. al-Musayyab, who didn’t leave—indeed, who didn’t even budge. So al-Walīd entered and began to walk around, while Sa‘īd b. al-Musayyab remained sitting. Then al-Walīd said, “I reckon this one is Sa‘īd b. al-Musayyab, no?” ‘Umar told him that it was and that he was fine, except that he was weak-sighted. So al-Walīd came and stood by him, and said, “How are you, sir?” Sa‘īd didn’t move, but he said: “We are fine, Commander | of the Faithful. And how are you?” Al-Walīd moved away, saying to ‘Umar, “This is the best of men.”<sup>2210</sup>

Al-Walīd divided a great deal of largesse among the people of Medina and led the Friday prayer. The troops were lined up in two rows, and he led the prayer in a sleeved robe (*durrā‘a*) and a tall cap (*qalansuwwa*), without a mantle (*ridā‘*), and he delivered the sermon sitting.<sup>2211</sup> He threatened the people of Medina, saying, “You are people of dissension and disobedience.” So a group of people stood before him and spoke up, among them Abū Bakr b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān.<sup>2212</sup> But al-Walīd replied, “We understand what all of you are saying, but the inward thoughts are as they are.”<sup>2213</sup> Then he went to Mecca and delivered a truncated

<sup>2208</sup> On the background and career of this Umayyad governor, first of Mecca, later of Iraq, see the article by G. R. Hawting in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Khālid b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Qasrī.

<sup>2209</sup> The pilgrimage month of Dhū l-Hijja, 91, began on September 30, 710. Cf. the account of al-Walīd’s inspection tour in al-Tabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:1232–1234.

<sup>2210</sup> Arabic *hādhā baqīyatul l-nās*, literally, “This is the remnant of (the) men.” Martin Hinds translates, “This is the last of the old school” (*The History of al-Tabarī*, XXIII, 180), which is possible, but the word *baqīyya* is frequently used for the best of anything, without regard to its being the last of its kind.

<sup>2211</sup> In the eyes of the Umayyads’ critics, these constituted violations of protocol. Later codifications of Islamic law state explicitly that the sermon (*khuṭba*) preceding the Friday prayer should be delivered standing. See the article by A. J. Wensinck in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Khuṭba*.

<sup>2212</sup> One of the famous “seven jurists of Medina.” See the note to ed. Leiden, 2:286, above.

<sup>2213</sup> Arabic *lākin fī l-nufūs mā fihā*. That is, regardless of your words, we know that inwardly you are disaffected.

sermon,<sup>2214</sup> mentioning the threat (of Hellfire). When he reached ‘Arafa, he fed the people and set up tables, but he himself did not eat. Khālid was the one who was looking after the tables, and he set up a table (for himself) but was told, “This is for the Commander of the Faithful.” So Khālid stood up, but al-Walid sent a message to him, ordering that he sit, and he did.

Al-Walid appointed Mūsā b. Nuṣayr to be in charge of al-Andalus in this year—the year 91—and he dispatched along with him his client Tāriq.<sup>2215</sup> The latter encountered the king of al-Andalus, who was called al-Adrīq,<sup>2216</sup> a man from among the people of Iṣbahān—they are the Goths, the kings of al-Andalus.<sup>2217</sup> Tāriq advanced on him, they fought fiercely, and he conquered al-Andalus. Then Mūsā b. Nuṣayr, angry with his client Tāriq on account of certain things he had heard, left for the country. But when Tāriq met him, he sought to reconcile him; and he was reconciled. So Mūsā sent him to the city of Toledo, one of the greatest cities of al-Andalus, a twenty days’ journey. There he found a table of gold inlaid with jewels, which was said to be the Table of Solomon, the son of David. He broke off one of its legs, made off with it, and sent it to Mūsā b. Nuṣayr.

Now al-Hajjāj had dismissed Yazīd b. al-Muhallab from the governorship of Khurāsān and had appointed | al-Mufaḍḍal (b. al-Muhallab). (At first) he confirmed the appointment of al-Mufaḍḍal, but then he dismissed him and appointed Qutayba b. Muslim al-Bāhilī, who was his governor in charge of al-Rayy. He wrote to Qutayba, ordering him to secure al-Mufaḍḍal and his brothers and to send them to him. So Qutayba set off from al-Rayy, and when he arrived in Marw, he seized al-Mufaḍḍal b. al-Muhallab and the rest of the sons of al-Muhallab, and sent them to al-Hajjāj, who imprisoned them and demanded 6,000,000 (dirhams) from them.

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Then Qutayba marched to Bukhārā and conquered it, along with a number of towns in the region. He then departed, having deputized Warqā’ b. Naṣr al-Bāhilī, whom he ordered to collect the tribute specified in the peace agreement.<sup>2218</sup>

<sup>2214</sup> Arabic *khuṭba batrā'*, a sermon lacking the opening formulas of praise for God and blessings on the Prophet.

<sup>2215</sup> On Tāriq b. Ziyād, the Berber client of Mūsā b. Nuṣayr, responsible for the Muslim conquest of Spain, see the article by L. Molina in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Tārik b. Ziyād.

<sup>2216</sup> That is, Roderic, the king of the Visigoths.

<sup>2217</sup> It is not clear how the Goths (al-Qūtiyyūn) are connected with the Iranian city of Iṣbahān, but the same report, including the mention of Iṣbahān, occurs in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:1235, attributed to al-Waqīdī.

<sup>2218</sup> Arabic *wa-amarahū bi-qabd al-ṣulḥ*. Cf. al-Balādhurī, *Futūh, Glossarium*, 61, where

Nīzak,<sup>2219</sup> the ruler of the Turks, had allied himself with Qutayba, alongside whom he campaigned. When Qutayba left, Tarkhūn,<sup>2220</sup> the ruler of the Soghdians, mobilized, along with the cavalry<sup>2221</sup> of Abū Shūkar, the *bukhārākhudāh*,<sup>2222</sup> and Kūrbaghānūn al-Turkī,<sup>2223</sup> with the Turks. Since Qutayba was loath to fight them, he dispatched Ḥayyān al-Nabaṭī, who entered into a peace treaty with them. Then (Qutayba) marched to al-Ṭālaqān,<sup>2224</sup> where Bādhām<sup>2225</sup> had rebelled and taken control of the region. Now Bādhām's son was with Qutayba, and when the latter heard that Bādhām had fortified himself, rebelled, and apostatized, he seized his son, killed him, and crucified him, along with a group of others with him. Then he met Bādhām in battle, fought him for a number of days, and finally defeated him, killing him, his sons, and his wife. He then appointed his brother 'Amr b. Muslim, as governor of the region.

When Qutayba had conquered Bukhārā and al-Ṭālaqān, Nīzak Ṭarkhān asked his permission to return to his land. Nīzak had converted to Islam and taken the name of 'Abdallāh. Qutayba gave him permission, and Nīzak returned to Ṭukhāristān,<sup>2226</sup> where he rebelled, entering into correspondence with non-Arabs, and gathering armies. Qutayba then advanced on him. Qutayba dispatched to him Sulaym al-Nāṣih,<sup>2227</sup> who was a friend of his. Sulaym set about

*sulh*, normally a peace agreement, is shown also to be used at times for "summa pecunia secundum tractatum quotannis solvenda" [a sum of money to be paid by treaty annually], which clearly is the meaning here.

<sup>2219</sup> Also known as Nīzak Ṭarkhān; see below and the article by C. E. Bosworth in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Nīzak, Ṭarkhān. Although understood by al-Yāqūbī as a proper name, *nīzak*, like *ṭarkhān*, was a title borne by successive rulers; see C. I. Beckwith, *The Tibetan Empire in Central Asia*, 67, n. 79; and the article by P. B. Golden in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ṭarkhān.

<sup>2220</sup> The "leader of the native princes" of Soghd, according to Barthold, *Turkestan*, 184, which is followed by M. Hinds, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, XXIII, 91.

<sup>2221</sup> Reading with M., *wa-khayl*.

<sup>2222</sup> *Bukhārākhudāh* (also given as Bukhārā Khudāt) was the title borne by the ruling dynasty of Bukhārā. See the article by W. Barthold in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Bukhārā*.

<sup>2223</sup> The text is muddled here; the translation follows the reconstruction proposed by M. Hinds in his translation of the parallel in al-Ṭabarī, *Tarīkh*, 2:1195 (*The History of al-Ṭabarī*, XXIII, 143). But cf. Beckwith, *Tibetan Empire*, 77, for Kūl Tegin, another possibility.

<sup>2224</sup> One of the principal cities of Tukhāristān, now in northern Afghanistan.

<sup>2225</sup> Identified in al-Ṭabarī, *Tarīkh*, 2:1206, as the king of Marw Rūdh.

<sup>2226</sup> A region that encompassed all the areas along the Amu Darya (Oxus) that were dependent upon Balkh; see Barthold, *Turkestan*, 68, and the article by W. Barthold and C. E. Bosworth in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Ṭukhāristān*.

<sup>2227</sup> *Al-Nāṣih* means "the sincere advisor." It is not clear why Sulaym had this title, which

deceiving him, granting him on behalf of Qutayba whatever he wished, until he went out to Qutayba on condition of safe passage | and stayed with Qutayba for several days. Qutayba then executed him and a nephew of his and sent their heads to al-Ḥajjāj. He seized Nīzak’s wife, but when he was alone with her, she said to him: “How stupid you are! Did you think I would warm to you, when who have killed my husband and taken away my kingdom?” So he set her free, saying, “Go wherever you wish.”

Qutayba then marched to Soghdia, and the ruler of Soghdia met him in battle. He fought him in ranks for several days, but then he fled. When winter came, Qutayba withdrew.

Al-Ḥajjāj wrote to Qutayba, ordering him to go to Sijistān and fight Rutbil. He set off in the year 92,<sup>2228</sup> getting as far as Zāliq, which is in the province of Sijistān. Then he advanced on Rutbil, who wrote to him as follows: “We have already entered into a peace agreement with you, which you accepted. What has led you to break it?” When Qutayba answered that al-Ḥajjāj had disavowed the treaty, Rutbil responded, “If you accept the treaty, it will be better for you; if you do not, we expect to be victorious over you.” Qutayba then said to his men: “This is an ill-omened region, for ‘Abdallāh b. Umayya, Ibn Abī Bakra, and others have perished on it. I fear Rutbil’s stratagems which he has deployed, such as burning crops and fodder, seizing forts and the plains, carrying off whatever [...].”<sup>2229</sup> [So Qutayba appointed] ‘Abd Rabbīhi b. ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Umayr al-Laythī [over them].<sup>2230</sup> Qutayba set off for Khwārazm, where Sa‘id b. Wanūfār (and his men) had killed his governor. Arriving there, he took 100,000 captives and besieged Sa‘id b. Wanūfār until he killed him. When he had secured the region and made off with unheard-of booty, and his soldiers desired to return to their homelands with what they had, he delivered a speech, reminding them of

seems ironic in this context of his mission of deception. The parallel in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:1220–1223, gives an extensive account of Sulaym’s mission.

<sup>2228</sup> 92 A.H. = October 29, 710 – October 18, 711.

<sup>2229</sup> The copyist of M, followed by C, has omitted an undetermined number of words, although no lacuna is visible.

<sup>2230</sup> The parallel in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:1235, makes it possible to reconstruct the sequence of events. The treaty with Rutbil appears to have involved the payment of a certain amount of tribute by Rutbil. While Qutayba was still in Sijistān, messengers from Rutbil arrived with the tribute; Qutayba accepted it and appointed ‘Abd Rabbīhi over them. (Martin Hinds’ translation in *The History of al-Tabarī*, XXIII, 183, should be corrected: The messengers did not bring “[a proposal for] a peace agreement,” but rather “the tribute [specified in *the* peace agreement].” This is the meaning of *sullū* in this passage of al-Ṭabarī; see note 2218, above).

what they were involved in and informing them that they could not depart. He  
 2:344 appointed as his deputy over Khwārazm 'Abdallāh | b. Abī 'Abdallāh al-Kirmānī and left for Samarqand.

Now Ghūrak<sup>2231</sup> had killed Ṭarkhūn, the king of Soghdia, and had taken control of the region, and so when Qutayba arrived there, he waged war against him. Fierce battles took place between the two sides, and Qutayba, desiring a peace treaty, wrote to Ghūrak, proposing it. Then a learned man<sup>2232</sup> among the people of Samarqand said, "Why should we enter into a peace treaty with you, when only two men will ever be able to penetrate our land: one of them, it is said,<sup>2233</sup> is named Ukāf?"<sup>2234</sup> Thereupon Qutayba cried out "God is great!" and so too did the Muslims, who said, "Our commander's name means camel saddle!" So the people of Samarqand submitted to the treaty, the condition being that Qutayba might enter and pray two prayer prostrations.<sup>2235</sup> So he entered through the Kashsh gate and exited by the China gate. Ghūrak, the king of Samarqand, offered food to Qutayba, and Qutayba and his men ate it. Qutayba had the peace treaty written as follows: "These are the terms upon which Qutayba b. Muslim has made peace with Ghūrak, the *Ikhshīd* of Soghdia and the *Afshīn* of Samarqand, concerning Soghdia, Samarqand, Kishsh, and Nasaf:<sup>2236</sup> Ghūrak agrees to yield 3,000 dirhams at the beginning [of each year]."<sup>2237</sup> Qutayba grants him God's compact and protection, and the

<sup>2231</sup> According to Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya*, 9:84, Ghūrak was Ṭarkhūn's brother. According to the account of al-Madā'īnī preserved by al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 2:1230–1231, the Soghdians deposed Ṭarkhūn for agreeing to pay tribute to the Arabs and installed Ghūrak as ruler, imprisoning Ṭarkhūn, who committed suicide.

<sup>2232</sup> Reading with M, *fa-qāla 'ālimun li-ahli Samarqand*. The word 'ālimun (a learned man) has fallen out of C (and ed. Leiden), making it seem that the speaker of the following sentence is Ghūrak.

<sup>2233</sup> Reading with M: *fa-qīla*. In ed. Leiden, Houtsma attempted to improve the strained syntax by emending *fa-qīla* to *fa-qablu* (previously, i.e., he is already dead), and adding the words *wa-ammā l-ākhar* (and as for the other).

<sup>2234</sup> *Ukāf* in Arabic is a kind of saddle-pad stuffed with straw. Qutayba's name is the diminutive form of *qatab* (camel saddle), a synonym of *ukaf*.

<sup>2235</sup> As a symbolic taking possession of Samarqand for Islam. Note that in al-Balādhurī, *Futūh*, 420, Qutayba is said to have used a similar provision in Bukhārā to allow his men to slip into the city and overpower it.

<sup>2236</sup> Accepting Houtsma's emendation of the manuscript's *k-s-f*, on the basis of al-Balādhurī, *Futūh*, 420; however, Yāqūt lists Kasaf as a town in Soghdia.

<sup>2237</sup> The Leiden edition notes that many words have probably fallen out of the text at this point. The sum specified as tribute is improbably low. The parallel in al-Balādhurī,

protection of the commander al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf.” Qutayba summoned witnesses for this oath. This took place in year 94.<sup>2238</sup>

Qutayba appointed his brother, ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Muslim, governor of Samarqand. The people of Samarqand acted treacherously to him, and Khāqān, the king of the Turks, moved against him. So ‘Abd al-Rahmān wrote to Qutayba, but the latter made no move until winter ended, when he marched to him, defeating the Turks’ army and restoring Khurāsān to his rule.

When Qutayba sent al-Muhallab’s sons to al-Ḥajjāj, the latter imprisoned them all, [including] Yazīd b. al-Muhallab, demanding 6,000,000 dirhams from them and torturing them severely | in order to obtain it. When they saw what they were in for, they asked him that the merchants be brought in to see them, so that they could sell their possessions and estates. They prepared much food, and the people and a group of merchants came in and ate with them in prison. Then the sons of al-Muhallab mixed in with the throngs of people and left along with them—Yazīd, who was a youth, donned a big, long, yellow beard.<sup>2239</sup> He and his brothers rode off to Syria on steeds that he had readied beforehand. Yazīd made his way to Sulaymān b. ‘Abd al-Malik,<sup>2240</sup> and (partisans of Yazīd) pleaded on his behalf with him. Then (Yazīd) went to ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. al-Walīd, who intervened with al-Walīd on their behalf, so that he offered them safe passage and summoned them to his court. He settled with them for half the money—3,000,000 dirhams. The sons of al-Muhallab said, “Provided that we can enlist the aid of our kinsmen among the Syrians,” and he responded, “That is up to you.” So out of their stipends, Yemeni tribesmen from Damascus bore an installment (of the ransom) on their behalf, while the rest of the Syrians bore a share. They petitioned at the door of al-Walīd, and al-Walīd wrote to al-Ḥajjāj about releasing their followers who remained in his prison. He freed them all.

Al-Ḥajjāj dispatched Muhammad b. al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥakam b. Abī ‘Aqīl al-Thaqafī to al-Sind in year 92, ordering him to remain at Shīrāz in the province of Fārs until the time was ripe for campaigning.<sup>2241</sup> Muḥammad went to Shīrāz and remained there for six months. Then he set out with 6,000 horsemen and reached Makrān, where he remained for a little more than a month.

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*Futūh*, 441, gives two versions of the amount of tribute exacted from Ghūzak (as he is called there): 2,200,000 dirhams annually, or 700,000 dirhams.

<sup>2238</sup> 94 A.H. = October 7, 712 – September 25, 713.

<sup>2239</sup> The color of the beard, according to the account in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:1209, was intended to disguise Yazīd by making him appear to be an old man.

<sup>2240</sup> A son of ‘Abd al-Malik and future caliph; see below.

<sup>2241</sup> On the conquest of Sind, see al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:1200; and F. Gabrieli, “Muhammad ibn Qāsim ath-Thaqafī and the Arab Conquest of Sind.”

Then he advanced on Fannazbūr,<sup>2242</sup> whose people had gathered an army. He fought them for some months until he conquered the city and took captives and booty. Then he advanced on Armaīl, fought its people for some days, conquered the city, and remained there for some months. Then he advanced on al-Daybul, leading a great host until he reached the city. He prepared his armies, took the enemy on, and besieged the people of al-Daybul, fighting them for a number of months. | They had a Buddha that they worshipped,<sup>2243</sup> which stood 2:346 40 cubits in height, which he bombarded with a trebuchet and shattered. Then he set ladders against the wall, had men climb them, took the city by force, and executed those who could take up arms. It was found that the Buddha they worshipped had 700 guards, and he seized a great amount of riches from it. When he conquered Daybul, their largest city, the people of the lands submitted to him. From Daybul he set off for al-Nirūn<sup>2244</sup> and made a treaty with its people.

At this point, Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim wrote to al-Ḥajjāj, requesting his permission to continue advancing, to which he responded, "Set out and you shall be commander over whatever you conquer." Al-Ḥajjāj also wrote to Qutayba b. Muslim, the governor of Khurāsān, saying, "Whichever one of you reaches China first shall be governer over it and over the other one." So Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim set out and began to overrun every region and conquer every city that he passed through, either by negotiated treaty or by force. He crossed the Sind River, which is this side of the Indus,<sup>2245</sup> and proceeded to Sahbān and conquered it. He then set off in the direction of the Indus delta. When Dāhir, the king of Sind, learned of his presence, he dispatched a large army against him, which Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim met and defeated in battle. Dāhir himself then advanced against him and confronted him for several months of fighting. In the course of the confrontation, Dāhir, mounted on an elephant, led a

<sup>2242</sup> The mss read Fayrūz, which Houtsma emended to Fannazbūr on the basis of Muqaddasī, *Descriptio* (in *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum*, 3:475). Cf. al-Balādhurī, *Futūh*, 436, where the editor accepts the reading Qannazbūr. The name occurs in al-Ya'qūbī, *Geography*, 286, with similar uncertainty in the mss.

<sup>2243</sup> On the city of Daybul, see the article by A. S. Bazmee Ansari in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Daybul. From the account in al-Balādhurī, *Futūh*, 436–437, it appears that 40 cubits was the height of the stupa housing the statue and that the stupa was surmounted by a mast flying a red flag.

<sup>2244</sup> Thus ed. Leiden on the basis of C, al-Nirūn. The reading of M looks like al-Tirūz. Al-Balādhurī, *Futūh*, 437, reads al-Birūn.

<sup>2245</sup> Arabic *dūna Mīhrān* (this side of Mīhrān), Mīhrān being the usual Arabic term for the Indus river. There was considerable uncertainty about the names of the rivers forming the Indus system. See the article by C. E. Bosworth in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Mīhrān.

full-scale assault on him. The battle grew fierce and took its toll on both sides. The elephant on which Dāhir was mounted grew thirsty, defied its mahout, and wallowed in the mud.<sup>2246</sup> So Dāhir dismounted and fought to the death on the ground. His army was defeated, and the Muslims conquered. Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim sent notice of the conquest to al-Ḥajjāj, sending Dāhir’s head, too. Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim continued through the land of al-Sind, conquering region after region and city after city, eventually arriving at al-Rūr,<sup>2247</sup> which is [one of] the greatest cities of al-Sind. He laid a tight siege upon the city, whose people did not know that Dāhir | had been killed. When he had harried them sufficiently, he sent Dāhir’s widow to the people of the city, and she said to them, “The king has died; appeal for peace!”—which they did and surrendered to Muḥammad. They opened the gate of the city to him, and he entered. He appointed a deputy and resumed passing through the country, conquering city after city. Al-Ḥajjāj later wrote to him, saying: “I have written to the Commander of the Faithful, al-Walīd, guaranteeing him that I would return as much to the treasury as I have expended. Extricate me from my guarantee!” So Muḥammad sent him more than al-Ḥajjāj had expended. Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim remained in the country of al-Sind until the death of al-Walīd and the accession of Sulaymān b. ‘Abd al-Malik.

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Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim was 15 years old when he led the raids in the land of al-Sind and al-Hind, commanded the armies, and oversaw the conquests. Ziyād al-‘Ajāmī<sup>2248</sup> composed the following:

Courage, generosity, and magnanimity are Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim’s:  
He led armies at age 15; how young he was to have taken command!<sup>2249</sup>

Al-Walīd wrote to Khālid b. ‘Abdallāh al-Qasrī, his governor of the Ḥijāz, ordering him to expel the Kufans and Basrans<sup>2250</sup> from there, and to send them on to al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf. So Khālid sent ‘Uthmān b. Ḥayyān al-Murri to Medina to

<sup>2246</sup> Reading with M, *fa-tawaḥḥala*; ed. Leiden, *fa-tarajjala* (and he [Dāhir] dismounted).

<sup>2247</sup> On al-Rūr (or Arūr, Aror) on the Indus River in northern Sind, south of Multān and to the north of Manṣūra and Daybul, see the article by Darryl N. MacLean in *EI*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. Arūr.

<sup>2248</sup> Usually known as Ziyād al-‘Ajām (d. 100/718), a poet of Persian origin who was closely attached to courts in the east; see the article by Lidia Bettini in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ziyād al-‘Ajām.

<sup>2249</sup> The same verses are cited by al-Balādhurī, *Futūh*, 441, where the author is identified as Ḥamza b. Bayḍ al-Ḥanafī. In al-Balādhurī’s version, Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim is said to have accomplished his feats at the age of 17, rather than 15.

<sup>2250</sup> Literally, “the people of the two Iraqs.”

expel the Kufans and Basrans there, and he marched them all, with their companies, off to al-Ḥajjāj in shackles: he spared no one, whether merchant or not. He called out, “Anyone who shelters a Basran or Kufan will have his protection withdrawn.” Whenever he learned that a Basran or Kufan was in the house of a Medinan, he never failed to expel him.<sup>2251</sup>

In the year 95,<sup>2252</sup> al-Walīd expelled [‘Alī b. ‘Abdallāh b. al-‘Abbās]<sup>2253</sup> to al-Ḥumayma,<sup>2254</sup> which is in the region of al-Sharāt in the military district (*jund*)  
2:348 of Damascus. This was because the mother of Salīṭ b. ‘Abdallāh | b. ‘Abbās had complained to al-Walīd that ‘Alī b. ‘Abdallāh had murdered her son, had buried him in the garden where he was living, and had built a marker<sup>2255</sup> over the spot. Al-Walid therefore arrested him and asked him, “Did you kill your brother?” He answered, “He was not my brother, but my slave, and my slaves killed him.”<sup>2256</sup> ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Abbās had stipulated in his will that his son ‘Alī should make Salīṭ an heir of his, but that he should not marry him off. And he had said, “I know that he is not my son, but I will not deprive him of the inheritance.”<sup>2257</sup> ‘Alī b. ‘Abdallāh settled in al-Ḥumayma and remained there, fathering a number of sons. An extended family grew around him—he fathered more than twenty

<sup>2251</sup> Whether “him” refers to the Basran or Kufan or to the owner of the house in Medina is unclear. The wording of the command “to expel the Kufans and Basrans” suggests the former.

<sup>2252</sup> 95 A.H. = September 26, 713 – September 15, 714.

<sup>2253</sup> The name has fallen out of the text through a copyist’s error (homeoteleuton), and the copyist of C (followed by ed. Leiden) has compounded the confusion in an attempt to make sense of the remaining text, yielding “al-Walīd went out to al-Ḥumayma ...” The context implies the emended text as translated. ‘Alī was the youngest son of ‘Abdallāh b. al-‘Abbās (cf. ed. Leiden, 2:314 above) and had been allowed to settle in Damascus in 75/695 by ‘Abd al-Malik (cf. ed. Leiden, 2:327 above). Now this ancestor of the ‘Abbāsid caliphs (the first of whom, al-Saffāḥ, was his grandson) was banished from Damascus by al-Walid, ostensibly on suspicion of murder, but more likely for political reasons. There are several explanations for why ‘Alī fell out of favor; see Moshe Sharon, *Black Banners from the East*, 123, and the article by Moshe Sharon in *EI*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. ‘Alī b. ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Abbās.

<sup>2254</sup> Al-Ḥumayma was in southwest Jordan, halfway between the town of Ma‘ān and the Gulf of ‘Aqaba. See the article by D. Sourdel in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Ḥumayma.

<sup>2255</sup> Arabic *dukkān*, meaning “a stone structure over a grave.” See the *Glossarium* to the Leiden edition of al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, s.v.

<sup>2256</sup> Reading with M: *walākinnahu ‘abdī qatalahu a’budī*. The word *a’budī* (my slaves) dropped out of C, leading the Leiden editor to emend *qatalahu* (he/they killed him) to *qataltuhu* (I killed him), and yielding the sense, “... but my slave; I killed him.”

<sup>2257</sup> On Salīṭ’s dubious paternity, see Jane Dammen McAuliffe, *The History of al-Tabari*, XXVIII, 38, n. 169.

sons, most of whom died during his lifetime. His descendants remained in al-Ḥumayma until God abolished the rule of the Banū Umayya.

In this year—the year 95—al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf died at the age of 54, his rule in Iraq having been 20 years in length. Al-Walīd ratified as his successor Yazīd b. Abī Muslim; then he replaced him with Yazīd b. Abī Kabsha al-Saksakī.

Al-Walīd spoke ungrammatically and was given to confusion and perplexity. He was wont to say, “A caliph should be neither asked to swear, nor contradicted; and no one should address him by his name.” He would punish people for such things. He was the first to establish the hospital (*bīmāristān*) for the sick and the guest-house (*dār al-diyāfa*), to grant stipends to the blind, the poor, and the lepers, and was one of the first to execute the disobedient. He made a count of those enrolled in the registers<sup>2258</sup> and removed a great many, their number reaching 20,000. He was the first to deliver food to the mosques during the month of Ramaḍān. He fasted on Mondays and Thursdays, and was devoted to the practice. He was the first to make arrests on the basis of false accusation and rumor; he even executed people on such grounds. | The land tax (*kharāj*) declined in his days and yielded little: al-Ḥajjāj collected only 25,000,000 dirhams from all of Iraq. During his rule there were earthquakes that destroyed everything, lasting for forty days in year 94.

The person who exercised the most influence upon him was al-Qāri<sup>2259</sup> b. Rabī'a al-Harashī; his judge in Kufa was al-Sha'bī; Abū Nātil Rabāḥ b. ‘Abd al-Ghassānī was in charge of his security force (*shurṭa*), until he dismissed him and appointed Ka'b b. Ḥāmid al-‘Absī; in charge of his guard (*haras*) was Khālid b. al-Dayyān,<sup>2260</sup> a client of Muḥārib; his chamberlain (*hājib*) was Sa‘īd, his client.

Al-Walīd died on 14 Jumādā I 96, or, as some have said, on the last day of Jumādā II, at the age of 43 or, as some have said, 49.<sup>2261</sup> His reign lasted 9 years and 8½ months. ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz led the prayers at his funeral. He died at Dayr Murrān and was buried in Damascus. He left seventeen<sup>2262</sup> sons: Muḥam-

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<sup>2258</sup> Arabic *ahl al-dīwān*. Presumably, a purging of the register of those entitled to military stipends is meant.

<sup>2259</sup> The reading, from M, is conjectural. Ed. Leiden reads *al-Fāzī*, otherwise unattested.

<sup>2260</sup> Given in the MSS (and in Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta’rīkh*, 312) as Khālid b. al-Rayyān, but corrected by the Leiden editor on the basis of the reading given below, ed. Leiden, 2:359.

<sup>2261</sup> 14 Jumādā I 96 = January 25, 715. The last day of Jumādā II of that year fell on March 11, 715.

<sup>2262</sup> Following M, where the number is clearly written, although only 16 names are listed. Houtsma emended the reading to “nineteen” (the Arabic words for seven and nine are

mad, al-‘Abbās, ‘Umar, Bishr, Rawḥ, Khālid, Tammām, Mubashshir, Jurayy,<sup>2263</sup> Yazīd, ‘Abd al-Rahmān, Ibrāhīm, Yahyā, Abū ‘Ubayda, Masrūr, and Ṣadaqa.

Those who led the pilgrimage during his rule were:

- in the year 86: Hishām b. Ismā‘īl;
- in the year 87: ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz;
- in the year 88: he led the pilgrimage himself;
- in the years 89 and 90: ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz;
- in the year 91: he led the pilgrimage himself;
- in the years 92 and 93: ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz;
- [in the year 94: Maslama b. ‘Abd al-Malik;]
- in the year 95: Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. Amr b. Ḥazm.

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Those who led the summer campaigns during his rule were:

- in the year 86: Maslama, who conquered two forts;
- in the year 88 [...];<sup>2264</sup> Maslama and al-‘Abbās b. al-Walīd, who conquered Sūriya, and al-‘Abbās, who conquered Adrūliya;
- in the year 89: ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. al-Walīd, who conquered a fort;
- in the year 91: ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. [al-Walīd ...];
- in the year 92];<sup>2265</sup> Muḥammad b. Marwān, and Mūsā b. Nuṣayr raided al-Andalus;
- in the year 93: al-‘Abbās b. al-Walīd, Marwān b. al-Walīd, and Maslama, and they conquered Amāsiya and Ḥiṣn al-Ḥadid;
- in the year 94: al-‘Abbās and ‘Umar, two sons of al-Walīd;
- in the year 95: al-‘Abbās, who conquered Cyprus;
- in the year 96: Bishr b. al-Walīd.

The learned men in his days were:

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often confused by copyists) to agree with al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:1270, where the number is given as 19 and 19 names are listed.

<sup>2263</sup> The reading is uncertain. M reads Ḥarb, emended by Houtsma to Jurayy on the basis of De Goeje’s edition of *Fragmenta Historicorum Arabicorum*, 12.

<sup>2264</sup> Although the text in M is written continuously, the notice for 89 has apparently fallen out by homeoteleuton. According to al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:1191, 1197, Maslama and al-‘Abbas led campaigns in 88 and 89, but it was in 89 that Sūriya and Adrūliya were conquered.

<sup>2265</sup> Lacuna in the MSS.

- ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Ḥāṭib,
- Sa‘īd [b. al-Musayyab],
- ‘Urwa b. al-Zubayr,
- ‘Aṭā b. Yasār,
- Abū Salama b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān,
- al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad,
- Sa‘īd b. Jubayr,<sup>2266</sup>
- Mujāhid b. Jabr, a client of the Banū Makhzūm,<sup>2267</sup>
- ‘Ikrima, a client of Ibn ‘Abbās,<sup>2268</sup>
- Ḥakīm b. Abī Ḥāzim,
- Shaqīq b. Salama,
- Ibrāhīm b. Yazīd al-Nakha‘ī,<sup>2269</sup>
- ‘Āmir al-Sha‘bī,
- Sālim b. Abī al-Ja‘d,
- Abū Ishāq al-Sabī‘ī,
- Abū Ayyūb al-Azdī,
- Abū Tamīm al- ...,<sup>2270</sup>
- al-Ḥasan b. Abī al-Ḥasan,<sup>2271</sup>
- Muḥammad b. Sīrīn,<sup>2272</sup>
- Abū Qilāba ‘Abdallāh b. [Zayd],
- Sulayman<sup>2273</sup> b. Yasār,

<sup>2266</sup> He has been mentioned above, ed. Leiden, 2:333, as one of the *qurrā’* (Qur’ān readers) who sided with Ibn al-Ash’ath in his rebellion against al-Ḥajjāj.

<sup>2267</sup> Mujāhid b. Jabr (the MSS incorrectly write the name as Jubayr, perhaps influenced by the preceding name) was a student of ‘Abdallāh b. al-‘Abbās and produced a commentary on the Qur’ān later utilized by al-Ṭabarī. See the article by A. Rippin in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Mudjāhid b. Djabr al-Makkī, Abū l-Ḥadīdjādī.

<sup>2268</sup> ‘Ikrima was one of the main transmitters of interpretations of the Qur’ān attributed to Ibn ‘Abbās. He is said to have traveled widely and to have held Khārijī views. See the article by J. Schacht in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *‘Ikrima*.

<sup>2269</sup> A Kufan jurist and transmitter of traditions; biography in Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 1:177–179.

<sup>2270</sup> The reading is uncertain. Houtsma read the name as al-Ḥ-m-?-nī. The name is otherwise unknown.

<sup>2271</sup> That is, al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī.

<sup>2272</sup> Ibn Sīrīn was the freed slave of Anas b. Mālik and became known for his piety and reliability as a transmitter of ḥadīth, although his later fame was based more on his reputation as an authority on dream interpretation. See the article by T. Fahd in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Ibn Sīrīn, Abū Bakr Muḥammad*.

<sup>2273</sup> MSS, *Muslim*; corrected by Houtsma on the basis of the reading found in the list of learned men at the end of the reign of ‘Abd al-Malik (ed. Leiden, 2:338). The name is

- 2:351 – | Muwarriq al-‘Ijlī,  
 – Sinān b. Salama,  
 – Abū l-Malīḥ b. Usāma al-Hudhalī,  
 – al-‘Alā’ b. Ziyād,  
 – Abū Idrīs,<sup>2274</sup>  
 – Raja’ b. Ḥaywa.<sup>2275</sup>

Al-Walīd was tall and swarthy, slightly pock-marked, with a touch of grey at the tip of his beard, but no other grey on his head or beard, and snub-nosed.

### The Days of Sulaymān b. ‘Abd al-Malik

Sulaymān b. ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān, whose mother was Wallāda b. al-‘Abbās b. Jaz’ al-Absiyya, began to rule on the 15th of Jumādā I of year 96.<sup>2276</sup> The Sun was then  $6^{\circ} 40'$  in Pisces; the Moon [...]; [Saturn]<sup>2277</sup>  $16^{\circ} 20'$  in Virgo, retrograde; Jupiter  $25^{\circ} 40'$  in Sagittarius; Mars  $11^{\circ} 3'$  in Aquarius; Venus  $15^{\circ} 19'$  in Pisces; Mercury  $5^{\circ} 50'$  in Pisces; the Ascending Node was in Leo  $13^{\circ} 15'$ . He succeeded to the caliphate while at al-Ramla,<sup>2278</sup> where his residence was. He it was who built its congregational mosque and governor’s palace. He moved people there

well-known as that of one of the “seven jurists of Medina.” See the article by Ch. Pellat in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Fuṣṭāḥahā’ al-Madīnah al-Sab’ā.

2274 This would seem to Abū Idrīs al-Khawlānī, who served as *qāḍī* of Damascus under ‘Abd al-Malik. However, he died in 80/699, and so should have appeared in the list of scholars at the end of the previous reign. See the article by G. H. A. Juynboll in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Khawlānī, Abū Idrīs.

2275 For a full biography of the mawlā who became influential at the Umayyad court, see the article by C. E. Bosworth in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Radjā’ b. Ḥaywa.

2276 January 26, 715.

2277 The text in the MSS and printed editions reads, “the Moon was  $16^{\circ} 20'$  in Virgo, retrograde.” This is impossible, as the moon never displays retrograde motion. The text can be restored by assuming that a copyist skipped from the word *qamar* (moon) to  $16^{\circ} 20'$ , retrograde, omitting the figure for the position of the moon and the word *zuhal* (Saturn), which regularly comes between the moon and Jupiter in al-Yāqūbī’s horoscopes. In fact, the horoscopes for the accession of Sulaymān given in Kennedy and Pingree, *The Astrological History of Māshā’allāh*, 134, 139, place Saturn, which can display retrograde motion, in Virgo.

2278 Al-Ramla lies 40 km west northwest of Jerusalem. Sulaymān was there as governor of Filastīn (Palestine). See the article by E. Honigmann in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Ramla.

from Ludd,<sup>2279</sup> which was the town where the people had resided, and set about razing their houses there and building in al-Ramla. He punished those who resisted, razed their houses, and cut off their provisions until they moved. Ludd fell into ruin.

‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz<sup>2280</sup> received the oath of allegiance to Sulaymān in Damascus on the day that al-Walid died. Sulaymān then went to Damascus and stayed there a short while. Having decided to make the pilgrimage, he wrote to Khālid b. ‘Abdallāh, | the governor of Mecca, commanding him to channel for him a spring of fresh water that emerged from al-Thaqaba,<sup>2281</sup> so that it would surface between Zamzam and the corner of the Ka‘ba with the black stone and so that he might rival Zamzam with it. Khālid therefore made the basin that is at the mouth of al-Thaqaba—it is called al-Qasrī’s basin and stands to this day at the base of Mt. Thabīr.<sup>2282</sup> He made it out of hewn stones and tapped its water from that spot. From this basin he cut a channel that flowed to the Holy Mosque in a lead pipe, until it surfaced in a fountain that poured into a marble pool between the corner and Zamzam. When the channel flowed and its water surfaced, Khālid ordered animals for slaughter, and they were butchered in Mecca and divided up among the people. He prepared a feast to which he invited the people, and he ordered a crier to called out, “To prayer in congregation!” Then he mounted the pulpit, and said, “People! Praise God and pray for the Commander of the Faithful, who has given you fresh water to drink after salty, bitter, and unpalatable water”—he meant Zamzam. But hardly anyone gathered to drink from that water, and they continued to drink mostly from Zamzam. When Khālid saw that, he made a speech and rebuked the people of Mecca, speaking to them with ugly words and berating them for forsaking the water that he had provided and frequenting Zamzam. The pool of his remained as it was throughout the days of the Banū Umayya, but when the Banū Hāshim took power, Dāwūd b. ‘Ali<sup>2283</sup> destroyed it as soon as he arrived in Mecca.

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<sup>2279</sup> A town in Palestine, 17 km from the Mediterranean southeast of Jaffa. It appears in the New Testament as Lydda (the Greek version of the Hebrew name Lodd). See the article by M. Sharon in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ludd.

<sup>2280</sup> ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz was Sulaymān’s brother and the next caliph (r. 99/717–101/720); see the article by P. M. Cobb in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. ‘Umar (ii) b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz.

<sup>2281</sup> This is Houtsma’s emendation of an unintelligible ms reading, here and in the next sentence, on the basis of al-Azraqī, *Akhbār Makka* (ed. Wüstenfeld), 339. Yāqūt, *Mu‘jam al-buldān*, lists al-Thaqaba as a mountain between Ḥirā’ and Thabīr in Mecca, and says that there were plantations at its foot.

<sup>2282</sup> Mt. Thabīr lies outside of Mecca, on the north side of the valley of Minā.

<sup>2283</sup> Dāwūd b. ‘Ali b. ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Abbās, one of several important uncles of the first ‘Abbāsid

Khālid remained in Mecca only a short time before Sulaymān became angry with him and dismissed him. He appointed Ṭalḥa b. Dāwūd al-Ḥadramī, ordering him to flog Khālid on account of a woman of Quraysh whom Khālid had foully slandered; | Ṭalḥa was to demand that Khālid pay restitution and to send him on in chains. Sulaymān also dismissed ‘Uthmān b. Ḥayyān al-Murri, the governor of Medina, and appointed Abū Bakr [b. Muḥammad] b. ‘Amr b. Ḥazm. He had ‘Uthmān [b. Ḥayyān] flogged for two *hadd* offenses: first for drinking wine and second for slandering ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Amr b. ‘Uthmān b. ‘Affān.

Sulaymān also became angry with Mūsā b. Nuṣayr al-Lakhmī, the governor of Ifrīqiya who had conquered al-Andalus and the adjacent regions. Mūsā had come to see al-Walīd, but he found him gravely ill—al-Walīd died a few days later. Mūsā’s client Ṭāriq denounced his master to Sulaymān, who confiscated Mūsā’s property and held him for a ransom of 100,000 dirhams. Mūsā said, “When I joined you, I had nothing but a horse, a fur, and a sword: give me those back, and do what you will with the rest.” Sulaymān then appointed Muḥammad b. Yazīd, a client of the Quraysh, as governor of the Maghrib, ordering him to pursue Mūsā’s men, along with his sons and his companions.

Sulaymān had promoted Yazīd b. al-Muhallab and had favored him and honored him. He sent al-Ḥajjāj’s men to him, along with Mūsā b. Nuṣayr, Khālid b. ‘Abdallāh al-Qasrī, Yūsuf b. ‘Umar al-Thaqafī, al-Ḥakam b. Ayyūb, and ‘Abd al-Rahmān<sup>2284</sup> b. Ḥayyān al-Murri, ordering Yazīd to torture them until he extracted the money that they owed. Sulaymān<sup>2285</sup> tracked down al-Ḥajjāj’s men, inflicting terrible torture on them, and (Yazīd) sent al-Ḥajjāj’s deputy, Yazīd b. Abī Muslim, to (Sulaymān). When Sulaymān saw him—Yazīd b. Abī Muslim was short and frail—he said to him, “Are you Yazīd?” “Yes,” replied Yazīd. Sulaymān said, “Al-Ḥajjāj’s right-hand man, the author of the doings that I have heard of, along with your ugly frame that I see?” | Yazīd replied: “That, by God, is because you see me when fortune has favored you and turned its back on me. Had you seen fortune favoring me and turning its back on you, you would have deemed great what you have belittled, and honored what you have just disdained.” “Where,” asked Sulaymān, “would you put al-Ḥajjāj? Will he burn in Hell?” Yazīd replied: “Commander of the Faithful, do not say that of a man who will be gathered on the Day of Resurrection to the right of your father and the left of your brother. Put him where you wish, but you will be putting the two of them with him!” So Sulaymān said to Yazīd b. al-Muhallab, “Take him to

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caliph, Abū l-‘Abbās al-Saffāḥ (r. 132/749–136/754), was appointed first as governor of Kufa and then as governor of the Ḥijāz. See below, ed. Leiden, 2:420–421.

<sup>2284</sup> Perhaps an error for ‘Uthmān (the former governor of Medina).

<sup>2285</sup> Perhaps a slip for Yazīd.

you, and subject him to every kind of torture until you extract the money from him.” Yazīd b. al-Muhallab said, “Commander of the Faithful, I know all about him: by God, he neither possesses money nor is he among those who hoard it”—Yazīd b. al-Muhallab was acknowledging a favor Yazīd b. Abī Muslim had done him. So Sulaymān put him in charge of the summer campaign.

Qutayba b. Muslim was al-Ḥajjāj’s governor of Khurāsān. When he heard of what Sulaymān was doing to his counterparts and how he was pursuing the officials of al-Walīd and al-Ḥajjāj, he gathered his brothers and kinsmen and pushed into non-Arab territory until he reached the remotest part of Farghāna. ‘Abdallāh b. al-Aḥtam al-Tamīmī,<sup>2286</sup> who had been with him, had fled from him to Sulaymān and had accused him.<sup>2287</sup> So Qutayba had seized a number of his kinsmen and had killed them; he had cut off the arms and legs of others. Yazīd b. Muḥallab also was Qutayba b. Muslim’s enemy because of what he had done to him and to his family upon succeeding him. So Qutayba knew that he was in disfavor with Sulaymān. He wrote a letter to Sulaymān, who responded abusively, and then he decided to rebel, confident about his position among the Nizāriyya<sup>2288</sup> [...]<sup>2289</sup> [and that] the Yamāniyya would not oppose him. When the tribesmen learned of his plans, they distanced themselves from him; so he delivered a famous speech to them. He rebuked them and said: “People of Tamīm! People of vileness and deficiency! People of al-Azd! You have abandoned boats and mounted steeds; you have thrown away boat-poles and taken up | spears.<sup>2290</sup> By God, with the non-Arabs on my side I am mightier than you!” So the tribesmen abandoned him and spoke in one voice in favor of attacking [him]. They rallied around al-Ḥudayn b. al-Mundhir and appealed to him to lead them, but he said, “Wakī‘ b. Abī Sūd al-Tamīmī is the right man for you.” So they went to Wakī‘ and prevailed upon him. With the tribesmen at the time was Ḥayyān al-Nabaṭī, and they attacked Qutayba and killed him. Wakī‘ took control of Khurāsān and appointed his officials. He wrote to Sulaymān,

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<sup>2286</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:1218, says that Qutayba had appointed ‘Abdallāh b. al-Aḥtam as his tax official in Marw in 91/709–710. ‘Abdallāh had intrigued with al-Ḥajjāj against Qutayba and had been forced to flee to Syria. See David Stephan Powers, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, xxiv, 13, n. 57.

<sup>2287</sup> Reading with M, *fa-rafa‘a ‘alayhi*; ed. Leiden, *fa-rafa‘a ilayhi* (he reported to him).

<sup>2288</sup> The Nizāriyya here are the faction of the northern Arabs, the Yamāniyya the faction of the southern Arabs.

<sup>2289</sup> Text has apparently fallen out of the MSS, although there is no visible lacuna.

<sup>2290</sup> Qutayba is referring contemptuously to the origin of one branch of the Azd in Oman, where they had lived as fishermen, seafarers, and merchants. See the article by G. Strenzki in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Azd.

informing him of what he had done, and sent along the heads of Qutayba and his family. This took place in year 96.<sup>2291</sup>

When Wakī“s letter reached Sulaymān, he intended to send him [a letter of appointment over Khurāsān], but someone said to him, “He is a man whom civil war raises up, but whom adherence to the Prophet’s example makes low; he is not the right person for Khurāsān.” So Sulaymān appointed Yazīd b. al-Muhallab to be governor of Iraq and Khurāsān. Yazīd b. al-Muhallab was [in] Iraq, torturing al-Ḥajjāj’s officials; he appointed a deputy over Iraq and set out for Khurāsān. There he tracked down Qutayba’s men and relatives and inflicted terrible tortures on them. He imprisoned Wakī“ b. Abī Sūd and put him in chains, arrested the sub-governors whom he had appointed after Qutayba’s murder, and demanded the moneys that had come to them. When most of the people of Khurāsān went into open rebellion, he marched to Jurjān<sup>2292</sup> and besieged it until the townspeople surrendered. He killed a great number of them and took the city. He campaigned against the army chief (*iṣbahbadh*) of Ṭabaristān, the king of the Turks, and the king of Daylam, and campaigned against the ruler of Ṭabaristān for some time. Then he lost patience,<sup>2293</sup> became disgusted, and requested a negotiated settlement, but the *iṣbahbadh* refused. So he returned to Jurjān and remained there, but later he left there for | Nīshāpūr. Yazid appointed his brothers and sons over the regions: he appointed Makhlad over Samarqand, Mudrik b. al-Muhallab over Balkh, and Muḥammad b. al-Muhallab over Marw. Yazīd’s power in Khurāsān became great.

Sind came to be in turmoil. The soldiers who had been with Muḥammad b al-Qāsim al-Thaqafī abandoned their garrisons, and people of every land returned to their native soil. So Sulaymān sent Ḥabīb b. al-Muhallab. He entered the land and fought against foes who were in the region of the Indus. He seized Muḥammad b al-Qāsim, dressed him in a hair shirt, placed him in fetters, and imprisoned him.

Abū Hāshim ‘Abdallāh b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib<sup>2294</sup> came to Sulaymān. Sulaymān said: “I have never spoken to a Qurayshī the like of him. I think he is none other than the one about whom we have been speaking.” He offered

<sup>2291</sup> 96 A.H. = September 16, 714 – September 4, 715.

<sup>2292</sup> Or Gorgan; an Iranian province at the southeast corner of the Caspian Sea.

<sup>2293</sup> Reading *ghariḍa* with M; ed. Leiden, *‘araḍa* (he turned away).

<sup>2294</sup> He was the son of ‘Alī’s son Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya and as such the leader of one branch of the Shi‘a. The story of his death at the hands of the Umayyads and his bequeathing of the imamate to the ancestor of the ‘Abbāsids was used to legitimize the rule of the ‘Abbāsids. See the article by S. Moscati in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Abū Hāshim*; by B. Lewis in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. ‘Abbāsids; and by Elton L. Daniel in *EI*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. ‘Abbāsid Revolution.

him gifts and looked after his needs and those of the people with him. Then ‘Abdallāh b. Muḥammad departed, heading for Palestine. Sulaymān sent some men to the lands of the tribes of Lakhm and Judhām with poisoned milk. They pitched their tents, and when ‘Abdallāh passed by, they said, “‘Abdallāh, would you like something to drink?” “Thank you!” he replied. Later he passed others; they said the same thing, and he thanked them. Finally, he passed others and asked them for a drink, and they gave him one. When the milk settled in his stomach, he said to those who were with him: “By God, I am dying. See who those people are.” They looked, but the men had broken camp. So he said to them, “Take me to my paternal cousin, Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Abbās; he is in the district of al-Sharāt.” They hurried until they reached Muḥammad b. ‘Alī in al-Ḥumayma in the district of al-Sharāt. When ‘Abdallāh came into his presence, he said:<sup>2295</sup>

Cousin, I am about to die and have come to you. Here is my father’s testament to me. It says that authority will fall to you and to your children. It tells when this will happen, what the sign will be, | and what you are to do, according to what he heard and related from his father, ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. So take hold of this.

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These partisans (*shī‘a*)—take good care of them. They are the ones who will make the call on your behalf and assist you; hold them close to you, for I have tested their love and affection for the people of your house.

This man is Maysara;<sup>2296</sup> make him your man over Iraq. As for Syria, it is no country for you. These are his messengers to Khurāsān and to you. Let your call (*da‘wa*) be made in Khurāsān, and let it not go beyond the districts of Marw, Marw al-Rūdh, Bīward, and Nasā. Beware of Nīshāpūr and its districts, Abrashahr, and Tūs. I hope that your call will come to pass and that God will make your affairs successful. Know that the master of this affair among your children will be ‘Abdallāh b. al-Ḥārithiyya<sup>2297</sup> and then ‘Abdallāh,<sup>2298</sup> his elder brother. When the Year of the Ass<sup>2299</sup>

<sup>2295</sup> For a study of the following text, the so-called Testament of Abū Hāshim, see S. Moscati, “Il testamento di Abū Hāsim.”

<sup>2296</sup> Abū Riyāḥ Maysara al-Nabbāl; see Sharon, *Black Banners*, 134; Powers, *The History of al-Tabari*, xxiv, 87, and below.

<sup>2297</sup> The first ‘Abbāsid caliph-to-be, ‘Abdallāh b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī, al-Saffāḥ (r. 132/749–136/754), called here “son of the Ḥārithī woman,” in allusion to his mother, Rā’ita bt. Ziyād of the Banū l-Ḥārith b. Ka'b.

<sup>2298</sup> The second ‘Abbāsid caliph-to-be, Abū Ja‘far al-Manṣūr (r. 136/754–158/775).

<sup>2299</sup> Arabic *sanat al-himār*, alluding to the last Umayyad caliph, Marwān II, known as al-Ḥimār (The Ass). See al-Thā’alibī, *Laṭā’if*, trans. Bosworth, 61.

passes, send your messengers out with your letters. Make preparations before this, without any messenger (*rasūl*) and without any (person to serve as) proof (*hujja*).<sup>2300</sup>

As for the people of Iraq, they are your partisans and friends and people of rebellion. Your messenger should come only from among them. Look to the tribesmen of the Rabi'a. Join them up with the people of Iraq, since they are with them in all matters. Also look to the tribes of Tamīm and Qays: distance them and keep them far off, except for those whom God keeps, which will be very few indeed. Then choose those who will make the call on your behalf. Let them be twelve chiefs (*naqībs*), for God, the mighty and powerful, gave authority to the Israelites with only that number and seventy men to follow after them, and the Prophet took only twelve chiefs from the Anṣār in accordance with this.

Muhammad asked, "Abū Hāshim, what is the Year of the Ass?" He replied: "A hundred years have never passed after a prophethood without its affairs being accomplished. As God, may He be glorified and exalted, has said: *Or such as he who passed by a city ...*<sup>2301</sup> So when one hundred years have passed, send your messengers and those who will make the call, for God will perfect your authority." |

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After giving the document to Muḥammad b. ‘Alī, Abū Hāshim died. It was in the year 97,<sup>2302</sup> and in this year Muḥammad b. ‘Alī sent Abū Riyāḥ Maysara al-Nabbāl, a client of the Azd, to Kufa.

Sulaymān made the pilgrimage in the year 97, having decided to have the oath of allegiance given to his son Ayyūb as heir apparent. He had written Abū Bakr [b.] Muḥammad b. ‘Amr b. Ḥazm to build him a palace to stay in

<sup>2300</sup> "Without any proof (*hujja*)," that is, without any person to serve as visible "proof" of God's presence among you. On the development of this technical term in Shī‘ī Islam—among the Ismā‘īlis it came to be used for the chief *dā‘ī* (propagandist) for the Imam—although here its exact sense is unclear, see the article by M. G. S. Hodgson in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Hudjdja*.

<sup>2301</sup> Cf. Qur’ān 2:259: "Or such as he who passed by a city that was fallen down upon its turrets; he said, 'How shall God give life to this now it is dead?' So God made him die a hundred years, then He raised him up, saying, 'How long hast thou tarried?' He said, 'I have tarried a day, or part of a day.' Said He, 'Nay; thou hast tarried a hundred years. Look at thy food and drink—it has not spoiled; and look at thy ass. So We would make thee a sign for the people. And look at the bones; how We shall set them up, and then clothe them with flesh.' So, when it was made clear to him, he said, 'I know that God is powerful over everything.'"

<sup>2302</sup> 97 A.H. = September 5, 715 – August 24, 716.

at al-Jurf.<sup>2303</sup> When he arrived, he was unhappy with the construction of the palace, but he stayed in it. He distributed gifts among the people of Medina, and singled out the Quraysh for four thousand stipends, including no allies or clients in them. However, the elders of Quraysh decided to pay them to their allies and clients. They went before him and said: “You have granted us four thousand stipends without including any ally or client with us. We have decided to give them to our allies and clients on your behalf, for we are less of a burden upon you than they are.” So he awarded them another four thousand stipends.

Then Sulaymān went to Mecca. When he stopped at Baṭn Rābigh,<sup>2304</sup> the sky opened on them and there were bolts of lightning the likes of which had never been seen. Sulaymān took fright, but ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-Azīz said to him: “This is (God’s) mercy! What do you think (His) punishment will be like?”

Sulaymān summoned a group of learned men, including al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr, Sālim b. ‘Abdallāh, ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Umar, Khārija b. Zayd and Abū Bakr b. Ḥazm, and asked them how to perform the pilgrimage. They differed over it, each saying something with which the next disagreed. So he asked, “How did the Commander of the Faithful, ‘Abd al-Malik, do it?” When he was told, “He did it like this,” he said, “I will do as he did and ignore your disagreements.”

He later set out from Mecca to Jerusalem. | When lepers circled his camp, ringing their bells so that they prevented him from sleeping, he asked about them. When he was told about the difficulties they caused people, he ordered that they be should be burnt. He said, “If they had any good in them, God would not have afflicted them with this scourge!” But ‘Umar [b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz] interceded with him, so Sulaymān desisted and ordered that they should be banished to an isolated village where they would not mix with people.

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Sulaymān set out for the province of al-Jazīra and stayed in place called Dābiq in the district (*jund*) of al-Qinnasrīn.<sup>2305</sup> He sent Maslama b. ‘Abd al-Malik to raid the Byzantine lands, commanding him to head for Constantinople and to besiege it and conquer it. So Maslama marched to Constantinople and besieged it so long that he sowed crops and ate what he had sown. He entered and conquered the City of the Slavs.<sup>2306</sup> The Muslims were afflicted by adver-

<sup>2303</sup> Yāqūt, *Mu’jam al-buldān*, locates al-Jurf at 3 Arab miles from Medina.

<sup>2304</sup> Baṭn Rābigh (the Lowland or Plain of Rabigh): Rābigh is a port on the Red Sea half-way between Judda (Jedda) and Yanbu’. It was a point at which pilgrims from the north could assume the *ihrām*. See the article in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Rābigh.

<sup>2305</sup> Dābiq, upstream from Aleppo on the Quwayq, served in this period as a mustering point for troops on the northern frontier. See the article by D. Sourdel in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Dābiq.

<sup>2306</sup> A similarly brief notice (ascribed to al-Wāqidī) about the conquest of the City of the

sity, hunger, and cold, and when news reached Sulaymān of what Maslama and his men were facing, he reinforced them with ‘Amr b. Qays by land, and sent ‘Umar b. Hubayra al-Fazārī<sup>2307</sup> to raid by sea. This was because the Byzantines had attacked the city of al-Lādhiqiyā in the district (*jund*) of Ḥimṣ and had burned it and carried off spoils. ‘Umar b. Hubayra got as far as the Bosphorus.

The persons with the greatest influence over Sulaymān were: al-Naḍr b. [Abī]<sup>2308</sup> Maryam al-Ḥimyarī and Rajā’ b. Ḥaywa al-Kindī. Kā’b b. Ḥāmid al-‘Absī commanded Sulaymān’s security force (*shurṭa*), Khālid b. al-Dayyān, a client of Muḥārib, his guard (*haras*), and his chamberlain (*hājib*) was his client, Abū ‘Ubayda.

Sulaymān was a voracious eater who was rarely sated.<sup>2309</sup> He was attractive and eloquent [...],<sup>2310</sup> a tall man, white, and with a body that could not bear hunger. He never went grey, and he was the one who said while looking at himself in the mirror, “I’m a youthful king!”—but he died before the week was out. His decease took place in Ṣafar of the year 99.<sup>2311</sup> He had appointed ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz his successor and had written a document (to this effect). | He summoned his family and said, “Take the oath to the one who is named in this document.” They all took the oath. Then he gave the document to [Rajā’ b. Ḥaywa, who took the document to]<sup>2312</sup> the Dābiq mosque and called upon Sulaymān’s family members, saying, “Take the oath!” They said, “We have already taken the oath!” So he said, “Take the oath to the one who is named in

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Slavs can be found in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:1317. The notice includes the information that Maslama was attacked by “Burjān,” which normally refers to the state founded in the Balkans by the Turkic Bulghars and South Slavs. This would place the City of the Slavs somewhere in the Balkans. See the article by I. Hrbek in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Bulghār. C. E. Bosworth, on the other hand, argues that this City of the Slavs was more likely in Anatolia; see his article in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ṣakāliba.

2307 On this military leader and later governor of Iraq under Yazīd b. ‘Abd al-Malik, see the article by J.-C. Vadet in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ibn Hubayra.

2308 Corrected on the basis of al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:2556. On Rajā’ b. Ḥaywa, see the article by C. E. Bosworth in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Radja’ b. Ḥaywa.

2309 For anecdotes about Sulaymān’s gluttony and luxurious clothes, see al-Mas‘ūdī, *Murij*, 5:400–404 (§ 2154–2158).

2310 Lacuna, although there is no gap in the MSS.

2311 Al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:1336, gives two dates: 19 Ṣafar 99 (October 1, 717) or 10 Ṣafar 99 (September 22, 717). As Powers notes in his translation, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, xxiv, 61, n. 234, the discrepancy is apparently due to confusion over whether Sulaymān died ten days into Ṣafar or ten days before its end.

2312 The words in brackets have fallen out of the text by homeoteleuton, but can be reconstructed from the parallel in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:1341–1345.

this document.” So they took the oath, and when they were finished he said, “Stand up in honor of your leader, for he has died.” He read out the document, and when he reached the name of ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz, Hishām<sup>2313</sup> said, “No, by God! I will not take the oath.” Rajā’ b. Ḥaywa replied, “Then I will cut off your head.” Then he took ‘Umar by the arm and sat him on the pulpit. When they had finished giving the oath, they buried Sulaymān. ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz went down into his grave with three of (Sulaymān’s) sons, but when they grasped his body, it moved in their hands. Sulaymān’s sons then said, “By the Lord of the Ka‘ba, our father is alive!” But ‘Umar said, “By the Lord of the Ka‘ba, no; rather your father has been hastened away [to death].” Some who wished to impugn ‘Umar would say about him that he had buried Sulaymān alive.

Sulaymān b. ‘Abd al-Malik’s rule lasted two years and eight months. He left ten sons: Yazīd, al-Qāsim, Sa‘īd, ‘Uthmān, ‘Abdallāh,<sup>2314</sup> ‘Abd al-Wāhiḍ, al-Ḥārith, ‘Amr, ‘Umar, and ‘Abd al-Rahmān.

Those who led the pilgrimage during his rule were as follows:

- in the year 96: Abū Bakr b. ‘Amr b. Ḥazm;
- in the year 97: Sulaymān himself;
- in the year 98: ‘Abd al-‘Aziz [b. ‘Abdallāh] b. Khālid b. Asīd.

The leaders of the raids during his rule were as follows:

- in the year 96: Maslama, who conquered Ḥiṣn al-Ḥadīd,<sup>2315</sup> and wintered in Byzantine territory; and ‘Umar b. Hubayra by sea, moving between the Bosphorus and Constantinople, and conquering the city of the Slavs. Sulaymān sent ‘Amr b. Qays | al-Kindi and ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Umar b. al-Walīd b. ‘Uqba as reinforcements.
- in the year 97:<sup>2316</sup> Sulaymān b. ‘Abd al-Malik dispatched his son Dāwūd to Byzantine territory while Maslama was besieging Constantinople. Dāwūd conquered Ḥiṣn al-Mar‘a in the region of Malatya.

The learned men during his days were the same as those in the days of al-Walīd.

<sup>2313</sup> That is, Hishām b. ‘Abd al-Malik, Sulaymān’s younger brother, who had been passed over in the succession.

<sup>2314</sup> ‘Ubaydallāh in M.

<sup>2315</sup> More commonly called Khanjara in Arabic, a town in north-central Anatolia; see the article by J. H. Mordtmann in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Čankırı.

<sup>2316</sup> Ed. Leiden reads *tis’ wa-tis’īn* (99), but this is unlikely for two reasons. First, there is the ease with which *tis’* (9) and *sab’* (7) are confused in Arabic script. In fact, M writes

### The Reign of ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz

Then ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Marwān, whose mother was Umm Ḥāsim bt. Ḥāsim b. ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, came to rule on the 10th day of Ṣafar in the year 99.<sup>2317</sup> On that day the Sun was 28° in Virgo; Saturn 25° 40' in Libra; Jupiter 2° in Pisces, retrograde; Mars 23° 30' in Cancer; Mercury 22° in Libra; and the Ascending Node 23° 26' in Gemini. He was given the oath of allegiance in Dābiq. The document written by Sulaymān read as follows:

This is a document from the servant of God, Sulaymān, the Commander of the Faithful, to ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz. I appoint you caliph after me. Listen to him<sup>2318</sup> and obey! Fear God and do not quarrel!

When the letter was read out, all the Umayyads in attendance gave the oath of allegiance, except ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. al-Walid b. ‘Abd al-Malik, who was absent. He then claimed the caliphate for himself, and some people gave him the oath of allegiance. When news of ‘Umar’s accession reached him, he came, and ‘Umar said to him, “I have heard that you claimed the caliphate for yourself and that you intended to enter Damascus.” ‘Abd al-‘Azīz said, “It was because I feared civil war, and I heard that the caliph had appointed no one to succeed him.” To this ‘Umar said, “Had you secured power, I would not have opposed you.” ‘Abd al-‘Azīz replied, “I had no desire that anyone but you should assume this authority.” |

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When Yazīd b. al-Muhallab heard of ‘Umar’s accession and received his letter, he departed from Khurāsān, having appointed his son, Makhlad, in his place. He carried away with him everything of his that he feared the people of Khurāsān (might take).<sup>2319</sup> Some had counseled him not to depart, but he did

the word with dots for an initial *tā'*, followed by a mark to indicate a dotless *sīn*, as if to indicate the reading *tis'*, but adds a dot under the line to indicate that one of the “teeth” is a *bā'*, as if to indicate the reading *sab'*. More importantly, the notice in al-Ya‘qūbī is almost the same as that given by al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:1305–1306, at the beginning of A.H. 97. However, al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:1335, also gives a notice that Ḥisn al-Mar'a was conquered in 98, which suggests that the copyist of al-Ya‘qūbī’s history may have omitted a notice for 98.

<sup>2317</sup> September 22, 717.

<sup>2318</sup> “To him” (*lahu*) is in M, but omitted in ed. Leiden.

<sup>2319</sup> Following the apparent meaning of M: *kull mā kāna yakhāfuhu min ahl khurāsān ma’ahu*. Ed. Leiden emends to *kull mā kāna [lahu] makħāfatan min ahl khurāsān ma’ahu* (everything he had, for fear of the people of Khurāsān, with him).

not take the advice. He traveled to Basra, where ‘Adī b. Arṭāt, ‘Umar’s governor, met him. He passed to him ‘Umar’s letter (of appointment) and said, “Listen and obey!” He then took him, secured in fetters, to ‘Umar, who said to him: “I have found a letter of yours to Sulaymān, in which you mention that you have amassed 20,000,000 (dirhams).<sup>2320</sup> Where are they?” First he denied having it; then he said, “Let me go and gather it.” “Where?” asked ‘Umar. Yazīd said, “I will go to the people.” ‘Umar replied, “Take it from them a second time? No, you won’t have that pleasure!” Then ‘Umar appointed al-Jarrāḥ b. ‘Abdallāh al-Ḥakamī governor of Khurāsān and ordered him to seize Makhlad b. Yazīd and to secure him in fetters that would not prevent him from praying.<sup>2321</sup> Al-Jarrāḥ therefore gave him an honorable confinement and then sent him to ‘Umar. Makhlad entered (the caliph’s presence) with his robes tucked up, wearing a tall, white hat. ‘Umar said to him, “This is unlike what I have heard about you.” Makhlad replied, “You are the leaders: when you let your garments hang loose, so do we; when you tuck them up, so do we.”

Al-Jarrāḥ conducted himself well. Envoys from Tibet came to him, requesting that he send them someone who would explain Islam to them, so he dispatched al-Salīṭ b. ‘Abdallāh al-Ḥanafī to them. He dispatched ‘Abdallāh b. Mu’ammār al-Yashkūrī to Transoxiana; there Ibn Mu’ammār encountered an army of Turks, but he was defeated and turned back. ‘Umar (later) heard of matters concerning al-Jarrāḥ that he found offensive, such as his collecting the poll-tax from people who had converted to Islam, sending converts (*mawālī*) on campaigns without granting them stipends, and engaging in factional politics.<sup>2322</sup> So he wrote to him, summoning him and ordering him to appoint ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Nu’aym al-Ghāmidī as caretaker. Al-Jarrāḥ did so. ‘Umar then sent a letter of appointment over Khurāsān to ‘Abd al-Rahmān, ordering him to bring back | the Muslims in Transoxiana, along with their offspring, to Marw. He put this to them, but they refused, and he wrote to ‘Umar that they were content to remain there. ‘Umar praised God for that.

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<sup>2320</sup> A version of the letter is given in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:1334–1335. In al-Ṭabarī’s version (from al-Madā’īnī), Yazīd’s scribe advised against mentioning so large a sum in the letter, lest the caliph attempt to mulct Yazīd of it; which, in the event, was what happened, though not during the reign of Sulaymān.

<sup>2321</sup> That is, in a way that would not prevent him from making the bows and prostrations required for Islamic prayer.

<sup>2322</sup> Arabic *wa-annahu yuẓhiru l-‘aṣabiyya*, literally, “that he was making a display of tribal loyalty or chauvinism.” According to al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:1353–1354, al-Jarrāḥ’s fault was his declared preference for Arab tribesmen over non-Arab clients.

When ‘Umar received word of the difficulties and want facing those who were with Maslama in Byzantine territory, he dispatched ‘Amr b. Qays to command the summer campaign, and with him he sent garments, food, and stipends for the Muslims who were with Maslama. ‘Umar then dispatched ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Ḥātim [b. al-Nu’mān] al-Bāhilī, who attacked the Turks; only the stray runaway made it away safely. He took fifty of the captives to ‘Umar, and one of the Muslims said to ‘Umar about one of the captives, “Commander of the Faithful, had you seen this man killing Muslims, you would have seen a devastating killer!” ‘Umar said, “Stand up and strike off his head!”

### The Death of ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn<sup>2323</sup>

‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib died in the year 99, although some say 100, at the age of 58.<sup>2324</sup> He was the most virtuous and most devout of people. He was called “the Adornment of the Worshippers”<sup>2325</sup> and “the One with the Calluses,” due to the imprint of prayer-prostrations on his forehead—he used to pray a thousand prostrations each day and night. When he was washed (for burial), scars resembling those on the back of a camel were discovered on his shoulders, and when his family was asked about them, they said that they were from his carrying food at night, when he would take it round to the lodgings of the poor.

Sa‘īd b. al-Musayyab said: “I never saw anyone more virtuous than ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn. Every time I saw him, I would despise myself. I never once saw him laughing.”

His mother was Ḥarār, the daughter of the emperor Yazdagird. This was because when ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb was brought two daughters of Yazdagird, he gave one of them to al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī, who named her Ghazāla. When mention was made of ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn, one nobleman used to say, “Everyone would wish to have a slave-woman as a mother!” Others have said that his mother was from among the captives taken in Kābul.

<sup>2323</sup> The grandson of ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, known as *Zayn al-Ābidīn* (The Adornment of the Worshippers), the fourth Imam of the Twelver Shī‘ite line. See the article by E. Kohlberg in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Zayn al-Ābidīn*.

<sup>2324</sup> There is much variation in the date given for his death, ranging from 92 to 100 A.H. The year 99 A.H. = August 14, 717 – August 2, 718; 100 A.H. = August 3, 718 – July 23, 719.

<sup>2325</sup> The translation follows ed. Leiden and C (*Zayn al-Ābidīn*); M reads *Sayyid al-Ābidīn*, (The Master of the Worshippers).

Abū Khālid al-Kābulī said: "I heard 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn say: 'He who abstains from the things forbidden by God is worshipful; he who is satisfied with God's share for him is rich; he who is a good neighbor to his neighbor is a Muslim; and he who treats people as he would wish them to treat him is just.'"

'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn said: "When the Day of Judgment comes, a crier will call, 'Let the people of virtue arise!' and some of the people will do so. They will be told to set off for Heaven without being called to account. The angels will meet them and ask wherein their virtue consisted, and they will say, 'When we were treated recklessly, we were forbearing; when we were wronged, we were patient; when we were mistreated, we were forgiving.' The angels will say, 'Enter Heaven—how great is the reward of those do right!' Then a crier will call, 'Let the people of steadfastness arise!' and some of the people will do so. They will be told to set off for Heaven without being called to account. The angels will meet them and ask wherein their steadfastness consisted, and they will say, 'We made ourselves steadfast in obeying God, and we were steadfast in avoiding acts of disobedience towards God.' The angels will say, 'Enter Heaven—how great is the reward of those do right!' Then the crier will cry out, 'Let the neighbors of God arise!' and some of the people will do so—the fewest in number. They will be asked about how they had been neighborly to God in His house, and they will say, 'We used to sit together for the sake of God, meet together to make mention of God, and visit each other for the sake of God.' The angels will say, 'Enter Heaven—how great is the reward of those who do right!'"

He said: "How evil are people who use religion to cheat the world! How evil are people who perform their actions seeking worldly ends!"

He said: "One knows a perfect man by his forswearing talk of things that do not concern him, by his lack of quarreling, by his forbearance, and by the excellence of his character."

The Byzantine emperor wrote a threatening letter to 'Abd al-Malik, who had difficulty | formulating an answer; so he wrote to al-Ḥajjāj, who at this time was governor of the Ḥijāz, saying, "Summon 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn with threats, intimidation, and impudence; see how he responds to you, and write to me about it." Al-Ḥajjāj did so, and 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn said to him: "In every day there are 360 moments that belong to God. I hope that He will protect me from you in the first of His moments." So he wrote that to 'Abd al-Malik, who wrote saying this to the Byzantine emperor. When the latter read it, he said, "These are not his words; they belong to the issue of his Prophet."<sup>2326</sup>

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<sup>2326</sup> Arabic *'itrat nubuwwatihī*, literally, "the issue, or people closest to, his prophecy or prophetic mission."

He fell ill three times, making his last will and testament each time. When he recovered and became healthy, he issued it, saying: “Each of you will become a report (after his death). Let him who is able to be a good report do so.”

He used to say: “Son of Adam, you will not cease to be well as long as you have an admonisher in your soul, as long as self-examination is part of your intention, and as long as fear is your innermost garment and sadness your covering.”

‘Abd al-Malik had written to al-Ḥajjāj while the latter was governor of the Ḥijāz, saying, “Spare me the blood of the family of the sons of [Abū] Ṭālib, for I have seen how the family of Ḥarb<sup>2327</sup> came to failure when they attacked them.”<sup>2328</sup> ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn therefore wrote to him: “I saw the Messenger of God in a dream on a certain night in a certain month, telling me that ‘Abd al-Malik had written to al-Ḥajjāj on that night about a certain matter, and that I should tell him that God was grateful to him for it and would lengthen his rule for a time.”

He had the following sons: Abū Ja‘far Muḥammad, al-Ḥusayn, and ‘Abdal-lāh—their mother was Umm ‘Abdallāh bt. al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī—and ‘Alī, al-Ḥasan, al-Ḥusayn the Younger, Sulaymān (who died as a child), and Zayd.<sup>2329</sup>

One day ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz made mention of him, saying, “The light of the world, the beauty of Islam, and the adornment of the worshippers has gone.” When someone told him that his son, Abū Ja‘far Muḥammad b. ‘Alī<sup>2330</sup> retained some part of that, ‘Umar wrote | to test him. Muḥammad replied with a letter in which he admonished ‘Umar and caused him to fear. ‘Umar therefore ordered that they should take out his letter to Sulaymān. When it was taken out, he found that he had extolled and praised him. ‘Umar then wrote to the governor of Medina, saying to him, “Summon Muḥammad and say to him, ‘Here is your letter to Sulaymān, where you praise him, and here is your letter to me, despite all the justice and benevolence that I have displayed!’” So the governor of Medina summoned him and told him what ‘Umar had written. Muḥammad replied: “Sulaymān was a tyrant to whom I wrote as one writes to tyrants. Your master rules more purely,”<sup>2331</sup> and so I wrote to him in a fashion appropriate to him.” ‘Umar’s governor wrote back informing him, and ‘Umar said, “God does not make this family destitute of a single virtue.”

<sup>2327</sup> That is, the Umayyads, named here with reference to their progenitor Ḥarb b. Umaya.

<sup>2328</sup> The text is uncertain.

<sup>2329</sup> This is the Zayd b. ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn whose revolt and death will be narrated by al-Ya‘qūbī below, ed. Leiden, 2:390–391.

<sup>2330</sup> Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Baqīr, the fifth Imam of the Twelver Shi‘ite line.

<sup>2331</sup> Following M, *aṭharu amran*; ed. Leiden, *azharu amran* (is more apparent as to rule).

'Umar repudiated the deeds committed by members of his family, which he branded as acts of injustice. He wrote to all of his governors as follows: "The people have been afflicted with trials and hardships, with wrongdoing with respect to God's ordinances, and with evil traditions imposed on them by evil governors who rarely have pursued the path of the truth, gentleness, and kindness. As for whoever wishes to perform the Pilgrimage, speed his stipend to him so that he can provision himself with it. Do not perform any amputations or crucifixions until you have consulted me." He abandoned the cursing of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib from the pulpits,<sup>2332</sup> writing to that effect to all the provinces. Kuthayyir<sup>2333</sup> said:

You assumed power, and you did not revile 'Alī, or threaten  
an innocent man, or follow the view of a sinner.

He granted the Banū Hāshim the Fifth,<sup>2334</sup> and he restored (the revenues from) Fadak<sup>2335</sup> to them; Mu'āwiya had granted it to Marwān, who had granted it to his son 'Abd al-'Azīz, from whom 'Umar had inherited it. He restored it to Fāṭima's descendants, in whose hands it remained until Yazid b. 'Abd al-Malik

<sup>2332</sup> Reading the plural *manābir* with M; ed. Leiden has the singular, *minbar* (pulpit).

<sup>2333</sup> The MSS read *Jarīr*; Houtsma emended the text on the basis of the attribution of the verse in Ibn al-Athir, *Kāmil*, 5:31, and in the *Fragmenta Historicorum Arabicorum* (ed. De Goeje), 620; to which one may add Ibn Qutayba, *al-Shi'r wa l-shu'ara'* (ed. De Goeje), 317–320, where the verse begins a 17-line panegyric of 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz recited in his presence by Kuthayyir. A 19-line version of the poem occurs in *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, 8:153–154, also ascribed to Kuthayyir.

<sup>2334</sup> The "fifth" (*khums*) consisted of one-fifth of the booty of war or other specified forms of income, set aside for various designated beneficiaries. Islamic law eventually settled on the principle that the Prophet's next-of-kin and their descendants were entitled to a fifth of this fifth. See the article by A. Zysow and R. Gleave in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Khums.

<sup>2335</sup> Fadak was a small town two or three days' journey from Medina. After the town was conquered in the days of the Prophet (al-Ya'qūbi, ed. Leiden, 2:78), its revenue was assigned to Muhammad personally, who devoted it to support needy travelers and poorer members of the Banū Hāshim. After Muhammad's death, Abū Bakr insisted that the revenue should revert to the public treasury, as "prophets have no heirs" (al-Ya'qūbi, ed. Leiden, 2:142); Fāṭima, on the other hand, maintained that the revenue from Fadak should go to her as her father's heiress, and the controversy continued to be a source of bad feeling between the Banū Hāshim and the Umayyads. Al-Ya'qūbi has already mentioned that Mu'āwiya granted the Fadak revenue to Marwān b. al-Ḥakam "so as to gall the Family of the Prophet" (ed. Leiden, 2:265). See the article by L. Veccia Vaglieri in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Fadak.

came to rule, when he seized it. ‘Umar also restored the giving of gifts at the festivals of Nayrūz and Mihrajān,<sup>2336</sup> cash<sup>2337</sup> and stipends | according to what one merited in accordance with the Sunna; he also fixed the inheritance for dependents according to the prescriptions of the Sunna. However, he confirmed the land grants that members of his family had made, along with the stipends reckoned according to high status, which he neither reduced nor increased. He increased the stipends granted to the Syrians by 10 dirhams, but he did not do the same for the Iraqis.

He used to say: “For the Muslim who is enduring rough treatment by the authorities and the devil’s mischief, I have seen nothing more helpful to his religion than granting him his due.” To that end, he used to have day-long sessions to look into the Muslims’ affairs. Rajā’ b. Ḥaywa once said to him, “Commander of the Faithful! You’re busy the whole day—[take] a part of the evening in conversation with us!” He replied: “Rajā’, meeting face to face with men is a fecundation for those responsible for their affairs.<sup>2338</sup> Consultation and disputation are two doors to (God’s) mercy and a key to (His) blessing; with these two things, one’s judgment does not go astray, nor does one’s resolution weaken.”

He used to say: “Everything has a place where it can be found. The place where the fear of God can be found is the hearts of those who are mindful, because they are mindful of God and fear Him in His commands and prohibitions.”

He wrote to his governor of Yemen: “Forsake what you reject as false, but take hold of what you know to be right, whatever it costs you. If it reaches us, God knows that [if] you deliver to me nothing more than a handful of dye, I shall be happy with that, provided that it is just.”

<sup>2336</sup> Nayrūz (or Nawrūz) was the first day of the Persian solar year at the vernal equinox; Mihrajān, around the autumn equinox, was a Persian festival dedicated to Mithra/Mihr.

<sup>2337</sup> Arabic *sukhar* (pl. of *sukhra*). Dozy, *Supplément*, s.v., records two meanings for the word, and it is not clear which is relevant here. It can refer either to a corvée, uncompensated labor (to which a landowner would be entitled) or simply a cash payment. Cf. also the glossary to al-Balādhurī, *Futūh*, s.v.

<sup>2338</sup> Arabic *mulāqāt al-rijāl talaqquh li-awliyā’ihim*. The sense is that it fecundates their intellect. The metaphor is taken from the practice of artificially fertilizing the flowers of a date palm using the male pollen-bearing spathe. Cf. the proverb cited in Lane, *Lexicon*, 7:2668: *al-naṣar fī ‘awāqib al-umūr talqīḥ al-‘uqūl*, “Consideration of the results of things is a means of fecundation of the intellects.”

Al-Zuhrī said: “One day I went to ‘Umar, and while I was with him a letter from a governor of his arrived, informing him that their city required repair. So I told him that one of ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib’s governors had written similarly, and that ‘Alī had responded to him, saying, ‘Fortify it with justice, and cleanse its streets of injustice.’ So ‘Umar wrote that to his governor.”

‘Umar dispatched workers to the mosque of Damascus to remove its marble, | mosaics, and gold, saying, “People are being distracted from their prayer by looking at it.” But when he was told that it served as a deception for the Enemy, he left it.<sup>2339</sup>

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He traveled to Khunāṣira,<sup>2340</sup> which is in the steppe on the fringes of the district (*jund*) of Qinnasrīn, and resided there—he was loathe to reside in the residences that the members of his family had built with God’s money and the Muslims’ revenues (*fay’*). But people spoke to him about it, saying that his residing in the steppe was a hardship for the Muslims, so he left for Damascus and resided in his father’s house next to the mosque. He stayed there for twenty days, but was overwhelmed by the number of people, and so he made his way to Aleppo. Overwhelmed again by people, he set off for Ḥimṣ on his return journey, intending to stay there, but when he reached its outskirts, he grew ill. So he turned aside to a place called Dayr Sam‘ān<sup>2341</sup> and stopped there; it is also said that he went there on purpose, intending to settle, because he had inherited a piece of land there from his mother.

When he reached Dayr Sam‘ān, news reached him of the rebellion of Shawdhab the Khārijite,<sup>2342</sup> so he ordered that an army be dispatched against him. Shawdhab, for his part, dispatched two men to dispute with ‘Umar. They said to him, “You have done good deeds and fine works; what we disapprove of is your failure to curse members of your family and disavow them.” He replied, “Why must I curse them?” They replied, “Because they committed crimes and acts of disobedience, nothing else will do for you.” He then asked, “When have you ever cursed Pharoah?” “We cannot recall ever cursing him,” they replied. He said:

<sup>2339</sup> Arabic *inna fihi makīdatan lil-‘adūw* (in it there is a deception/strategem/device for the enemy). The sense is that the splendor will serve to distract Satan, the enemy of mankind.

<sup>2340</sup> Khunāṣira was an ancient site, about 60 km southeast of Aleppo and 100 km northeast of Ḥamāt; on the stronghold that ‘Umar constructed there, see the article by the editors in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Khunāṣira.

<sup>2341</sup> Presumably the Dayr Sam‘ān (St. Simeon’s Monastery) located about 40 km northwest of Aleppo; see the article by D. Sourdel in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Dayr Sam‘ān.

<sup>2342</sup> Arabic *al-ḥarūrī*. Shawdhab (also called Bistām) al-Yashkūrī was a member of the Khārijite sect called Ṣufriyya. See the article by W. Madelung in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ṣufriyya.

"How then is it permissible for you to fail to curse him, when he was a person who committed crimes and acts of disobedience? You are people who have desired something but missed the mark. You mean well and your preaching is compelling, but your power is weak." So one of the men came over to him; the other left.

2:369 Abū l-Tufayl Āmir b. Wāthila,<sup>2343</sup> who was one of ‘Alī's partisans, came to ‘Umar, asking why he had withdrawn his stipend. He said, "I have been told that you have polished your sword, | sharpened your spear, tipped your arrows, and shouldered<sup>2344</sup> your bow, waiting for the Imam who is to rise up, until he comes forth; when he does, he will deliver you your stipend."<sup>2345</sup> He replied, "God will ask you about this." ‘Umar was abashed by this and granted him his stipend.

Rayṭa bt. ‘Ubaydallāh b. ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Abd al-Madān al-Ḥārithī had been married to ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān, who died leaving her a widow. Later, al-Ḥajjāj b. ‘Abd al-Malik married her, but he divorced her before consummating the marriage. So Muḥammad b. ‘Alī,<sup>2346</sup> who was on his way to the summer campaign, came to ‘Umar and asked for her hand, saying: "My cousin<sup>2347</sup> was married to your family. If you permit, I will marry her." ‘Umar replied, "Who will come between you and her, when she can take care of herself?" So he married her, and consummated the marriage with her in the house of Ṭalḥa b. Mālik al-Tā’ī in the outskirts of Qinnasrīn, where she became pregnant with Abū l-‘Abbās.

At the beginning of year 100,<sup>2348</sup> Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Abbās sent Maysara Abū Riyāḥ to Iraq, and he sent Muḥammad b. Khunays, Abū ‘Ikrima al-Sarrāj, and Ḥayyān al-Āṭṭār to Khurāsān, which was being governed

<sup>2343</sup> He has been mentioned briefly above, ed. Leiden, 2:254, as "a companion of ‘Alī who transmitted knowledge from him."

<sup>2344</sup> Reading ‘allaqta with M; ed. Leiden, *ghallafta* (sheathed).

<sup>2345</sup> ‘Umar is accusing Abū l-Tufayl of believing in *raj'a* (return) the doctrine held by some Shī'ite groups that one or more of the Imams—‘Alī, al-Ḥusayn, and Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyah are mentioned—would return to earth. See the article by E. Kohlberg in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Radj'a.

<sup>2346</sup> That is, Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Abbās, to whom Abū Hāshim ‘Abdallāh b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭalib is reported to have bequeathed the leadership of the Shī'a. See above, ed. Leiden, 2:356–357. His son by Rayṭa, Abū l-‘Abbās ‘Abdallāh b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Abbās, will become the first ‘Abbāsid caliph, surnamed al-Saffāḥ.

<sup>2347</sup> The Arabic specifies "my mother's sister's daughter."

<sup>2348</sup> 100 A.H. = August 3, 718 – July 23, 719.

by al-Jarrāḥ b. 'Abdallāh al-Ḥakamī, 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz's governor. There they met with certain people and then left, having sown seeds.<sup>2349</sup>

'Umar's ruled for 30 months. The person who exercised most influence upon him was Rajā' b. Ḥaywa al-Kindī. The commander of his security force (*shurṭa*) was Rawḥ b. Yazīd al-Saksakī, his client.

He died with six nights remaining in Rajab of the year 101,<sup>2350</sup> at the age of 39. He was brown-skinned, with a slender face, a fine beard, sunken eyes, and callused on his forehead.<sup>2351</sup> He had appointed as successor Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik. It has been said, however, that Sulaymān had appointed him to succeed 'Umar, and that nearing his death, 'Umar had said, "If | the matter were up to me, I would appoint Maymūn b. Mihrān or<sup>2352</sup> al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad." Maslama b. 'Abd al-Malik led the prayers at his funeral. He was buried at Dayr Sam'ān. It is also said that members of his family<sup>2353</sup> poisoned him for fear that the caliphate might pass from them.<sup>2354</sup>

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Two nights before 'Umar's death, Yazīd b. al-Muhallab fled and reached Basra. There the governor, 'Adī b. Arṭāt al-Fazārī, had seized and imprisoned his family. 'Umar dispatched messengers to track him down, but he escaped them.

'Umar left nine sons: 'Abd al-'Azīz, 'Abdallāh, 'Ubaydallāh, Zayd, Maslama, 'Uthmān, Sulaymān, Āṣim, and 'Abd al-Raḥmān.

Those who led the pilgrimage during his reign were:

- in the year 99: Abū Bakr [b.] Muḥammad b. 'Amr b. Ḥazm;
- in the year 100: Abū Bakr again.

<sup>2349</sup> That is, for the 'Abbāsid revolution.

<sup>2350</sup> That is, the 24th day of the month, corresponding to February 9, 720 (one day before the first date given in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 2:1361).

<sup>2351</sup> From much prostration in prayer.

<sup>2352</sup> Reading with M, *aw*; ed. Leiden reads *wa-* (and) but suggests emending it to *aw* in a note.

<sup>2353</sup> Following ed. Leiden, [*ahl*] *baytihi*; but in M the word that Houtsma read as *baytihi* (necessitating the addition of the word *ahl*, which is not in the MSS) is completely undotted and could stand for *banīhi* (his sons), which may be the correct reading.

<sup>2354</sup> This report, introduced by *qīla* (it has been said), follows logically from the previous report (also introduced by *qīla*) that 'Umar would have preferred designating Maymūn b. Mihrān (a leading jurist in the Jazīra and a tax-collector for 'Umar; see al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 3:2554, trans. Ella Landau-Tasseron, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, XXXIX, 322, n. 1491) or al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr, the grandson of the first caliph, neither of whom was a member of the Umayyad family.

During his rule, the summer campaign was led in 99 by 'Amr b. Qays al-Kindī.

The learned men during his days were:

- Khārija b. Zayd b. Thābit,
- Yaḥyā b. 'Abd al-Rahmān [b.] Ḥāfiṭ,<sup>2355</sup>
- Abū Salama b. 'Abd al-Rahmān,
- Sālim b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar,
- al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr,
- 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Utba b. Mas'ūd,<sup>2356</sup>
- Muḥammad b. Ka'b al-Quraṣī,<sup>2357</sup>
- 'Āsim b. 'Umar b. Qatāda,<sup>2358</sup>
- Nāfi', the client of 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar,<sup>2359</sup>
- Sa'īd b. Yasār,<sup>2360</sup>
- Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥārith al-Taymī,<sup>2361</sup>
- 'Abdallāh b. Dīnār,<sup>2362</sup>
- Muḥammad b. Muslim b. Shihāb al-Zuhrī,
- 'Abdallāh b. Abī Bakr [b.] Muḥammad b. 'Amr,<sup>2363</sup>
- 'Aṭā' b. Abī Rabāḥ,<sup>2364</sup>
- Mujāhid b. Jabr,<sup>2365</sup>

<sup>2355</sup> Died 104/722–723; see Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhīb*, 11:249–250.

<sup>2356</sup> 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Utba b. Mas'ūd al-Hudhali, one of the "Seven Jurists of Medina," is said to have been a teacher of 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz in Medina. Beside being a collector of traditions, he was a poet (the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* devotes a chapter to him). See the article by Ch. Pellat in *EI<sup>2</sup>*, s.v. Fuḳahā' al-Madīna al-Sab'a.

<sup>2357</sup> Muḥammad b. Ka'b b. Sulaym al-Quraṣī (d. 118/736) is said to have written a commentary on the Qur'ān and historical books. See F. Sezgin, *GAS*, 1:32.

<sup>2358</sup> 'Āsim b. 'Umar b. Qatāda al-Madanī (d. 120/737) was known as an expert on the Prophet's military campaigns (*maghāzī*). He is said to have taught in the Mosque of Damascus at the command of 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz. See F. Sezgin, *GAS*, 1:279–280.

<sup>2359</sup> A major transmitter of ḥadīth from 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar, he lived in Medina and died sometime between 117/735 and 120/738. See the article by G. H. A. Juynboll in *EI<sup>2</sup>*, s.v. Nāfi'.

<sup>2360</sup> According to al-Ṭabarī, *Tarīkh*, 3:2496, Sa'īd b. Yasār Abū l-Ḥubāb was a client of al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī. He lived in Medina, where he died in 117/735.

<sup>2361</sup> Died c. 120/738; he was the grandson of an Emigrant. See Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhīb*, 9:5–7.

<sup>2362</sup> Died 127/744; biography in Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhīb*, 5:201.

<sup>2363</sup> A Medinan scholar of history and ḥadīth, d. 130/747; see F. Sezgin, *GAS*, 1:284.

<sup>2364</sup> A prominent Meccan jurist, d. 114/732 or 115/733. See the article by Harald Motzki in *EI<sup>2</sup>*, s.v. 'Aṭā' b. Abī Rabāḥ.

<sup>2365</sup> The MSS read Jubayr, but Mujāhid b. Jabr is the normal form of the name. See above, ed. Leiden, 2:350.

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- Ḥikrima, the client of 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās,
- Ḥāmir b. | Sharāḥīl al-Sha'bī,
- Sālim b. Abī l-Jā'd,
- Ḥabīb b. Abī Thābit,<sup>2366</sup>
- 'Abd al-Malik b. Maysara al-Hilālī,<sup>2367</sup>
- Abū Ishqāq al-Sabī'ī,
- Al-Ḥasan b. Abī l-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī,
- Muḥammad b. Sīrīn,
- Abū Qilāba 'Abdallāh b. Zayd,
- Muwarraq al-'Ijlī,
- 'Abd al-Malik b. Ya'lā al-Laythī,<sup>2368</sup>
- Zayd b. Nawfal,
- 'Alqama b. 'Abdallāh al-Muzanī Abū Ḥāzim,<sup>2369</sup>
- Rajā' b. Ḥaywa,
- Makhlūl al-Dimashqī,<sup>2370</sup>
- Rāshid b. Sa'd al-Muqrī' (the Reader),
- Sulaymān b. Ḥabīb al-Muḥāribī,<sup>2371</sup>
- Maymūn b. Mihrān,<sup>2372</sup>
- Yazīd [b.] al-Asamm,<sup>2373</sup>
- Abū Qabil al-Ma'āfirī,<sup>2374</sup>
- Ṭāwūs al-Yamānī.<sup>2375</sup>

<sup>2366</sup> A Kufan transmitter of ḥadīth, d. 119/773; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 2:178–180.

<sup>2367</sup> Listed by Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta'rīkh*, 351, under the year 120/738 as having died during the governorship of Khālid al-Qasrī in Iraq.

<sup>2368</sup> Mentioned by al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 2:1438, 1461, as being in charge of the judiciary in Basra in 103/721–722 and in 104/722–723.

<sup>2369</sup> Died 100/718; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 7:275.

<sup>2370</sup> Makhlūl b. Abī Muslim Shuharb al-Dimashqī, was a transmitter of ḥadīth and a jurist. The date of his death is given either as 112/730 or 119/737. See F. Sezgin, *GAS*, 1:404.

<sup>2371</sup> According to al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 2:1266, he was appointed chief judge of Damascus by al-Walīd in 94/712–713. According to Wakī', *Akhbār al-qudāt*, 3:210–212, he also served as judge over Ḥimṣ for 'Abd al-Malik as well as serving under 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz and Hishām.

<sup>2372</sup> A jurist who held various offices and was close to 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz. He settled in the town of Raqqā in the Jazīra, where he died in 117/735–736. See the article by F. M. Donner in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Maymūn b. Mihrān, Abū Ayyūb.

<sup>2373</sup> Died between 101 and 104 (between 719 and 723); see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 11:313–314.

<sup>2374</sup> Abū Qabil Ḥuyayy b. Hāni' b. Nādir al-Ma'āfirī was a collector and transmitter of historical reports concerning Egypt. See F. Sezgin, *GAS*, 1:341.

<sup>2375</sup> Ṭāwūs b. Kaysān al-Yamānī died c. 106/724–725; see the biography in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 3:2487–2488; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 5:8–10.

### The Days of Yazīd b. ‘Abd al-Malik

Yazīd b. ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān came to rule.<sup>2376</sup> His mother, ‘Ātika bt. Yazīd b. Mu‘āwiya b. Abī Sufyān, was closely related to ten Umayyad caliphs: Mu‘āwiya, her grandfather; Yazīd, her father; Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, her husband’s father;<sup>2377</sup> al-Walīd, Sulaymān, Yazīd, and Hishām, the sons of ‘Abd al-Malik, all<sup>2378</sup> sons of her husband; Yazīd, her son; al-Walīd b. Yazīd, her grandson; and Yazīd b. al-Walīd, her husband’s grandson.

His rule began in Rajab of the year 101, when the Sun was  $21^{\circ} 20'$  in Aquarius,  
2:372 the Moon  $4^{\circ} 30'$  in Capricorn, Saturn  $29^{\circ} 30'$  in Scorpio, Jupiter  $14^{\circ} 20'$  in Taurus, Mars  $3^{\circ} 40'$  in Libra, Venus  $15^{\circ} 10'$  in Pisces, Mercury  $15^{\circ} 40'$  in Capricorn, and the Ascending Node  $7^{\circ} 20'$  in Taurus.

Yazīd dismissed all of ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz’s governors. He wrote to ‘Adī b. Arṭāt, ordering him to seize Yazīd b. al-Muhallab, so he did battle with him inside Basra in the month of Ramaḍān.<sup>2379</sup> But Yazīd defeated and captured him, and took him in chains to Wāsiṭ, where he imprisoned him, along with others who had been with him. Yazīd (b. al-Muhallab) thus took control of Basra and its adjacent districts. Having put Marwān b. al-Muhallab in charge of Basra, he departed for Kufa. Yazīd (b. ‘Abd al-Malik) dispatched Maslama b. ‘Abd al-Malik and al-‘Abbās b. al-Walīd against him. Maslama b. ‘Abd al-Malik set out and, having reached Iraq, began to say, “I fear that Ibn al-Muhallab will wear us out,<sup>2380</sup> fleeing so that we have to pursue him.” Hassān al-Nabaṭī,<sup>2381</sup> who was with him, said, “Commander, that’s not true.” “Why?” he asked. He said: “I heard him say: ‘Woe to ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. al-Ash‘ath! Granted that he conquered Basra, did he conquer patience? What harm would it have done him if he had thrown the edge of his robe over his face and advanced until he was killed?’” Maslama then said, “How likely it is that he will stand

<sup>2376</sup> Often called Yazīd II, to distinguish him from Yazid (I) b. Mu‘āwiya. See the article by H. Lammens and Kh. Y. Blankinship in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Yazīd (II) b. ‘Abd al-Malik.

<sup>2377</sup> Reading with M, *abū zawjihā*; ed. Leiden omits *abū*, yielding “Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, her husband,” which is incorrect.

<sup>2378</sup> Reading with M: *sawā’ar*; the word is omitted in ed. Leiden.

<sup>2379</sup> Cf. the more detailed parallel in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:1379 ff.; also al-Mas’ūdī, *Murij*, 4:34–37 (§ 2206–2209).

<sup>2380</sup> Reading with M, *an yut’ibānā*; ed. Leiden reads *an yata’ayyā* (that he will become difficult).

<sup>2381</sup> Perhaps to be identified with Ḥayyān al-Nabaṭī, who appears as the standard bearer of the Syrian army in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:1402 (trans. Powers, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, XXIV, 135).

his ground!" So the two met in Maskin<sup>2382</sup> and fought fiercely—Yazīd (b. al-Muhallab) was suffering from a grave stomach malady and Maslama used to call him "the yellow locust."<sup>2383</sup> He stood his ground until he was killed, this being in year 102.

Now Mu‘āwiya b. Yazīd b. al-Muhallab was in Wāsiṭ, and when the news of his father reached him, he took out ‘Adī b. Arṭāt and those with him | and executed them. He set off in a boat with his kinsmen and supporters and made his way to Qandābil<sup>2384</sup> in al-Sind, where they were overtaken by Hilāl b. Aḥwaz al-Māzinī, who had been sent by Maslama b. ‘Abd al-Malik. Mu‘āwiya was killed, along with all of those with him, except for a few whom Hilāl took captive and sent on Yazīd b. ‘Abd al-Malik, who killed them in Damascus; among them was ‘Uthmān b. al-Mufaḍḍal b. al-Muhallab. Hilāl also sent him fifty of the Muhallabids' women, and Yazīd imprisoned them in Damascus.

Maslama sent Sa‘īd b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz<sup>2385</sup> to govern Khurāsān, and the latter headed for Soghdia, battled the Soghdians fiercely, and made Samarqand his base. Then the Queen of Farghāna came to him and said, "If you pledge not to send an army against me, I will show you something that will lead you to victory." When he granted her wish, she said: "The Soghdians have evacuated their land and have settled in Khujanda.<sup>2386</sup> They have asked us to let them into our lands until either they enter into a peace treaty with the Arabs or whatever else happens. They have no food, drink, or preparations for a siege in Khujanda. If you want them, now is the time." So Sa‘īd b. [‘Abd al-‘Azīz] sent Sawra b. al-Hurr al-Dārimī, commanding the cavalry; then (Sa‘īd) himself joined them and besieged them in the city. When they began to fear for their lives, they sued for

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<sup>2382</sup> It is not clear whether this is the Maskin that lies on the Dujayl (Kārūn) River or the Maskin that lay to the north of the future site of Baghdad on the Dujayl (Canal).

<sup>2383</sup> Cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:1398 (trans. Powers, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, xxiv, 130) and al-Mas‘ūdī, *Muṣṭaqbāt*, 4:34 (§ 2206), where it is Yazīd b. al-Muhallab who calls Maslama "the yellow locust," among other colorful expressions he uses to pour contempt on the Syrians. The text of al-Ya‘qūbī may have been disturbed; it would be easy to emend to give the translation, "and he (sc. Yazīd b. al-Muhallab) used to call Maslama 'the yellow locust.'"

<sup>2384</sup> Qandābil is the modern Gandava in northeastern Baluchistān in modern Pakistan. See the article by N. A. Baloch in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Қандабиль; and W. Barthold, *Historical Geography of Iran*, 75.

<sup>2385</sup> Parallel, al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:1417 ff.

<sup>2386</sup> Parallel in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:1439 ff. On Khujand or Khujanda, a town on the Sir Darya (the ancient Jaxartes) river at the entrance to the Farghāna valley in modern Tajikistan, see the article by C. E. Bosworth in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Khudjand(a).

peace on terms that they would return to their lands. He said, "Provided that every last one of you leaves." Then he dug a trench for them and told them to leave. They all did, except a man named Julayh, who afterward came out armed and attacked the Muslims with some men. Sa'id and the Muslims fought back, massacring them. Sa'id blocked up the trench (with their bodies),<sup>2387</sup> took their children captive, and took unprecedented amounts of plunder. |

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In this year, after hostilities with Ibn al-Muhallab ended and they<sup>2388</sup> had been killed, Yazid b. 'Abd al-Malik made 'Umar b. Hubayra governor of Iraq in place of Maslama. 'Umar met a group of members of the al-Muhallab family whom Maslama had sent in chains, and he said to the messengers (accompanying them), "Return them."<sup>2389</sup> When they refused, he said, "Maslama, on the day he sent you, was your commander [...]."<sup>2390</sup> So they returned them with him. He then wrote a favourable letter to Yazid regarding them, saying that an approach<sup>2391</sup> to them should include their men generally. But Yazid responded, saying: "You bastard! What business is this of yours?" He then wrote back, "I have no kinship ties to them; I only wanted to counsel the Commander of the Faithful to placate their kinsmen so that their hearts remain true and their loyalty intact." Yazid wrote to him, "May God bless you with their love, if that is what you want!"

'Umar b. Hubayra confirmed Sa'id b. 'Abd al-'Aziz as governor of Khurasan, and the latter discovered messengers belonging to Abū [Riyāḥ] Maysara, the propagandist<sup>2392</sup> on behalf of the Banū Hāshim, dressed up as merchants. He was told that they were propagandists,<sup>2393</sup> so he summoned them and asked them what they were doing. When they replied that they were merchants, he freed them, and they left Khurasan. Then Yazid b. Jurhum,<sup>2394</sup> the propagandist,

<sup>2387</sup> Reading *kabasha*, for mss undotted *kabasa*: WKAS cites this passage for *k-b-sh*.

<sup>2388</sup> That is, Yazid b. al-Muhallab and his supporters.

<sup>2389</sup> That is, free them.

<sup>2390</sup> There is a lacuna, with a blank space in the mss. The context implies something like, "but now he has been removed from the governorship."

<sup>2391</sup> Arabic *ṣanī'a*, in the sense of 'favor'; see Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v., and Mottahedeh, *Loyalty and Leadership*, 82f.

<sup>2392</sup> Arabic *dā'iya*, an intensive form meaning "someone who calls to, or makes propaganda for a cause," in this case the 'Abbāsid *da'wa*. Parallel in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 2:1434.

<sup>2393</sup> Reading with M, *innahum du'āt*; ed. Leiden reads *innahu da'āhum* (that he had summoned them).

<sup>2394</sup> An otherwise unattested name. *Yazid ibn* is clearly written in M, undotted in C. *Jurhum* is undotted in M; in C it is also undotted, and has been run together with two undotted letters that Housma surmised were a miscopying of *b-n* (*ibn*).

appeared. When ‘Umar b. Hubayra heard the news, he dismissed Sa‘īd, and appointed Muslim b. Sa‘īd al-Kilābī to be governor of Khurāsān. He went to Khurāsān and led campaigns that led to nothing, and when he made his way back from Farghāna, the Turks and Farghānīs followed in pursuit and fought him fiercely. Now Muslim had appointed Naṣr b. Sayyār<sup>2395</sup> governor of Balkh, and he wrote to him, asking him to reinforce him with foot soldiers and to rally the people to his aid. Naṣr b. Sayyār called on them to do so, but they refused | and fought him. The battle that took place between them and Naṣr is called the Battle of al-Barūqān.<sup>2396</sup>

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Yazīd appointed ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. al-Dāḥlāk b. Qays al-Fihri as governor of Medina, and he wrote to him, ordering him to adjudicate between ‘Uthmān b. Ḥayyān al-Murrī and Abū Bakr [b.] ‘Amr b. Ḥazm on the matter of the two *hadd* floggings<sup>2397</sup> that Abū Bakr had inflicted on ‘Uthmān b. Ḥayyān: if he found that Abū Bakr had flogged him unjustly, he was to retaliate for ‘Uthmān against Abū Bakr; which he did: he went for Abū Bakr and flogged him with two *hadd* punishments in retaliation for his flogging of ‘Uthmān b. Ḥayyān.

‘Abd al-Rahmān proposed marriage to Fāṭima bt. al-Ḥusayn b. [‘Alī], and sent word to her, swearing by God that if she did not agree, he would flog the eldest of her children.<sup>2398</sup> She then wrote to Yazīd, and when he read the letter, he fell out of his bed and said: “This son of a copper has reached the heights of outrage! Who is a man who will make me, here on this very bed of mine, hear his being flogged?” So he wrote to ‘Abd al-Wāḥid b. ‘Abdallāh b. Bishr al-Naḍrī, who was in al-Ṭā’if, appointing him governor of Medina: he was to demand 40,000 dinars from ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. al-Dāḥlāk, and to torture him so that he made Yazīd hear the sound of his flogging; which he did. ‘Abd al-Rahmān was (later) seen with a wool rag hanging from his neck, begging from people.

Yazīd dispatched al-Jarrāḥ b. ‘Abdallāh al-Ḥakamī to campaign against the Turks, and in the year 104 he conquered Balanjar and took a large number

<sup>2395</sup> On the career of Naṣr b. Sayyār, later to serve as the last Umayyad governor of Khurāsān, see the article by C. E. Bosworth in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Naṣr b. Sayyār.

<sup>2396</sup> After al-Barūqān, which originally served as the Arabs' garrison near Balkh, which lay about 12 km away.

<sup>2397</sup> The *hadd* is a ‘right’ or ‘claim’ of God, and applies to acts such as fornication, false accusation of fornication, the drinking of wine, theft, and highway robbery for which the Qur’ān specifies punishment. The incident has been narrated above, ed. Leiden, 2:353; cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Tarīkh*, 2:1281–1282, 1374–1375.

<sup>2398</sup> Parallel with more details in al-Ṭabarī, *Tarīkh*, 2:1449–1452.

of captives.<sup>2399</sup> He got as far as the Rūbās River,<sup>2400</sup> then he marched as far as the Rān River. He engaged in battle the Khāqān's son, the leader of the Khazars.<sup>2401</sup> | He fought and defeated him, killed his soldiers and took many captives. Having conquered Balanjar, he set off and began to descend on town after town, pursuing Khāqān, the king of the Khazars, until he reached the Dabīl River<sup>2402</sup> in the province of Azerbaijan. There they fought, and al-Jarrāḥ and all his men were killed.

Having been appointed governor of Ifrīqiya, Yazīd b. Abī Muslim went there, where ‘Abdallāh b. Mūsā al-Lakhmī was imprisoned, and said to him, “Out of your own money, pay the army their stipends owed to them for five years.” When he answered that he could not, Yazīd imprisoned him again, and seized Mūsā b. Nuṣayr’s clients, tattooed their wrists, and returned them to slavery, making most of them serve in his personal guard. Then one of them, a young slave called Jarīr, assaulted him: he went in while Yazīd was eating grapes and killed him. When the news reached Yazīd b. ‘Abd al-Malik, he appointed Bishr b. Ṣafwān al-Kalbī, who remained governor of the province for the rest of Yazīd’s reign.<sup>2403</sup>

Yazīd wrote to ‘Umar b. Hubayra, who was governor of Iraq, ordering him to survey the Sawād,<sup>2404</sup> which he did in the year 105<sup>2405</sup>—the Sawād had not been surveyed since ‘Uthmān b. Ḥunayf had surveyed it in the time of ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb until ‘Umar b. Hubayra surveyed it. He levied (taxes) on date palms and other trees, causing harm to the people who paid the land-tax (*kharāj*). He also levied taxes on the land owned by absentee landlords and reinstated (the giving of) cash and gifts and what used to be taken at the festivals of Nayrūz and Mihrajān. The survey that is followed is the survey of Ibn Hubayra.

Yazīd had made Hishām<sup>2406</sup> his heir-apparent, but then he decided to have allegiance sworn to his own son al-Walīd as heir-apparent—Hishām was in the

<sup>2399</sup> 104 A.H. = June 21, 722 – June 9, 723. On unsuccessful earlier attempts (in 22/642 and 32/652) to take this city in the eastern Caucasus, see al-Ya‘qūbī, ed. Leiden, 2:180, 195.

<sup>2400</sup> The Rūbās runs into the Caspian Sea just south of Darband.

<sup>2401</sup> The Khazars were a Turkic people who, by the middle of the seventh century, had gained hegemony on the steppe north of the Caucasus. See the article by W. Barthold in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Khazar.

<sup>2402</sup> Presumably the Araxes, on which the town of Dwin (Arabic, Dabil) was located. See the article by M. Canard in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Dwin.

<sup>2403</sup> Cf. the somewhat different report of the death of Yazīd b. Abī Muslim in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:1435.

<sup>2404</sup> That is, for purposes of taxation.

<sup>2405</sup> 105 A.H. = June 10, 723 – May 28, 724.

<sup>2406</sup> Hishām b. ‘Abd al-Malik was Yazīd’s half-brother.

Jazīra at the time. Yazīd therefore dispatched Khālid b. ‘Abdallāh al-Qasrī, who was to persuade Hishām to abdicate in exchange for receiving the Jazīra as a lifetime grant (*tu’ma*). Khālid b. ‘Abdallāh said: | “I came to him, and when I mentioned it to him he was quick to respond. I said to him, ‘Listen! If you ask me for advice and promise me that you will keep my role secret, I will advise you.’ He said, ‘I do ask your advice, and you have an oath before God that I will keep your role secret.’ So I said, ‘In just a few days the Jazīra will become one of your tax districts.’ ‘How, God preserve you, from Yazīd?’ he exclaimed. ‘Leave it to me,’ I said. He said, ‘Do what you think is best, and it will earn you my gratitude.’ I then went back to Yazīd and said: ‘Commander of the faithful! I went to a difficult man. I beg you by God not to stir up enmity and evil between the two of you, and thus pave the way for people to attack you and disagree about you. Do make al-Walīd heir-apparent, but only in succession to your brother.’ He agreed to this and did it.” Hishām remained grateful to Khālid for this until he acceded to the caliphate, at which time he made him governor of Iraq.

The person who exercised the most influence upon Yazīd was Sa‘īd b. Khālid b. ‘Amr b. ‘Uthmān b. ‘Affān. The chief of his security force (*shurṭa*) was Ka‘b b. Ḥāmid al-‘Absī, and Yazīd b. Abī Kabsha al-Saksakī commanded his personal guard (*haras*). His chamberlain (*hājib*) was Khālid, his client.

He ruled for four years, and he died with four nights remaining in Sha‘bān of the year 105 at the age of 37.<sup>2407</sup> Al-Walīd b. Yazīd led the prayers at his funeral, and he was buried in al-Balqā’ in the district of Damascus. He left ten sons: al-Walīd, Yaḥyā, Muḥammad, al-Ghamr, Sulaymān, ‘Abd al-Jabbār, Dāwūd, Abū Sulaymān, al-‘Awwām, and Hāshim.

Those who led the pilgrimage during his reign were:

- in the year 101: ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. al-Daḥḥāk b. Qays;
- in the year 102: ‘Abd al-Rahmān, again;
- in the year 103: ‘Abd al-Rahmān, again;
- in the year 104: ‘Abd al-Wāhid b. ‘Abdallāh b. Bishr al-Naḍrī. |

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Those who led the campaigns during his reign were:

- in the year 102: al-Walīd b. Hishām,<sup>2408</sup> who campaigned in Byzantine territory<sup>2409</sup> and encamped at the ford near Antioch. ‘Umar b. Hubayra engaged the Byzantines in Armenia Quarta, defeated them, and took 700 captives.

<sup>2407</sup> January 29, 724.

<sup>2408</sup> He is al-Walīd b. Hishām al-Mu‘ayṭī; cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:1349.

<sup>2409</sup> M adds the words “in Armenia,” but there appears to be a deleting stroke through them.

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- in the year 103: al-‘Abbās b. al-Walīd, campaigned. Soldiers were attacked in raiding parties, and the Turks attacked the land of the Alān.<sup>2410</sup> ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Sulaymān al-Kalbī and ‘Uthmān b. Ḥayyān al-Murrī campaigned, laying siege to a fort that they subsequently conquered.
- in the year 104: ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Sulaymān al-Kalbī, led the eastern summer campaign, and ‘Uthmān b. Ḥayyān al-Murrī the western.
- in the year 105: Sa‘īd b. ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān campaigned and then returned and campaigned in the Turkish front, reaching the fortified enclosure of Qaṭān [b. Qutayba].<sup>2411</sup> Al-Jarrāḥ b. ‘Abdallāh al-Ḥakamī raided Bāb al-Lān,<sup>2412</sup> and then exited the pass.

The learned men during his reign were:

- Yaḥyā b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Ḥāfiṭib,
- Sālim b. ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Umar,
- al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr,
- Muḥammad b. [Muslim b.] Shihāb al-Zuhrī,
- Muḥammad b. Ka‘b al-Qurazī,
- ‘Āṣim b. ‘Umar b. Qatāda,
- Nāfi‘, the client of ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Umar,
- Sa‘īd b. Yasār,
- Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥārith al-Taymī,
- ‘Abdallāh b. Dīnār,
- ‘Abdallāh b. Abī Bakr b. Muḥammad [b. ‘Amr] b. Ḥazm,
- Ṭawūs al-Yamānī,
- ‘Aṭā’ b. Abī Rabāḥ,
- Ḥabīb b. Abī Thābit,
- ‘Abd al-Malik b. Maysara,
- Abū Ishāq al-Sabī‘ī.

<sup>2410</sup> An Iranian people of the northern Caucasus; see the article by W. Barthold and V. Minorsky in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Alān.

<sup>2411</sup> Inferred from al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:1512 (trans. Blankinship, *The History of al-Tabarī*, xxv, 50); Qaṭān was a sub-governor of Junayd’s (see Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 137, and below).

<sup>2412</sup> The Gate of the Alāns: the Dariel pass in the mid-Caucasus. See the article by D. M. Dunlop in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Bāb al-Lān.

### The Days of Hishām b. ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān

Then Hishām b. ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān, whose mother was Umm Hishām, the daughter | of Hishām b. Ismā‘il b. Hishām b. al-Walīd b. al-Mughīra al-Makhzūmī, began to rule.<sup>2413</sup> He acceded to the caliphate when he was in a village called al-Zaytūna<sup>2414</sup> in the Jazīra: the postal messenger came and greeted him as caliph, so he rode out of al-Ruṣāfa,<sup>2415</sup> arriving in Damascus in the month of Ramadān in the year 105, which is Kānūn in the months of the non-Arabs.<sup>2416</sup> The Sun was 6° 58' in Aquarius, the Moon 7° 9' in Sagittarius, Jupiter 6° 50' in Libra, retrograde, Mars 21° 39' in Scorpio, Venus 20° 3' in Sagittarius, Mercury 21° 20' in Aquarius, and the Ascending Node 20° 20' in Aquarius.

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He appointed Khālid b. ‘Abdallāh al-Qasrī governor of Iraq, returning the favor that he owed him. Hishām had written to al-Junayd b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān,<sup>2417</sup> ordering him to exchange letters with Khālid, and he did so.<sup>2418</sup> Al-Junayd's power in lands of al-Sind grew great, and he subjugated it, going as far as the land of al-Jurz,<sup>2419</sup> and then into the land of China. He summoned its king to convert to Islam, but the latter fought him. Al-Junayd held firm against him, and

<sup>2413</sup> For an overall treatment of his reign, see the article by F. Gabrieli in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Hishām.

<sup>2414</sup> The exact location is uncertain. The usual identification of it is the Umayyad palace at Qaṣr al-Ḥayr al-Gharbī, in the Syrian desert some 60 km south-southwest of Palmyra. See the article by N. Elisséeff in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Qaṣr al-Ḥayr al-Gharbī.

<sup>2415</sup> Often called Ruṣāfat Hishām, or Ruṣāfat al-Shām, to distinguish it from other places of the same name, its ruins lie 30 km south of the Euphrates on the road from Ḥimṣ to al-Raḥba. See the article by C.-P. Haase in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Ruṣāfa.

<sup>2416</sup> As Nöldeke noted on p. 159 of his 1884 review of Houtsma's edition, there is a problem here. Ramadān 105 began on February 1, 724, while Kānūn is the Syriac name of two months in the Julian calendar: Kānūn I (December) and Kānūn II (January). Al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh*, 2:1466, dates Hishām's accession to late in Sha'bān, the month before Ramadān, which can be reconciled with a date in Kānūn II (late January).

<sup>2417</sup> On the career of this Umayyad general and governor of Sind and later of Khurāsān, see the article by L. Veccia Vaglieri in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Djunayd b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Murri (the name ‘Abd Allāh is incorrect), and Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 98.

<sup>2418</sup> The Arabic is vague about the purpose of this exchange of letters. Al-Balādhuri, *Futūh*, 442, has the same wording. It seems to imply some sort of grant of authority to Khālid over the Arab conquests in Sind. The wording of the report below, that it was Khālid who eventually removed al-Junayd from his governorship, implies that al-Junayd was to serve at Khālid's pleasure.

<sup>2419</sup> Probably referring to the territory of the Gurjara dynasty with its capital at Kanawj (in modern Uttar Pradesh); see the article by M. Longworth Dames in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Kanawdj.

then mounted an attack and bombarded his fort with naphtha and fire. When the king extinguished the fire, al-Junayd said, “There must be some Arabs in the fort; it was they who extinguished the fire.” He kept fighting the king until the latter sued for peace. Junayd granted him a peace treaty and entered the city. He found two Arabs in it and executed them. Al-Junayd remained there for some days. Then he raided al-Kiraj;<sup>2420</sup> with him was King Ashandarābīd<sup>2421</sup> with his fighters. Al-Rāh, the king of al-Kiraj, fled, and al-Junayd conquered it | and took captives and booty. Now fully in charge, he sent his (tax) agents out to al-Marmadh, al-Mandal, Dahna, al-Burūš, Surast, al-Bilamān, al-Māliba, and other lands.<sup>2422</sup> Hishām wrote to him of his victory over the Byzantines, informing him that the Muslims had taken many captives and had plundered donkeys and cattle. Al-Junayd wrote back: “I have looked into my account book and have found that what God has granted me since I left the region of al-Sind amounts to 350,000<sup>2423</sup> captives. I carried away 80,000,000 dirhams, and distributed a like sum to the army several times over.”

Al-Junayd stayed on for several years. Then Khālid replaced him with Tamīm b. Zayd al-'Utbī,<sup>2424</sup> who sent on (to Khālid) 18,000,000 Ṭātarī<sup>2425</sup> coins that al-Junayd had left behind in the treasury. However, Tamīm's authority was not firm: opposition to him among the land's people grew, warring increased, and the killing spread among his own men. So he left the country, heading for Iraq. Khālid then wrote to Hishām, requesting that he appoint al-Hakam b. 'Awāna al-Kalbi<sup>2426</sup> as governor. By the time that al-Hakam arrived, the land of al-Hind had been overrun, aside from the people of Qaṣṣā,<sup>2427</sup> who said to him, “Build us a stronghold for the Muslims to take refuge in.” So he built a citadel (*madīna*), which he named al-Mahfūza.<sup>2428</sup> After fierce fighting, he drove out those who had overrun the land, and the country became calm and quiet. 'Amr b. Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim al-Thaqafī had accompanied al-Hakam with a group

<sup>2420</sup> For the problem of Kiraj's location, see Blankinship, *The End of the Jihad State*, 319, n. 78.

<sup>2421</sup> The King of Kashmir, Chandrapīda; see Blankinship, *ibid.*

<sup>2422</sup> For Junayd's campaigns in Rajasthan and Gujarat, see Blankinship, *The End of the Jihad State*, esp. 133.

<sup>2423</sup> Following M; ed. Leiden, 650,000.

<sup>2424</sup> A Syrian protégé of Khālid's; see Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 148 (where Qaynī becomes 'Utbī in al-Balādhuri; M has Qaysī).

<sup>2425</sup> A Ṭātarī coin equalled the value of 1½ silver dirhams.

<sup>2426</sup> Another of Khālid's men, and a former governor of Khurāsān; Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 147.

<sup>2427</sup> Kaccha, modern Cutch.

<sup>2428</sup> The name means ‘The Protected’.

of notables, and he remained with him in the land until Khālid was dismissed and Yūsuf b. ‘Umar al-Thaqafī was appointed (in his stead).<sup>2429</sup>

Hishām appointed Maslama b. ‘Abd al-Malik over Armenia and Azerbaijan in | the year 107,<sup>2430</sup> and Maslama sent Sa‘id b. ‘Amr al-Harashī to lead his vanguard.<sup>2431</sup> The latter engaged an army of Khazars, which had 10,000 Muslim prisoners. He fought and defeated the Khazars, killing most of them, and freed the prisoners. He did this time after time, killing the Khāqān’s son and conquering several cities. However, when he sent the Khāqān’s son’s head to Hishām without Maslama’s approval, Maslama was angered and wrote to him, reprimanding him and dismissing him, and replacing him with ‘Abd al-Malik b. Muslim<sup>2432</sup> al-Uqaylī, whom he ordered to bind Sa‘id b. ‘Amr al-Harashī and imprison him in a town called Qabala.<sup>2433</sup> Maslama arrived in the country, summoned al-Harashī, insulted him, relieved him of his command, and sent him to the prison in Bardha‘a. But Hishām wrote to Maslama reprimanding *him* for this and sending messengers of his, who released Sa‘id b. ‘Amr al-Harashī from prison and brought him to Hishām.

Maslama proceeded through Khazar lands until he reached Jurzān.<sup>2434</sup> He conquered it and killed its people. Then he went on to Sharwān, whose people made peace with him, then to Masqaṭ whose people sued him for peace. He sent his cavalry to the land of the Lakz,<sup>2435</sup> whose people sued him for peace, and wrote to Ṭabarsarān,<sup>2436</sup> whose people did likewise. He went through the region, meeting no opposition, until he reached Warthān, where he was met by Khāqān, the king of the Khazars.<sup>2437</sup> Maslama was accompanied by a group made up of kings of lands that he had conquered. He put Marwān

<sup>2429</sup> This took place in 120/738 (in Jumādā I, according to al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:1658); see al-Yāqūbī, ed. Leiden, 2:387–388, below.

<sup>2430</sup> 107 A.H. = May 19, 725 – May 7, 726.

<sup>2431</sup> On Sa‘id, see Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 144f.

<sup>2432</sup> M reads Sulaym, but see Crone, *ibid.*, 106.

<sup>2433</sup> Apparently in eastern Transcaucasia; see the article by V. Minorsky in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Shakkī.

<sup>2434</sup> Jurzān is generally taken to mean Georgia. However, the evidence of al-Yāqūbī, *Geography*, ed. Leiden, 364, where the text speaks of *madinat Jurzān* (the city of Jurzān) as forming part of the third division of Armenia, implies that al-Yāqūbī took it to be the name of a city.

<sup>2435</sup> A people of southern Dāghistān, also called Lezgins; see the article by W. Barthold in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Dāghistān.

<sup>2436</sup> Ṭabarsarān is a district in the eastern Caucasus, the basin of the Rubās River, which runs into the Caspian just south of Derbend; see the article by C. E. Bosworth in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ṭabarsarān.

<sup>2437</sup> For these campaigns, see Blankinship, *End of the Jihad State*, 123 ff.

b. Muḥammad<sup>2438</sup> in charge his vanguard, and the latter engaged the enemy and continued to fight them for days. At one point Marwān was missing, and Maslama was told that he had been killed, to which he replied, “By God, before he has been greeted as caliph? Never!” He conquered the greater part of the territory.

<sup>2:382</sup> [Hishām] dismissed Maslama and appointed Marwān b. | Muḥammad, who came to the fortress where the “King of the Throne” was.<sup>2439</sup> This was a golden throne that had been sent by one of the Persian kings; it is said that Anūshirwān had sent it to him, and so he was named for it. The king entered into a truce with Marwān, agreeing to give him 1,500 dark-haired male slaves.<sup>2440</sup> Marwān then headed for Tūmānshāh, whose king sued for peace. Then he entered the land of Zirikirān, whose king did the same. Then he went to Ḥamzīn, and made war against the people there, killing a large number of them. He conquered most of the country and gathered food into the citadel of al-Bāb, where he stayed.

Bishr b. Ṣafwān al-Kalbī was governor of the Maghrib. When Hishām acceded to the throne, Bishr sent him huge sums of money and gifts, and Hishām therefore confirmed his appointment over Ifrīqiya, where he remained until he died. When Bishr b. Ṣafwān died,<sup>2441</sup> Hishām appointed ‘Ubayda b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān al-Qaysī governor of Ifrīqiya. He remained there, sending raiding parties on sea and taking much booty. He left to go to Hishām, taking great sums of money with him, along with 20,000 slaves, and asked to be relieved of his post. Hishām did this and appointed ‘Uqba b. Qudāma al-Tujībī in his place. The latter remained there only a short time before he was dismissed and ‘Ubaydallāh b. al-Ḥabḥāb was appointed, who carried out many raids. [...]<sup>2442</sup>

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<sup>2438</sup> This is Marwān b. Muḥammad b. Marwān b. al-Hakam, the grandson of Marwān I. After serving as governor in Armenia and later in Iraq, he succeeded to the caliphate in Ṣafar 127/December 744, and had the sad distinction of being the last Umayyad caliph. See the article by G. R. Hawting, in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Marwān II.

<sup>2439</sup> Arabic *malik al-sarīr*. Al-Balādhurī, *Futūh*, 196–197, preserves the story of how the Sasanian Shāh Khusraw Anūshirwān (r. 531–579) constructed a defensive wall in the Caucasus and then assigned various districts to vassal kings. The Khāqān of the mountains, also called the Wahrażān-Shāh, received a golden throne (the detail of its being made of gold is peculiar to al-Ya’qūbi). Confusingly, the district he ruled came to be called Sarīr, after the word for throne. See the article by C. E. Bosworth in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Ḳabk.

<sup>2440</sup> The parallel in al-Balādhurī, *Futūh*, 208, describes the tribute as “500 male slaves and 500 female slaves with black-hair and eyebrows and long eyelashes every year.”

<sup>2441</sup> In 109/727–728, according to al-Balādhurī, *Futūh*, 231.

<sup>2442</sup> Although the text in M shows no sign of a lacuna and reads, “although some have said that it was Kulthūm b. ‘Iyād b. Ḥanzala b. Ṣafwān al-Kalbī,” this is impossible, as the

Kulthūm b. 'Iyād was killed. [Then he appointed] Ḥanẓala b. Ṣafwān al-Kalbī. By the time he arrived in Ifrīqiya, 'Ukkāsha b. Ayyūb al-Fazārī had overrun some districts, but Ḥanẓala defeated him and remained there until the reign of Marwān b. Muhammad.<sup>2443</sup>

In year 111,<sup>2444</sup> Sulaymān b. Kathīr al-Khuzā'ī and his companions in Khurāsān came out of hiding, making the call for the Banū Hāshim.<sup>2445</sup> Their call became public, and many people responded to it. Bukayr b. Māhān<sup>2446</sup> arrived; many answered his call (*da'wa*) to depose the Banū Umayya and swear allegiance to the Banū Hāshim, and his supporters grew in number. When Bukayr b. Māhān was about to die, he appointed as his successor Abū Salama Ḥafṣ b. Sulaymān al-Khallāl.<sup>2447</sup> He wrote to this effect to Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. 'Abdal-lāh, informing him that he favored Abū Salama. So Muḥammad confirmed him and wrote to his companions, ordering them to be loyal and obedient, and they all acknowledged him. Now Khālid b. 'Abdallāh had appointed his brother Asad b. 'Abdallāh governor of Khurāsān, and when news of them<sup>2448</sup> reached him, he arrested a group of them, cut off their arms and legs, and crucified them. They therefore remained fearful until Asad died and Ja'far b. Ḥanẓala al-Bahrānī was appointed governor of Khurāsān.

Yazīd b. al-Gharīf al-Hamdānī was appointed governor of Sijistān. When he arrived there, he comported himself badly and sinned openly. He therefore was killed by some Khārijites, who took him by surprise while he was sitting in his assembly. He was attended by five hundred fully armed men and the Khārijites were only five in number, but one of them came forward and struck him with a sword, killing him. The soldiers rushed at them and killed them, but not before they had killed several soldiers. When the news reached Khālid b. 'Abdallāh, he appointed al-Aṣfah b. 'Abdallāh al-Kalbī, who set out in the winter for al-

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parallel sources (al-Balādhuri, *Futūh*, 231–232, and Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta'rīkh*, 354–355) agree that Kulthūm b. 'Iyād and Ḥanẓala b. Ṣafwān were two successive governors, that Kulthūm was killed (read *qutila* with ed. Leiden, for M *qīla*), and that Ḥanẓala succeeded him and defeated 'Ukkāsha, a leader of the Ṣufriyya sect of Khārijites.

<sup>2443</sup> On 'Ukkāsha's rebellion, see Blankinship, *End of the Jihad State*, 214f., also the article by R. Basset in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ḥanẓala b. Ṣafwān.

<sup>2444</sup> 111 A.H. = April 5, 729 – March 25, 730.

<sup>2445</sup> See the article by Patricia Crone in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Sulaymān b. Kathīr.

<sup>2446</sup> On Bukayr b. Māhān (d. 126/744), one of the most important leaders of the Hāshimiyya in Kufa, see the article in *EI*<sup>3</sup> by Saleh Said Agha, s.v. Bukayr b. Māhān.

<sup>2447</sup> On Abū Salama Ḥafṣ b. Sulaymān al-Khallāl, the director of the 'Abbāsid *da'wa* in Kufa, see the article by Elton L. Daniel in *EI*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. Abū Salama Ḥafṣ b. Sulaymān al-Khallāl.

<sup>2448</sup> That is, the 'Abbāsid propagandists.

Nīh,<sup>2449</sup> enrolling people on the campaign. But a local elder named ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Āmir came to him and said, “Commander, this is no time for raiding.” He replied, “I know better than you when it is time to raid,” and went ahead. When he had come to the head of one of the mountain passes, ‘Amr b. Bujayr came up to him and said: “God make the commander prosper! This is no time to enter this pass.” He answered, “Had I punished yesterday’s loud mouth, | I shouldn’t have heard this today.” So he plunged into the pass, but once he had pushed into it, the enemy hemmed him in, closed in, and massacred the entire force; no one survived. When news reached Khālid of the killing of al-Asfah and the Muslims who had been with him, he appointed as governor ‘Abdallāh b. Abī Burda b. Abī Musā, who stayed there for the duration of Khālid’s term.

### The Death of Abū Ja‘far Muḥammad b. ‘Alī<sup>2450</sup>

Abū Ja‘far Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, whose mother was Umm ‘Abdallāh, the daughter of al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, died in 117<sup>2451</sup> at the age of 58. He himself said, “My grandfather al-Ḥusayn was killed when I was four, and I remember his being killed and what befell us at that time.”<sup>2452</sup> He was called Abū Ja‘far al-Bāqir because he diligently sought knowledge.<sup>2453</sup>

Jābir b. ‘Abdallāh al-Anṣārī said:<sup>2454</sup> “The Messenger of God said to me, ‘You will live long enough to see from among my progeny a man who resembles me more than anyone else and who is named after me; when you see him, you will have no doubt that it is he; greet him on my behalf.’” When Jābir grew old and

<sup>2449</sup> West of Lake Zarah, between Sijistān and Qūhistān; Le Strange, *Lands*, 340; M has al-Tih.

<sup>2450</sup> Muhammad al-Bāqir, the fifth Imam according to the Imāmī and Ismā‘īlī Shi‘a; see the article by E. Kohlberg in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī Zayn al-Ābidin, Abū Dja‘far, called al-Bāqir.

<sup>2451</sup> 117 A.H. = January 31, 735 – January 19, 736.

<sup>2452</sup> This would place his birth four years before 10 Muḥarram 61/10 October 680, implying that he was about 60 years old at his death.

<sup>2453</sup> Arabic *baqara l-‘ilm*, explaining the name *al-Bāqir*. The meaning “search diligently” is rare for Arabic *baqara*, which normally means “rip open,” but regular for its Aramaic cognate.

<sup>2454</sup> As a young boy, Jābir b. ‘Abdallāh (already mentioned by al-Ya‘qūbi, ed. Leiden, 2:231, 265, 325) accompanied his father, one of the 70 who swore allegiance to Muḥammad at the second pledge of al-‘Aqaba. As Jābir died in 78/697, he could have lived to see the young al-Bāqir. See the article by M. J. Kister in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Djābir b. ‘Abd Allāh.

feared death, he took to saying, “O Bāqir, O Bāqir, where are you?” Finally he saw him, and threw himself at his feet, kissing his hands and feet and saying: “By my father and mother! The likeness of his forefather, the Messenger of God! Your forefather sends you his greeting.”

Abū Ḥamza al-Thumālī<sup>2455</sup> said: “I heard Muḥammad b. ‘Alī say, ‘God, may He be glorified and exalted, says: ‘If My servant makes his concern for Me a sole concern, I will set riches within his soul, remove poverty from before his eyes, satisfy his every need, and decree for him a commerce more profitable than the commerce of every trader. But if he makes his concern for Me a divided concern, I will set his preoccupation in his heart and his want before his eyes; I will scatter his affairs | and leave him to his own devices, heedless of whatever vale of this world he perishes in.’’”

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Somebody once asked Muḥammad, “Do you know anything better than gold?” He answered, “Yes; its Giver.”

He said: “Have fortitude during hard times, do not ignore obligations, and do not give away to anyone anything whose harm to you will outweigh its benefits to him.”

He said: “To see one’s enemy disobey God—that is help enough from God.”

He said: “The worst father is one whose beneficence drives him to excess, and the worst son is one whom parsimony drives to disobedience.”

When Abū Ja‘far was asked about the words of God, may He be glorified and exalted, *And speak good to men*,<sup>2456</sup> he replied, “Say to them the best that you would want said to you.” Then he said, “God, may He be glorified and exalted, hates those who constantly curse, malign, impugn, cause outrage, speak obscenely, and beg; but He loves those who are modest, gentle, abstemious, and chaste.”

He also said, “If I fasted all day without eating, and prayed all night without ceasing, and spent my wealth for God’s sake, coin by coin, but my heart were empty of love for His friends and hatred for His enemies, all of that would be of no use to me.”

He had five sons: Abū ‘Abdallāh, Ja‘far, ‘Abdallāh, Ibrāhīm, ‘Ubaydallāh, who died young, and ‘Alī, who also died young.

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<sup>2455</sup> Sic ed. Leiden. M has al-Yamānī, but Abū Ḥamza al-Thumālī is well known in Shī‘ite tradition, with a commentary to his name; see Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fīhrīst*.

<sup>2456</sup> Qur’ān 2:83.

'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib died in year 118.<sup>2457</sup> He was born in the night preceding the day on which 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib was killed, and he died in al-Ijhīr,<sup>2458</sup> between al-Ḥumayma and Adhrūḥ in the district of Damascus, at the age of 78. His mother was Zur'a bt. Mishrah b. Ma'dikarib, one of the four kings of Kinda. He was a man of wealth, virtue, and honor.

As for what he transmitted from his father—he said: “I heard my father say, 2:386 ‘He whose soul overpowers him into doing what it wants | will not make it desire what he wants.’”

He said: “I heard my father say, ‘People lived together in piety (*taqwā*) for a time. Then that came to an end, and they lived together in manliness (*muruwwa*). Then that came to an end, and they lived together in shame (*hayā'*). Then that came to an end, and the veil was torn open.’ And he used to say: ‘The noble man softens when a plea is made to him, and the base man becomes harsh when treated kindly.’”

He said: “The soul's relinquishing its desire for what others possess is better than its giving extravagantly.”

“Contentment is the pleasure of life, and satisfaction with one's lot is greater than the manliness (*muruwwa*) of generosity.”

“He who keeps his soul safe from four things—haste, stubbornness, pride, and indolence—is unlikely to have what befalls others befall him.”

'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās had twenty-two sons: Muḥammad b. 'Alī, whose mother was al-'Āliya bt. 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Abbās; Dāwūd and Ḫisā, both by a concubine; Sulaymān and Ṣāliḥ, by a concubine; Ahmād, Bishr, Mubashshir, Ismā'il, and 'Abd al-Šamad, by concubines;<sup>2459</sup> 'Abdallāh the Elder, whose mother was Umm Abihā bt. 'Abdallāh b. Ja'far b. Abī Ṭālib, and who left no progeny; 'Ubaydallāh, whose mother was *So-and-so*<sup>2460</sup> daughter of al-Ḥarīsh; and 'Abd al-Malik, 'Uthmān, 'Abd al-Rahmān, 'Abdallāh the Younger,<sup>2461</sup> Yahyā, Ishāq, Ya'qūb, 'Abd al-'Azīz, Ismā'il the Younger, and 'Abdallāh the Midmost al-Āhnaf,<sup>2462</sup> by various concubines.

<sup>2457</sup> On 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās, the grandfather of the 'Abbāsid caliphs al-Saffāh and al-Manṣūr, see the article by Moshe Sharon in *EI*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās, 118 A.H. = January 20, 736 – January 7, 737.

<sup>2458</sup> Sic M, but such a place is otherwise unknown.

<sup>2459</sup> In the list of children of 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh given by al-Zubayrī, *Nasab Quraysh*, 29–30, all these are said to have been born to a single concubine.

<sup>2460</sup> Arabic *Fulāna*: a woman whose name was unknown.

<sup>2461</sup> The MSS insert at this point the words, “who is al-Saffāh,” but as the Leiden editor noted in his *Addenda et emendanda*, they have been misplaced by the copyist and belong in the next paragraph after “Abū l-'Abbās.”

<sup>2462</sup> The surname means “the Lame.”

Muhammad b. ‘Alī b. ‘Abdallāh came to Hishām, accompanied by his son, Abū l-‘Abbās al-Saffāḥ, who was a youth. When he left Hishām’s presence, he said to one of his companions, “I complained to the Commander of the Faithful about my heavy debts and large family, but he made fun of me and said, ‘Just wait for the son of the Ḥārithī woman,’ meaning this youth.”<sup>2463</sup>

Hishām was dogged in pursuing the Khārijites. [...]<sup>2464</sup> sat down one day and gathered the Khārijites | around him. He said, “People, fear God and do not give up the *jihād*.” So they gave him the oath of allegiance, and he stayed there for a time. When death approached, he said to them, “There is nobody I trust more than al-Buhlūl b. ‘Umayr al-Shaybānī.” When he died, al-Buhlūl rebelled, reaching the outskirts of Kufa. News of this reached Khālid b. ‘Abdallāh, who sent cavalry after him; they pursued him from ‘Ayn al-Tamr to Mosul, where he was killed.<sup>2465</sup>

There came to Hishām’s attention certain things about Khālid b. ‘Abdallāh that he held against him. [One of these was] that he distributed huge sums, amounting to 36 million dirhams, a sum that [Hishām] considered enormous; [another was] that he had said, “Umayya exceeds Qasr<sup>2466</sup> in nobility no more than this”—and he held two of his fingers together. So Hishām wrote to him: “I have heard what you have said. You belong only to the low and contemptible Bajila. You son of a Christian woman! You will come to know that the one who raised you up will humble you!”

Khālid continued to govern Iraq for fourteen or fifteen years. When Hishām decided to dismiss him, he summoned Ḥassān al-Nabaṭī, who had been looking into the entire affair of Khālid b. ‘Abdallāh. Hishām threatened Ḥassān with death, and swore to him by the one and only God that either Ḥassān would tell

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2463 Ironically, Hishām’s contemptuous remark—“Wait for the lad to grow up,” and make your fortune—turned out to be true in a way that Hishām certainly did not intend. As the future first ‘Abbāsid caliph, Abū l-‘Abbās would indeed make the fortunes of his family—and almost exterminate the Umayyad family.

2464 One or more words, perhaps giving the name of the Khārijite, have dropped out of the MSS.

2465 On the rebellion of al-Buhlūl, see al-Tabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:1622–1628, where he is called (al-) Buhlūl b. Bishr. The Leiden edition of al-Tabarī originally vocalized the name as Bahlūl, and Blankinship followed suit in his English translation, but the *Addenda et Corrigenda* of the Leiden edition corrected the reading to Buhlūl, and the Cairo edition of al-Ṭabarī shows this reading, which is more likely to be correct.

2466 Qasr was Khālid’s own clan, a subtribe of the Bajila. On the relatively low status of the latter, see the article by W. Montgomery Watt in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Badjila; also the article by G. R. Hawting in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Khālid b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Ķasrī.

him the truth or he would kill him. So Ḥassān brought him chests of documents against Khālid, thereby becoming the first secretary to denounce the governor of his own district. Having secured all he needed regarding Khālid, Hishām wrote a letter in his own hand to his governor in Yemen, Yūsuf b. ‘Umar al-Thaqafi, which he let nobody else see, ordering him to make his way to Iraq and to conceal his presence until he drew near. He was to seize Khālid and his men, and demand that he repay the 36 million dirhams. So, having kept his mission secret, Yūsuf left Yemen in the company of seven men and came to Iraq; this was in the year 120.<sup>2467</sup>

2:388 Yūsuf b. ‘Umar arrived by night and made his way with five men | to the congregational mosque.<sup>2468</sup> When the announcement to begin the prayers came, Khālid moved forward to pray,<sup>2469</sup> but Yūsuf grabbed him and pulled him out, and then moved forward himself and recited, *When the Terror descends*,<sup>2470</sup> at his first prostration, and then, at the second, *A questioner asked of a chastisement about to fall*.<sup>2471</sup> Then he turned his face to the people and made himself known to them. He took Khālid and his men away, subjected them to various kinds of torture, and demanded the money of them. Then all the *dihqāns*<sup>2472</sup> and wealthy people of Iraq came together and said, “We will bear the burden of this money for him and pay it.” Yūsuf is said to have accepted this from them, and when they brought him the money, Yūsuf called for Khālid. (One of Yūsuf’s agents) took Khālid, dressed him in a woolen cloak, bound his hand[s] to his neck, and brought him to Yūsuf, who was sitting on a bench. Yūsuf gave him a tug so that he fell on his face. (Someone who had been present said: “I saw Khālid do the same thing to ‘Umar b. Hubayra al-Fazārī when he dismissed him from Iraq. So let whoever is appointed to an office behave himself well.”) Yūsuf terrorized Khālid and his agents, imposed charges on them, and tortured them so that most of them died by his hand. He imposed a charge of 10 million (dirhams) on Abān b. al-Walīd al-Bajalī, 20 million on Ṭāriq b. Abī Ziyād, the governor of Fārs, 20 million on al-Zubayr, the governor of Isfahan, al-Rayy, and Qūmis, and less on others. He extracted most of the money. Bilāl b. Abī Burda

2467 120 A.H. = December 29, 737 – December 17, 738.

2468 That is, the main mosque of Kufa; cf. the more detailed report in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:1468 ff.

2469 That is, to lead the prayers in his capacity as governor.

2470 Qur’ān 56:1.

2471 Qur’ān 70:1.

2472 In the Islamic period, the term *dihqān* is generally used in to describe the rural, landed gentry of formerly Sasanian lands.

b. Abī Mūsā al-Ash'arī, Khālid's governor of Basra, escaped from Yūsuf's prison and made his way to Hishām, but Yūsuf wrote to Hishām about him, and the latter returned him to Yūsuf, who tortured him to death. He turned his house in Kufa into a prison and confiscated his house in Basra.

When al-Ḥakam b. 'Awāna, the governor of Sind, heard what Yūsuf had done to the governors [serving Khālid], he pressed into enemy territory, saying, "Either it will be a conquest that will satisfy Yūsuf, or it will be a martyrdom whereby I shall find relief from him." So he met the enemy and kept fighting until he was killed. Now al-Ḥakam had appointed 'Amr b. Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim al-Thaqafī as his deputy over the cavalry, and when al-Ḥakam was killed in al-Sind, 'Amr b. Muḥammad al-Thaqafī and Ibn 'Arrār<sup>2473</sup> disputed over his succession. He<sup>2474</sup> wrote to Yūsuf b. 'Umar about the matter, and the latter wrote to Hishām, who responded by saying, "If 'Amr b. Muḥammad has reached middle age, then appoint him governor." Yūsuf favored 'Amr owing to Thaqafī kinship, and so he appointed him and sent him his letter of appointment. He<sup>2475</sup> seized Ibn 'Arrār, imprisoned him, and put him in chains.

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'Amr b. Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim subsequently built a town this side of the lake, which he named al-Manṣūra,<sup>2476</sup> and took up residence in the governor's residence. The enemy proved tenacious; they crowned a king, and then they marched on al-Manṣūra and besieged it. 'Amr wrote to Yūsuf, who dispatched four thousand men to him. The king then withdrew, his authority broken. 'Amr then made ready to attack the enemy and put Ma'n b. Zā'ida b. al-Shaybānī<sup>2477</sup> in charge of his vanguard. Ma'n made a surprise attack on the king's army by night; his men stood firm, and a great many of the enemy were killed. This endangered the king; a group of his men passed by him—the Muslims did not recognize him—and, seeing him, they called out "*al-Rāh! al-Rāh!*" (that is, "the

<sup>2473</sup> Thus in M and ed. Leiden; the name is otherwise unknown.

<sup>2474</sup> Apparently, 'Amr b. Muḥammad is the antecedent of the pronoun, as Hishām's reply mentions only him.

<sup>2475</sup> Again the antecedent is vague: either 'Amr b. Muḥammad seized Ibn 'Arrār, or Yūsuf b. 'Umar *had* him seized.

<sup>2476</sup> The ruins of the town are located 47 miles northeast of modern Hyderabad, Pakistan. The precise significance of *dūnal-buhayra* (this side of/near/beside the lake) is unclear, although same phrase is applied to al-Manṣūra in al-Balādhurī, *Futūh*, 444. It may refer to the fact that the city was surrounded by a branch of the Indus and therefore looked like an island. See Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 331, and the article by Y. Friedmann in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Manṣūra.

<sup>2477</sup> On the colorful career of this military commander and governor of late Umayyad and early 'Abbāsid times, see the article by H. Kennedy in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ma'n b. Zā'ida.

King!”) and rescued him. The king and his men took to their heels, and ‘Amr took firm control of the lands. With ‘Amr in his army was Marwān b. Yazīd b. al-Muhallab, who rebelled, leading a group of like-minded commanders, and made off with ‘Amr’s provisions | and riding animals. ‘Amr, along with Ma‘n b. Zā’ida and ‘Aṭiyya b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān, went out to engage him, defeated him, and scattered his men. Marwān fled. ‘Amr proclaimed clemency to everyone except Ibn al-Muhallab, who was turned in and executed.

Hishām sent for Zayd b. ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn<sup>2478</sup> and said to him, “Yūsuf b. ‘Umar al-Thaqafī has written, mentioning that Khālid b. ‘Abdallāh al-Qasrī told him that you were holding 600,000 dirhams in trust (for him).” He answered, “I don’t have anything of Khālid’s.” Hishām said, “You must be sent to Yūsuf b. ‘Umar so that he can bring you and Khālid together.” Zayd replied, “Don’t send me to the slave of Thaqafī so that he can toy with me!” Hishām replied, “You must be sent to him.” Zayd then made a lengthy speech to him, whereupon Hishām said, “I have heard that you consider yourself qualified for the caliphate—you, the son of a slave girl!” To this Zayd said, “What a thing to say! My mother’s rank disqualify me? By God, Isaac was the son of a free woman, and Ishmael the son of a slave-girl, yet God, who is mighty and exalted, bestowed His favor upon the sons of Ishmael, from whom He brought forth the Arabs, and that line continued until it produced the Messenger of God.” Then he said, “Fear God, Hishām!” Whereupon Hishām replied, “Does someone like you command me to fear God?” “Yes,” said Zayd, “no one is too low to command it, and no one is too high to heed it.” Hishām then sent him out, accompanied by messengers from him. When he left, he<sup>2479</sup> said: “By God, I know that no one has ever loved life without being humiliated.” Hishām wrote to Yūsuf b. ‘Umar: “When Zayd b. ‘Alī reaches you, bring him him and Khālid together, but don’t let him stay with you for a single hour, because I have seen that he is sweet-tongued, very eloquent, and able to dissemble, and the people of Iraq are quick to rally to the like of him.”

When Zayd arrived in Kufa, he went before Yūsuf and said to him, “Why have you summoned me from the presence of the Commander of the Faithful?”

<sup>2478</sup> On the revolt of Zayd b. ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn, the eponym of the Zaidī line of Shi‘ites, see the article by W. Madelung in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Zayd b. ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn.

<sup>2479</sup> The antecedents of both pronouns are ambiguous, but the maxim makes better sense if spoken by Zayd. In al-Tabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:1675, the maxim in a slightly different wording is unambiguously attributed to Zayd. It occurs in another context in al-Tabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:33, where the sense is clearer: It is better to die with one’s honor intact than to accept humiliation because one loves life too much.

Yūsuf replied, "Khālid b. 'Abdallāh said that you had 600,000 dirhams of his." 2:391  
 "Then summon Khālid," replied Zayd. Yūsuf summoned him, wearing heavy irons, and said, "This is Zayd b. 'Alī; tell us about the money of yours that is with him." Khālid responded, "By the one and only God, he has nothing of mine great or small, and the only reason you have summoned him is to mistreat him." Yūsuf then turned to Zayd and said, "The Commander of the Faithful has ordered me to send you out of Kufa the moment you arrived." Zayd replied, "Then I'll rest for three nights and then leave." "That is impossible," said Yūsuf. "Then just today?" said Zayd; but Yūsuf said, "Not a single hour!" Yūsuf then sent him out, accompanied by messengers. On leaving, he quoted these verses:

His soles in shreds, bemoaning his sore feet,  
 worn down by edges of sharp flints:  
 Fear drove him away and made him to be despised—  
 thus it is for whoever loathes the heat of battle.  
 In death there was rest for him:  
 and death is a fate decreed for all men.

When Yūsuf's messengers reached al-'Udhayb,<sup>2480</sup> they returned. Zayd turned back to Kufa, where the Shī'a there rallied to him. When news of this reached Yūsuf b. 'Umar, he attacked them and a bloody battle took place. In the end, Zayd b. 'Alī was killed. His body was loaded onto a donkey, brought into Kufa, and his head was displayed on a pole. Then his body was put together and burned. Half of the ashes were scattered into the Euphrates, and half onto the fields. "By God," said Yūsuf, "I'll have you Kufans eating him in your food and drinking him in your water!" The killing of Zayd took place in the year 121.<sup>2481</sup>

When Zayd was killed and his rebellion ended,<sup>2482</sup> the Shī'a began to stir in Khurāsān. Their movement became public, and increasing numbers joined them or sympathized with them. They took to reciting to people the actions of the Umayyads and how badly they had treated the Prophet's family, until there was not a town | where the news had not spread. Missionaries appeared, visions were dreamt, and people came together to study books about apocalyptic

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<sup>2480</sup> The springs and village of al-'Udhayb lay in the desert region to the west of Kufa, along the alluvial plain of the Euphrates.

<sup>2481</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, *Tarīkh*, 2:1698ff., places Zayd's death early in 122, dating the beginning of the revolt to 1 Šafar 122 (January 6, 740). Zayd was killed one or two days later.

<sup>2482</sup> Literally, "and what took place in his affair took place."

battles.<sup>2483</sup> Yahyā b. Zayd<sup>2484</sup> fled to Khurāsān and then went to Balkh, where he remained in hiding. Yūsuf wrote to Hishām about him, and the latter wrote to Naṣr b. Sayyār an account of him. Naṣr sent an army under the leadership of Hudba b. ‘Āmir al-Sa‘dī to Balkh. They tracked Yahyā down and captured him, and they took him to Nasr, who imprisoned him in the citadel in Marw.

When news of the disturbances in Khurāsān and of the great numbers of those involved reached Hishām, he wrote to Yūsuf b. ‘Umar, saying, “Send me someone with knowledge of Khurāsān.” So he sent him ‘Abd al-Karīm b. Salīṭ b. ‘Atīyya al-Ḥanafī. Hishām asked him about Khurāsān and its people and about who there would make a good governor. ‘Abd al-Karīm named a number of men from Qays and Rabī‘a, but whenever he named a man from Rabī‘a, Hishām would say, “The mountain passes cannot be defended by Rabī‘a.” Then he named Naṣr b. Sayyār al-Laythī, and he said, “He will be victorious and drive forwards.”<sup>2485</sup> Then he said, “Page, write out his letter of appointment.” So he wrote out the appointment, and Hishām ordered him to make his way quickly to Yūsuf b. ‘Umar. Naṣr had earlier governed a district in Khurāsān, and when Ja‘far b. Ḥanẓala was dismissed, he became governor of the province.<sup>2486</sup>

Yūsuf had arrested and imprisoned Khālid’s tax agents. Among those whom he arrested were Īsā b. Ma‘qil al-‘Ijlī and ‘Āsim b. Yūnus al-‘Ijlī. Abū Muslim,<sup>2487</sup> whose name had been Ibrāhīm b. ‘Uthmān before Muḥammad b. ‘Alī named him ‘Abd al-Rahmān, was serving Īsā b. Ma‘qil, and heard them discussing the call on behalf of the Banū Hāshim, and he came to understand the matter.<sup>2488</sup>

<sup>2483</sup> Arabic *kutub al-malāḥim*. On evidence for such works in early Islam, based in part upon ḥadīths of the Prophet describing the signs of the Last Hour and in part upon esoteric knowledge that the Shī‘a claimed to have been handed down among the descendants of ‘Alī, see the article by U. Rubin in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Sā‘a, and the article by T. Fahd in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Djafr.

<sup>2484</sup> The son of Zayd b. ‘Alī, who, having joined his father in rebellion, was later killed in battle near Herat in the summer or fall of 125/743; see below, ed. Leiden, 2:397–398. See also the article by W. Madelung in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Yahyā b. Zayd b. ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn.

<sup>2485</sup> Punning on the meaning of the name: *Naṣr* (God’s help, or victory) and *Sayyār* (one who travels much).

<sup>2486</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, *Tarīkh*, 2:1638 and 1666, gives two dates for the appointment: Rajab of 121 (June–July 739) or Rajab of 120 (June–July 738), and gives several accounts of the search for a suitable governor of Khurāsān, *ibid.*, 1659–1666.

<sup>2487</sup> This is the first mention of Abū Muslim, a man of obscure origins, who became the leader of the ‘Abbāsid movement in Khurāsān. See the article by Saleh Said Agha in *EI*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. Abū Muslim al-Khurāsānī.

<sup>2488</sup> From the first of the parallel accounts in al-Ṭabarī, *Tarīkh*, 2:1726–1728, from al-Madā’ini, it appears that ‘Āsim and Īsā were arrested by the new governor because

Sulaymān b. Kathīr, Mālik b. al-Haytham, and Qaḥṭaba b. Shabīb arrived on their way to Mecca.<sup>2489</sup> They entered the prison to see ʻIsā b. Maʻqil and ʻĀşim b. Yūnus, and there they saw how Abū Muslim would frequent them and their retinue | and confer with them about the matter. So they took him with them and introduced him to Muḥammad b. ʻAlī, who, having spoken with him, said: “I believe that this youth is our man. He is the very one! Heed his words, accept his leadership, and seek his advice, for there is no doubt that he is the man for the job.” Some of those knowledgeable about the Revolution<sup>2490</sup> say that Abū Muslim joined not Muḥammad b. ʻAlī, but rather his son, Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. ʻAlī.

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Because Yazīd b. ʻAbd al-Malik had appointed his son al-Walīd b. Yazīd as heir apparent, there was continual friction between al-Walīd and Hishām. One day, al-Walīd went to see Hishām, but instead of finding him holding court, he found his maternal uncle, [Ibrāhīm b.] Hishām b. Ismāʻil al-Makhzūmī. Pretending ignorance of who he was, al-Walīd said, “Who is this man?” [Ibn] Hishām became angry, and replied, “Someone such that your grandfather’s honor became complete only by his becoming related to him by marriage.” “And who are you to talk, you son of an uncircumcised woman?” replied al-Walīd, and they exchanged ugly words. Having heard the conversation, Hishām came in, and they fell silent. Al-Walīd did not stand up (to honor him), and so Hishām said to him, “How are you, Walīd?” [“Well!” he said.]<sup>2491</sup> Hishām went on, “And how are your lutes doing?” “Lusty!” replied al-Walīd.<sup>2492</sup> Hishām then

of their position as tax agents of the former governor and that their conversion to the ʻAbbāsid cause took place in prison, where, coincidentally, the ʻAbbāsid propagandist Bukayr b. Māhān had been incarcerated. Bukayr converted ʻĀşim and ʻIsā to the cause (the second of al-Ṭabarī’s accounts includes ʻIsā’s brother Idrīs among the prisoners). Abū Muslim then heard the new converts discuss the cause and was so visibly moved that they invited him to join the movement.

<sup>2489</sup> They were members of the ʻAbbāsid *da’wa* who had set out from Khurāsān and were passing through Kufa on their way to Mecca, presumably for the Pilgrimage. The translation follows M, *wa-qadima Sulaymān ...*; in C the last letter of the first word has fallen out, leading Houtsma to supply a verb to complete the sense, *wa-qad [irtaḥala] Sulaymān ...* (Sulaymān ... had departed ...). On Qaḥṭaba b. Shabīb, see the article by M. Sharon in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Қаҳṭаба.

<sup>2490</sup> Arabic *al-dawla*. This is the first occurrence in al-Yaʻqūbī’s history of the term, which originally was a general term for “change,” or “alteration,” or perhaps, “time of success.” See the article by F. Rosenthal in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Dawla.

<sup>2491</sup> The words, or something similar in meaning, have dropped out of the MSS and were supplied by the Leiden editor.

<sup>2492</sup> Al-Walīd b. Yazīd, who eventually did succeed to the caliphate, was famous as a poet

asked, "And what have those evil companions of yours been doing?" Al-Walīd said, "God's curse on them if they're any worse than yours!" "Take him away!" said Hishām, and so he was seized and taken out.

Hishām was among the most resolute and manly of the Umayyads; but he was also miserly, envious, coarse, ill-mannered, unjust, extremely harsh, seldom merciful, and sharp-tongued. There was an outbreak of the plague during his reign, and very many people perished, as well as riding animals and cattle. The person with the greatest influence over him was al-Abraš b. al-Walīd al-Kalbī. The head of his security force (*shurṭa*) was Ka'b b. Ḥāmid al-‘Absī. Leading his personal guard (*haras*) was al-Rabī' b. Ziyād b. Sābūr. His chamberlain (*hājib*) was his client, al-Ḥarīsh. He had embroidered silk bands produced, and other such kinds, along with embroidered silk, Armenian silk | and different kinds of garments.<sup>2493</sup>

He ruled for five months short of twenty years and died on Wednesday, the ninth day of Rabī' I in the year 125,<sup>2494</sup> at the age of 53. Al-Walīd b. Yazīd's agents denied access to the storerooms, and so no burial shroud could be found for him until one of his servants shrouded him. Some say that it was al-Abraš al-Kalbī who did so. Al-‘Abbās b. al-Walīd led the funeral prayers, although some say that al-Abraš did so. Hishām was buried in al-Ruṣāfa. He left ten sons: Maslāma, Yazīd, Muḥammad, ‘Abdallāh, Sulaymān, Marwān, Mu‘āwiya, Sa‘īd, ‘Abd al-Rahmān, and Quraysh.

Those who led the pilgrimage during his reign were:

- in the year 105: Ibrāhīm b. Hishām;
- [in the year 106: Hishām] b. ‘Abd al-Malik
- in the year 107: Ibrāhīm b. Hishām;
- in the years 108, 109, 110, 111, [and 112]: Ibrāhīm again;
- in the year 113: his son, Sulaymān;
- in the year 114: Khālid b. ‘Abd al-Malik b. al-Ḥarīth b. al-Hakam;

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and musician, especially in the genres of love poetry and wine songs, hence Hishām's contemptuous remark. See the article by Renate Jacobi in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Walid.

Hishām was famous for his love of luxurious clothing. Although the word *tirāz* does not occur here, Hishām is the first caliph specifically mentioned in the Arabic sources as having established factories to manufacture the inscribed textiles known as *tirāz* used as official sashes of office; see the article by Y. K. Stillman and P. Sanders in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Tirāz*.

That is, January 8, 743. Al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:1728 dates his death to the next month, 9 Rabī' II 125 (February 6, 743), as do Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta’rīkh*, 356, and al-Mas’ūdi, *Mu’rūj*, 4:49 (§ 2236).

- in the year 115: Muḥammad b. Hishām b. Ismā‘īl;
- in the year 116: al-Walīd [b. Yazīd] b. ‘Abd al-Malik;
- [in the year 117: Khālid b. ‘Abd al-Malik] b. al-Ḥārith;
- [...]<sup>2495</sup>
- in the year 119: Abū Shākir Maslama b. Hishām;
- in the years [120,] 121, and 122: Muḥammad b. Hishām b. Ismā‘īl;
- in the year 123: Yazīd b. Hishām;
- in the year 124: Muḥammad b. Hishām b. Ismā‘īl.

Those who led the campaigns during his rule were:

- in the year 106: Mu‘āwiya b. Hishām led the campaign and sent Waḍḍāḥ, leader of the Waḍḍāhiyya,<sup>2496</sup> to burn crops and villages because the Byzantines had burned pasture land. Sa‘īd b. ‘Abd al-Malik led the western summer campaign, and al-Jarrāḥ b. ‘Abdallāh al-Ḥakamī campaigned against al-Lān.
- in the year 107: likewise Mu‘āwiya.
- in the year 108: Maslama b. ‘Abd al-Malik led the eastern summer campaign, and ‘Āsim b. Yazīd | al-Hilālī the western.
- in the year 109: Mu‘āwiya b. Hishām, with al-Baṭṭāl, who led the vanguard, conquered Khanjara.<sup>2497</sup> Maslama campaigned against the Turks, taking Bāb al-Lān, and engaging the Khāqānī.
- in the year 111: Mu‘āwiya b. Hishām led the western summer campaign, and Sa‘īd b. Hishām the eastern. The Turks advanced to Azerbaijan, where al-Ḥārith b. ‘Amr al-Tā’ī, engaged them and defeated them.
- in the year 112: the Turks reached the territory of Ardabil,<sup>2498</sup> al-Jarrāḥ b. ‘Abd[allāh] al-Ḥakamī campaigned against them, engaged the king of the Turks, and killed him. Mu‘āwiya b. Hishām campaigned against the Byzantines, but was unable to enter their lands, so he posted a mobile force at al-‘Amq<sup>2499</sup> in the district of Mar‘ash.
- in the year 114: Mu‘āwiya b. Hishām and Maslama b. ‘Abd al-Malik.

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<sup>2495</sup> A year has dropped out, probably by copyist's error. The parallel in Khalīfa b. Khayyāt, *Ta'rikh*, 360, lists Muḥammad b. Hishām b. ‘Abd al-Malik as leader of the pilgrimage in 118.

<sup>2496</sup> A militia; see K. Athamina, “Non-Arab Regiments and Private Militias during the Umayyad Period.”

<sup>2497</sup> Modern Çankırı in north central Anatolia.

<sup>2498</sup> Modern Ardabil of north-west Iran, about 210 km east of Tabriz.

<sup>2499</sup> A large alluvial plain north east of Antioch.

- in the year 115: Mu‘āwiya and Sulaymān, sons of Hishām. ‘Abdallāh al-Baṭṭāl,<sup>2500</sup> who led the vanguard, engaged Constantine,<sup>2501</sup> took him captive, and defeated the Byzantines.
- in the year 116: Mu‘āwiya b. Hishām.
- in the year 117: Mu‘āwiya and Sulaymān, the sons of Hishām. Marwān b. Muḥammad campaigned in the lands of the Turks.
- in the year 118: Mu‘āwiya and Maslama, the sons of Hishām.
- in the year 119 [...] campaigned in the lands of the Byzantines, and the campaign in the lands of the Turks was conducted by Marwān b. Muḥammad.<sup>2502</sup>
- in the year 121: Maslama b. Hishām, who reached Malaṭya.
- in the year 122: Marwān b. Muḥammad in Armenia, and Sulaymān b. Hishām in the region of Malaṭya.
- in the year 123: Sulaymān b. Hishām led the summer campaign, and Marwān b. Muḥammad (campaigned against) Jilān and Mūqān<sup>2503</sup> in Armenia.
- in the year 124: Sulaymān b. Hishām, who engaged the Byzantine emperor Leo and Artabasdos.<sup>2504</sup> He withdrew, and so there was no fighting between them.
- in the year 125: al-Ghamr b. Yazīd b. ‘Abd al-Malik.

<sup>2500</sup> On the development of a popular legend around this fighter against the Byzantines, see the article by Khalil Athamina in *EI*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. al-Baṭṭāl, ‘Abdallāh.

<sup>2501</sup> Perhaps to be identified as the son of the emperor Leo III. In 123/740, Leo III and Constantine routed an expedition led by al-Baṭṭāl and the governor of Malaṭya, and both Muslim commanders were killed.

<sup>2502</sup> The copyist of C, the basis of ed. Leiden, skipped by homeoteleuton from the word “Turks” at the end of the entry for 118 to the word “Turks” in the entry for 119. Almost all of the notice for the year 119 can be recovered from M, except for the name of the leader of the campaign in Byzantine territory.

<sup>2503</sup> Jilān (Gilān) is the low-lying region along the southwestern coast of the Caspian Sea. See the article by B. Spuler in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Gilān. Mūqān (Mūghān) is a steppe area north of Gilān and to the south of the lower course of the Araxes (Aras) River, stretching from northern Iran into Azerbaijan. See the article by V. Minorsky in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Mūkān.

<sup>2504</sup> In M the names have been copied as, first, al-Būn, but by adding one dot one can easily get Aliyyūn, a reasonable match for Leo(n), i.e., Leo III. The next name has been copied as Arṭāyās, but by subtracting one dot one can easily get Arṭābās, a reasonable match for Artabasdos, Leo’s son-in-law, who became emperor by deposing Leo’s son, Constantine V, in 742, ruling until November 2, 743 (early in 126 A.H.). Since Leo III died on June 18, 741, and 124 A.H. did not begin until November 15, 741, al-Ya‘qūbī’s chronology is impossible, at least as regards Leo’s presence; Artabasdos, however, is chronologically possible. See Vasiliev, *History of Byzantine Empire*, 260.

The learned men during his days were:

- Sālim b. ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Umar,
- al-Haytham<sup>2505</sup> b. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr,
- Muḥammad b. Muslim b. Shihāb al-Zuhri, |  
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- Muḥammad b. Ka‘b al-Qurazī,
- Nāfi‘, the *mawlā* of ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Umar,
- ‘Āsim b. ‘Umar b. Qatāda,
- Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr b. [Muhammad b. ‘Amr b.] Ḥazm,<sup>2506</sup>
- Ṭāwūs al-Yamānī,
- Rabī‘a b. [Abī] ‘Abd al-Rahmān,<sup>2507</sup>
- ‘Atā’ b. Abī Rabāḥ,
- ‘Amr b. Dīnār,<sup>2508</sup>
- ‘Abdallāh b. [Abī] Najīḥ,<sup>2509</sup>
- Ḥabīb b. Abī Thābit,
- ‘Abd al-Malik b. Maysara,
- Abū Ishāq al-Sabī‘ī,
- al-Qāsim b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān,<sup>2510</sup>
- [‘Ubaydallāh] b. ‘Abdallāh [b. ‘Utba] b. Mas‘ūd,
- Simāk b. Ḥarb al-Dhuqli,<sup>2511</sup>
- al-Ḥakam b. ‘Uyayna al-Kindī,<sup>2512</sup>
- Ḥammād b. Abī Sulaymān,<sup>2513</sup>

<sup>2505</sup> Perhaps a copyist's error for *al-Qāsim*. See above, ed. Leiden, 2:378.

<sup>2506</sup> A judge in Medina, died 132/749–750; biography in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:2505–2506.

<sup>2507</sup> Died c. 136/753–754; biography in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:2506; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 3:258–259.

<sup>2508</sup> Meccan jurist, d. 125 or 126 (742–744); see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 8:28–30; Ibn Sa‘d, *Tabaqāt*, 5:353 f.; and the article by Harald Motzki in *EI*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. ‘Amr b. Dīnār.

<sup>2509</sup> Meccan, d. 131/748–749; transmitter of a recension of the Qur‘ān commentary by Mujāhid; see F. Sezgin, *GAS*, 1:29; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:2506; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 6:54–55.

<sup>2510</sup> Al-Qāsim b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān al-Shāmī, Damascene, d. 112/730; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 8:322–324.

<sup>2511</sup> Kufan, d. 123/740–741; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 4:232–234.

<sup>2512</sup> If the reading ‘Uyayna is correct, he was a judge (Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 2:372); but the correct reading may be ‘Utayba. For al-Ḥakam b. ‘Utayba al-Kindī, d. 115/733–734, see the biography in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:2496.

<sup>2513</sup> Ḥammād b. Abī Sulaymān al-Ash‘arī was a Kufan jurist who died c. 120/738; see F. Sezgin, *GAS*, 1:404–405.

- Abū Ma’shar Ziyād b. Kulayb,<sup>2514</sup>
- Ṭalḥa b. Muṣarrif al-Hamdānī,<sup>2515</sup>
- Nu’aym b. Abī Hind al-Ashja’ī,<sup>2516</sup>
- Ash’ath b. Abī l-Sha’thā’,<sup>2517</sup>
- Sa’īd b. Ashwa’,<sup>2518</sup>
- Abū Ḥāzim al-A’raj,
- Qatāda b. Di’āma al-Sadūsī,<sup>2519</sup>
- Bakr b. ‘Abdallāh al-Muzanī,<sup>2520</sup>
- Ayyūb al-Sakhtiyānī,<sup>2521</sup>
- Yazīd b. ‘Abdallāh b. al-Shikhkhīr,<sup>2522</sup>
- ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Jubayr,<sup>2523</sup>
- Makhūl al-Dimashqī,
- Rāshid b. Sa’d al-Muqrī’,
- Maymūn b. Mihrān,
- Abū Qabil al-Ma’āfrī,
- Yazīd b. al-Asamm.

### The Days of al-Walīd b. Yazīd

Then al-Walīd b. Yazīd b. ‘Abd al-Malik came to rule.<sup>2524</sup> His mother was Umm al-Ḥajjāj bt. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Thaqafī, and the caliphate came to him

<sup>2514</sup> Died c. 120/738; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 3:182.

<sup>2515</sup> Died c. 112/730–731; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 5:25–26.

<sup>2516</sup> His death is dated by Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta’rīkh*, 351, to the beginning of the governorship of Khālid al-Qasrī, which would put it c. 105/723–724.

<sup>2517</sup> A Kufan traditionist; see al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:2551.

<sup>2518</sup> Correctly written in M, but miscopied in C as Usbū’. See Ibn Sa’d and Wakī’. According to Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta’rīkh*, 361, he served as judge in Kufa during the governorship of Khālid b. ‘Abdallāh.

<sup>2519</sup> On this blind scholar renowned for his prodigious memory, see the article by Ch. Pellat in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Қatāda b. Di’āma.

<sup>2520</sup> Died 108/726; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 1:484–485.

<sup>2521</sup> Ayyūb b. Abī Tamīma Kaysān al-Sakhtiyānī, a traditionist and ascetic, died in 131/748; see F. Sezgin, *GAS*, 1:87–88.

<sup>2522</sup> Yazid b. ‘Abdallāh b. al-Shikhkhīr al-Ḥarashī, Basran, d. 108/726–727, according to Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta’rīkh*, 338.

<sup>2523</sup> ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Jubayr b. Nufayr, d. 118/736; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 6:154.

<sup>2524</sup> Often called al-Walīd II, to distinguish him from al-Walīd (I) b. ‘Abd al-Malik. For a general discussion of both, see the article by Renate Jacobi in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Walīd.

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while he was in Damascus, ten days after the death | of Hishām. This was on Friday, ten days remaining in the month of Rabī‘ I of the year 125.<sup>2525</sup> On that day the Sun was 26° 20' in Aquarius, the Moon 5° 20' in Virgo, Mars 4° in Capricorn, Venus 16° 45' in Capricorn, Mercury 12° 10' in Pisces, and the Ascending Node 11° 45' in Aquarius.

Al-Walīd dismissed Hishām's governors, subjecting them to all manner of torture, except Yūsuf b. ‘Umar al-Thaqafī, the governor of Iraq. This was because he had found in Hishām's chancellery (*dīwān*) letters written by the governors, urging him to depose al-Walīd—all except Yūsuf, who had advised against doing so; al-Walīd therefore confirmed him in his post. He wrote to him concerning Khālid b. ‘Abdallāh al-Qasrī, and Yūsuf continued to torture him.<sup>2526</sup>

He made his son al-Ḥakam the heir apparent, appointing him governor of Damascus, and as next in line after al-Ḥakam he appointed his son ‘Uthmān (b. al-Walīd), making him governor of Ḥimṣ and joining to him the jurist Rabī‘a b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān, to exercise authority on his behalf.<sup>2527</sup>

He dismissed Hishām's maternal uncle, Ibrāhīm b. Hishām b. Ismā‘il al-Makhzūmī, from the governorships of Medina, Mecca, and al-Ṭā’if, and appointed his own maternal uncle, Yūsuf b. Muḥammad al-Thaqafī, governor of Medina and Mecca.

Naṣr b. Sayyār had arrested Yaḥyā b. Zayd b. ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn during the reign of Hishām, and had taken him to Marw, where he had imprisoned him in the citadel. He had written to Hishām about the matter, but the letter had arrived just at the time of Hishām's death. Al-Walīd now wrote to him, ordering him to release Yaḥyā—others say that Yaḥyā managed to escape from the prison. Yaḥyā made his way to Bayhaq<sup>2528</sup> in the district of Abrashahr, | where certain men of the Shī‘a rallied to him, saying, “How long will you (and your family) be satisfied with humiliation?” About 120 men came over to him, and he made his way back to Nīshāpūr. ‘Amr b. Zurāra al-Qasrī, the governor of Nīshāpūr, came out to fight him, but Yaḥyā defeated ‘Amr and his men. They made off with their weapons; then they pursued them until they overtook ‘Amr b. Zurāra and killed him. Yaḥyā then set out for Balkh. Naṣr b. Sayyār dispatched Salm b. Aḥwaz al-

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<sup>2525</sup> That is, 20 Rabī‘ I 125 (January 21, 743). Al-Tabarī, *Tarīkh*, 2:1740, citing three authorities, dates his accession to the next month, Rabī‘ II. The day of the week and the day of the month do not coincide.

<sup>2526</sup> Ed. Leiden indicates a lacuna, but there is none in M.

<sup>2527</sup> Possibly because ‘Uthmān was still a minor.

<sup>2528</sup> Bayhaq was west of Nīshāpūr, on the main highway connecting Khurāsān and western Persia. See Barthold, *Historical Geography*, 110, and the article by A. K. S. Lambton in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Bayhaq.

Hilālī against him. Salm set out and went to Sarakhs, and Yahyā set off and went to Bādhghīs,<sup>2529</sup> reaching Marw al-Rūdh first. When word of this reached Naṣr, he himself set out against him at the head of his forces and engaged him in al-Jūzjān. He fought him ferociously, and Yahyā was felled by a stray arrow; the soldiers rushed in and cut his head off. His men fought on after his death until they were killed to the last man.

In this year Sulaymān b. Kathīr, Mālik b. al-Haytham, and Qaḥṭaba b. Shabīb, the leaders of the movement calling for the rule of the Banū Hāshim, brought money and gifts to Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Abbās. Abū Muslim was present with them, too. Muḥammad said to them, “You will not meet me hereafter, for I shall die this year.”—This was at the beginning of year 125.—“Your leader shall be my son Ibrāhīm, who will be killed. When God has carried out His decree with regard to him, your leader shall be ‘Abdallāh b. al-Ḥārithiyya<sup>2530</sup>—he shall have authority over this matter and leadership of this movement. God will give him sovereignty,<sup>2531</sup> and by his hand will the Umayyads be destroyed.” Then he brought ‘Abdallāh out so that they could see him, and they kissed his hands and feet. Then he said: “Abd al-Rahmān is your leader.”—He meant Abū Muslim—“Listen | to him and obey, for he is the one who is leading this revolution.”<sup>2532</sup> At the end of the year 125, Muḥammad b. ‘Alī died at the age of 67.<sup>2533</sup>

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When the people heard about the death of Muḥammad b. ‘Alī, they took Abū Muslim to Ibrāhīm, who made Abū Muslim their commander and told him that he should be master of their affairs. Then he said to Qaḥṭaba b. Shabīb: “And you, by God, are the one who will engage and defeat Nubātā b. Ḥanẓala and ‘Āmir b. Ḍubāra. You will fight their armies, and God will grant you victory all the way to the Euphrates, without a single one of your standards being forced back.” So they left for Khurāsān, where tribal strife had broken out between

<sup>2529</sup> Badhghīs is in historical eastern Khurāsān, north of Herat, in present-day Afghanistan. See the article by W. Barthold in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Bādgīs or Bādhgīs.

<sup>2530</sup> The future caliph al-Saffāḥ.

<sup>2531</sup> The Arabic (*yu’tīhi Allāhu l-mulk*) echoes a frequent Qur’ānic topos; e.g., Qur’ān 2:247, 251, 258, and 3:26.

<sup>2532</sup> The terminology used here deserves mention. Abū Muslim is to be ‘your *sāhib*’ in this context, something like ‘master.’ He is to be *al-qā’im bi-hādhīhi l-dawla*, something like ‘the one who rises up to undertake this shift/change/revolution.’ *Al-Qā’im* later becomes a technical term in Shī‘ī Islam. For its varying uses, see the article by W. Madelung in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Qā’im Āl Muḥammad.

<sup>2533</sup> According to al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:1769, he died on the first night of Dhū l-Qaḍā, 125 (July 25, 743). Other dates are reported.

Muḍar and al-Yaman.<sup>2534</sup> This was because Naṣr b. Sayyār had moved against the Yamanīs and Rabī'a and had favored the Muḍar faction. So Juday' b. 'Ali al-Kirmānī al-Azdī, who at the time was the leader of the Azd<sup>2535</sup> and their boldest, challenged him and said, "We will not let you get away with what you are doing!"—and the Yamanī faction and Rabī'a rallied to him. Naṣr b. Sayyār arrested him and jailed him, but the Yamanīs and Rabī'a came and took him out through a privy outlet and then rallied round him. Naṣr tried to trick him into coming to him, but he would not—Naṣr was somewhat unskillful in his dealings. When Juday' realised that the Yamanīs and Rabī'a had rallied to him against Naṣr b. Sayyār, he rebelled against him, fought him, and bested him. Abū Muslim then went to al-Kirmānī and asked him to propagandize on behalf of the Family of the Prophet. He<sup>2536</sup> began to sway his troops and summon them to this, until they eventually made public the propaganda on behalf of the Banū Hāshim in Khurāsān.

When al-Ḥakam b. 'Awāna, the governor of the Sind, was killed, 'Amr b. Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim al-Thaqafī and Yazīd b. 'Arār<sup>2537</sup> fought over his succession. Hishām wrote to | Yūsuf b. 'Umar concerning the matter, and Yūsuf, because of his partiality toward the tribe of Thaqīf,<sup>2538</sup> favored 'Amr b. Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim, so Hishām appointed him governor. But when al-Walīd came to power, he dismissed 'Amr b. Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim from al-Sind, and appointed Yazīd b. 'Arār. He made eighteen raids, and was blessed with good fortune.

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The regions were all in an uproar. Al-Walīd was neglectful of his affairs and unconcerned about his outlying regions. He was given to amusements and singing-girls, to undisguised killing and oppression, to distractions from public affairs, and to drinking and dissoluteness. He went so far in his dissoluteness that he decided to have a booth built atop the Ka'ba in which he might sit for amusement, and he dispatched an architect for that purpose. When all this became apparent, along with his execution of Khālid b. 'Abdallāh al-Qasrī, his torture to death of Hishām's sons Ibrāhīm and Muḥammad, and his inviting censure by his treatment of the people, his family, and nearby Arabs, Yazid b. al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik courted the support of a group of his family members, and they sided with him; and the sons of Khālid b. 'Abdallāh al-Qasrī, along with

<sup>2534</sup> The two tribal factions, "northern" (or Qays) and "southern" respectively.

<sup>2535</sup> The Azd belonged to the "southern" faction (al-Yaman).

<sup>2536</sup> The ambiguity of the pronouns makes it unclear whether Abū Muslim or al-Kirmānī is the subject.

<sup>2537</sup> For the confusion about the name, see Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 159.

<sup>2538</sup> Yūsuf's own tribe.

a group of Yamanīs, also took up his cause—to depose al-Walīd and swear the oath of allegiance to Yazīd b. al-Walīd b. ‘Abd al-Malik. A large group rallied to him. A client of al-Walīd’s left to see al-Walīd<sup>2539</sup> and reported the news to him, but al-Walīd gave him one hundred lashes. Yazīd b. al-Walīd advanced on him slowly, making his way to a village called al-Bakhra’,<sup>2540</sup> putting his soldiers up in a fortification there, with the men coming one group after another. Then they did battle; al-Walīd was killed, and the men rushed toward him with their swords and cut off his head and hand. His head was mounted in Damascus.

He was killed five days before the end of Jumādā II in year 126.<sup>2541</sup> His reign was 1 year and 5 months long. | ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Ḥumayd al-Kalbī was the head of his security force (*shurṭa*), and Qaṭarī his client commanded his personal guard (*ḥaras*). His chamberlain (*ḥājib*) was Qaṭan his client. He left fourteen sons: ‘Uthmān, Yazīd, al-Ḥakam, al-‘Abbās, Fihrah, Lu’ayy, al-‘Āṣ, Mūsā, Quṣayy, Wāṣil, Dhu’āba, Fath, al-Walīd, and Sa’id.

Muhammad b. Mūsā al-Thaqafī led the pilgrimage in his reign in the year 125.

### The Days of Yazīd b. al-Walīd b. ‘Abd al-Malik

Then Yazīd b. al-Walīd b. ‘Abd al-Malik,<sup>2542</sup> whose mother was Shāhfarīd<sup>2543</sup> bt. Fayrūz bt. Kisrā, came to rule on the first day of Rajab in year 126, five days after the murder of al-Walīd. On that day the Sun was 11° 40' in Aries, the Moon 20° in Pisces, Saturn 20° in Virgo, Jupiter 3° 50' in Gemini, Mars 25° 40' in Gemini, Venus 10° in Capricorn, Mercury 21° 30' in Aries.

<sup>2539</sup> That is, the client left Damascus, where the plot against al-Walīd was being hatched, and made his way to al-Walīd’s desert retreat.

<sup>2540</sup> Al-Bakhra’ lay 25 km south of Palmyra; see the article by J. Sourdel-Thomine in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Bakhra’.

<sup>2541</sup> April 12, 744; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:1810, cites three reports giving the date as three days later.

<sup>2542</sup> Often called Yazīd III, to differentiate him; see the article by G. R. Hawting in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Yazīd (III) b. al-Walīd (1).

<sup>2543</sup> The reading and vocalization of the name are uncertain. According to al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:1874, she was a concubine (*umm walad*) named Shāh-i Āfrīd, and her genealogy was Shāh-i Āfrīd bt. Fayrūz bt. Yazdagird bt. Shahriyār bt. Kisrā. Al-Mas’ūdī, *Murūj*, 4:63 (§ 2262), gives her name as Shāhfirand. According to various reports, Muslim b. Qutayba captured two daughters of Fayrūz in Transoxiana and sent them back to al-Hajjāj, who gave one of them to al-Walīd b. ‘Abd al-Malik.

Yazīd reduced soldiers' stipends and therefore was called "Yazīd the Reducer."<sup>2544</sup> The provinces went into rebellion against him. Among those who rebelled against him were al-‘Abbās b. al-Walīd in Ḥimṣ, whom the people of city supported,<sup>2545</sup> Bishr b. al-Walīd in Qinnasrīn, ‘Umar b. al-Walīd in Jordan, and Yazīd b. Sulaymān in Palestine. Abū Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh b. Yazīd b. Mu‘āwiya and Sulaymān b. Hishām came to the aid of al-‘Abbās. |

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Three days into his reign, Yazīd made his brother Ibrāhīm b. al-Walīd his heir-apparent and sent him to Jordan, where the men had made Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Malik their commander, but they defied<sup>2546</sup> Ibrāhīm. Then he sent ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Maṣād to them, saying: "Why will you slay yourselves? Come to us, and we will deliver to you the benefits of this world and the next. I guarantee each man a thousand dinars." And so they dispersed.

Yazīd ruled for five months. Civil war prevailed everywhere, to such an extent that the people of Egypt killed their commander, Ḥafṣ b. al-Walīd al-Ḥadramī, and the people of Ḥimṣ killed their governor, ‘Abdallāh b. Shajara al-Kindī, and the people of Medina expelled their governor, ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz.

The person with the greatest influence over him was Yazīd b. Khālid b. ‘Abdallāh al-Qasrī. Yazīd b. al-Shammākh al-Lakhmī was in charge of his security force (*shurṭa*), Sallām his client commanded his personal guard (*haras*), and his chamberlain (*hājib*) was Jubayr his client. On the day of al-Walīd's death there were 47 million dinars in his treasury, but Yazīd dissipated it down to the last dinar. He was a Qadarī.<sup>2547</sup> He died on the last day of Dhū l-Qa‘da.<sup>2548</sup> Ibrāhīm b. al-Walīd led the prayers at his funeral, and he was buried in Damascus. It is said that his brother Ibrāhīm give him poison to drink.

<sup>2544</sup> Arabic *Yazid al-Naqis*. This is the primary sense of the epithet, but Arabic historians were aware that it could also mean "Yazīd the Deficient."

<sup>2545</sup> But cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:1826, where al-‘Abbās b. al-Walīd, far from leading the revolt in Ḥimṣ, is its victim. Indeed, the next sentence in al-Yāqūbi, about how Sulaymān b. Hishām (who certainly was loyal to Yazīd) "came to the aid of al-‘Abbās," assumes the same. The most likely inference is that the text of al-Yāqūbi, particularly the phrase "whom the people of the city supported," has suffered corruption.

<sup>2546</sup> Reading *wāqafūhu*, instead of the MSS *wāfaqūhu* (they agreed with him).

<sup>2547</sup> *Qadarī* is a disparaging term for those who held to some form of a doctrine of human free will, against those who asserted that all human actions were predetermined by divine decree (*qadar*). Confusingly, the term was applied to those who were accused of denying God's *qadar*. See the article by J. van Ess in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Қадариyya.

<sup>2548</sup> October 12, 744.

In this year—126—‘Umar b. ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān led the Pilgrimage; according to others it was al-Ḥajjāj b. ‘Abd al-Malik.<sup>2549</sup> Then Thābit b. Nu‘aym al-Judhāmī rebelled | against Marwān, who was in Armenia. Marwān defeated him and reproached him for his ingratitude.<sup>2550</sup> Marwān left Armenia, putting ‘Āsim b. ‘Abdallāh b. Yazīd al-Hilālī in charge. He put Ishāq b. Muslim al-‘Uqaylī in charge of Bāb al-Abwāb.<sup>2551</sup> Then he added Armenia to Ishāq b. Muslim al-‘Uqaylī’s governorship.

### The Days of Ibrāhīm b. al-Walīd

Ibrāhīm b. al-Walīd b. ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān, whose mother was a concubine named Su‘ār,<sup>2552</sup> assumed office on the same day that Yazīd b. al-Walīd died. He retained office for four months before Marwān b. Muḥammad b. Marwān came [from] Armenia to depose him. Upon arriving in Ḥarrān, Marwān announced his claim to the caliphate; the people of the Jazīra secretly swore allegiance to him, and he advanced amid throngs of the people of the Jazīra. He engaged Bishr and Masrūr, the sons of al-Walīd b. ‘Abd al-Malik, who were encamped at Aleppo, routed their armies and took them both prisoner. He then pressed on until he reached Ḥimṣ, which was controlled by ‘Abd al-‘Azīz.<sup>2553</sup>

<sup>2549</sup> According to others it was al-Ḥajjāj b. ‘Abd al-Malik.” This is the reading of M and of C, but the Leiden editor deduced from the parallel in Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 5:243, (cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:1875) that a considerable amount of text had fallen out. He therefore printed, “According to others [...] al-Ḥajjāj b. ‘Abd al-Malik [...].” On the basis of Ibn al-Athīr, he suggested filling the first lacuna with “Abd al-‘Azīz b. ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz” (the name occurs in al-Ṭabarī as given by some authorities for the leader of the pilgrimage in 126). He suggested that the second lacuna was to be filled by a now unrecoverable notice about ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. al-Ḥajjāj.

<sup>2550</sup> Arabic *fa-manna ‘alayhi*; for this meaning see Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. *manna*.

<sup>2551</sup> Arabic *al-Bāb wa-l-Abwāb* (The Gate and the Gates), later usually *Bāb al-Abwāb* (The Gate of Gates), was the Arabic name for a pass and fortress at the eastern end of the Caucasus, Persian Darband (modern Derbent). See the article by D. M. Dunlop in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Bāb al-Abwāb*.

<sup>2552</sup> Sic M, C, and ed. Leiden. Al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:1875, identifies her as a concubine (*umm walad*), but provides no name; similarly Ibn Ḥazm, *Ummahāt al-khulafā’*, 17. Al-Mas‘ūdī, *Mu’jiz*, 4:63 (§ 2262), gives her name as Budayra, but the MSS of al-Mas‘ūdī vary. For an account of the brief caliphate of Ibrāhīm b. al-Walīd, see the article by V. Cremonesi in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ibrāhīm b. al-Walīd.

<sup>2553</sup> That is, ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. al-Ḥajjāj b. ‘Abd al-Malik, whom, according to al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:1870, Yazīd b. al-Walīd had designated as next in line for the caliphate after Ibrāhīm.

When the news reached Ibrāhīm, he dispatched Sulaymān b. Hishām b. ‘Abd al-Malik, who engaged Marwān and the forces with him from the Jazira, Qinnasrīn, and Ḥimṣ. The armies met at ‘Ayn al-Jarr,<sup>2554</sup> in the district of Damascus; they skirmished on Wednesday, the 7th of Ṣafar in the year 127,<sup>2555</sup> and then turned away from each other. On the following day, Sulaymān b. Hishām and his forces were defeated. They rejoined Ibrāhīm, and Marwān advanced and encamped at Dayr al-‘Āliya.<sup>2556</sup> The people of Damascus swore allegiance to him, and he entered the city. Ibrāhīm abdicated and swore the oath of allegiance to Marwān on Monday, the 15th of Ṣafar, in the year 127.<sup>2557</sup> He remained with Marwān until he drowned in the Zāb River during the battle against ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Ali.<sup>2558</sup>

### The Days of Marwān b. Muḥammad b. Marwān and the *Da'wa*<sup>2559</sup> of the Banū l-‘Abbās 2:404

Marwān b. Muḥammad b. Marwān, whose mother was a concubine named Rayyā,<sup>2560</sup> assumed office in the month of Ṣafar in the year 127. Those of the Banū Umayya and others who were in Damascus swore the oath of allegiance

<sup>2554</sup> In the Biqā‘ Valley on the road from Damascus to Baalbek; it is the site of significant Umayyad ruins. See the article by J. Sourdel-Thomine in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. ‘Ayn al-Djarr.

<sup>2555</sup> November 18, 744.

<sup>2556</sup> The location of the site, which is not mentioned by the other sources, is unknown.

<sup>2557</sup> The day of the week and day of the month do not accord.

<sup>2558</sup> The MSS read *ḥattā ghazā* (until he attacked), but Houtsma's emendation (*ḥattā ghariqa*) is supported by other sources. On Ibrāhīm b. al-Walīd's drowning in the Zāb River during the decisive battle between the Umayyads and the ‘Abbāsid forces commanded by ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Ali in 132/750, see al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:41. For a synopsis of the career of ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Ali b. ‘Abdallāh b. al-‘Abbās and his unsuccessful bid for the caliphate after the death of al-Saffāḥ (see ed. Leiden, 2:237–238, below), see the article by Jacob Lassner in *EI*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Ali.

<sup>2559</sup> Arabic *da'wa* means “an act of calling, summoning, or inviting.” It has religious overtones, as “the invitation, addressed to men by God and the prophets, to believe in the true religion, Islam” (M. Canard in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Da'wa*). By extension, the ‘Abbāsids used the term to justify their movement as a call to restoring the leadership of the community to a religiously acceptable leader. For a summary of the literature on the ‘Abbāsid revolution, see the article by Elton L. Daniel in *EI*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. *Abbāsid Revolution*.

<sup>2560</sup> Ibn Ḥazm, *Ummahāt al-khulafā'*, 18, notes disagreement over his mother's name and status, as does al-Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj*, 4:71 (§ 2273), who mentions, besides Rayyā, the name Tarūba.

to him. He wrote to the governors of the provinces and received their letters of loyalty, obedience, and submission. When he received word that the people of Hims were continuing their disobedience, he marched against them, having appointed 'Abd al-'Azīz b. al-Hajjāj b. 'Abd al-Malik as his deputy in Damascus, and laid siege to them until he took the city. Al-Simṭ b. Thābit b. al-Asbagh b. Dhu'āla escaped from him, but he managed to capture Mu'āwiya b. 'Abdallāh al-Saksaki.<sup>2561</sup>

Marwān received word that Yazīd b. Khālid b. 'Abdallāh al-Qasrī had killed Yūsuf b. 'Umar al-Thaqafī. The latter had been imprisoned; however, when 'Abd al-'Azīz b. al-Hajjāj b. 'Abd al-Malik saw that Muḥammad b. Marwān's hold on power was unsettled, [he ordered]<sup>2562</sup> Yazīd b. Khālid b. 'Abdallāh al-Qasrī to go to the prison and kill Yūsuf b. 'Umar along with 'Uthmān and al-Ḥakam, the sons of al-Walīd b. Yazīd. He did so.

Marwān intended to return (to Damascus) but was told that al-Daḥḥāk b. Qays the Khārijite<sup>2563</sup> had wrested control over the region of Iraq, had fought 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz in Wāsiṭ, and had marched to the Jazīra, passing Mosul, and gone on to Naṣībīn, where 'Abdallāh b. Marwān was (governor), and had besieged him. Ishāq b. Muslim's governor in Bāb al-Abwāb<sup>2564</sup> was a man named Musāfir,<sup>2565</sup> who shared the views of the Khārijites. Al-Daḥḥāk wrote appointing him to the governorship of Armenia, where the people had killed Āsim b. 'Abdallāh b. | Yazīd al-Hilālī, the governor of Armenia. Musāfir marched to the province. Marwān went to Ḥarrān, where he built himself a residence at a site called Dabāb al-Bayn.<sup>2566</sup> When word of this reached al-Daḥḥāk, he marched toward him. Passing near Mosul, he laid siege to the city; then, not wanting the matter to drag on,<sup>2567</sup> he went on to Naṣībīn and besieged it. He then marched towards Ḥarrān, where he engaged Marwān's forces. Though Marwān fought him fiercely, al-Daḥḥāk defeated him

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<sup>2561</sup> Cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 2:1892–1893.

<sup>2562</sup> Amending as suggested by the Leiden editor.

<sup>2563</sup> Arabic *al-Ḥarūrī*. The Khārijites received this name because their original secession from the camp of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭalib had occurred at a place called Ḥarūrā'. On the revolt of al-Daḥḥāk b. Qays al-Shaybānī, see L. Vecchia Vaglieri in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Daḥḥāk b. Kays al-Shaybānī.

<sup>2564</sup> Arabic *al-Bāb wa l-Abwāb*. Derbent in the Caucasus.

<sup>2565</sup> The name is unclear in M and C; the reading is uncertain.

<sup>2566</sup> The reading is unclear. In M, the initial letter appears to be Dh, and the second letter is undotted. The location is unknown.

<sup>2567</sup> According to Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta'rīkh*, 378, al-Daḥḥāk took Mosul and then besieged Marwān's governor in Naṣībīn unsuccessfully for two months.

repeatedly until he dislodged Marwān from his throne and sat on it.<sup>2568</sup> Then al-Ḏahhāk was killed in the year 127, and the Khārijites broke up into small groups.

Sulaymān b. Hishām b. ‘Abd al-Malik and those of the Yamāniyya who had been supporters of Yazīd b. Khālid b. ‘Abdallāh but had escaped went with them.<sup>2569</sup> Sulaymān b. Hishām b. ‘Abd al-Malik marched toward Syria. Marwān encountered him at Khusāf<sup>2570</sup> and defeated him. Sulaymān went with the supporters of al-Ḏahhāk, who were now led by al-Khaybarī; the latter marched with a large force and engaged Marwān. When Marwān killed him, the Khārijites chose Abū l-Dhalla<sup>2571</sup> al-Shaybānī as their leader. He led his followers back to Mosul, but Marwān pursued him and fought him for a month; finally Abū l-Dhalla was defeated. Marwān sent ‘Āmir b. Ḏubāra al-Murrī after him. Abū l-Dhalla made his way to Oman, where he was killed by al-Julandā b. Mas‘ūd al-Azdī. Al-Ḏahhāk's successor, Abū ‘Ubayda, set out for Kufa. Marwān appointed Yazīd b. ‘Umar b. Hubayra al-Fazārī over Iraq. Yazīd arrived there in the year 128 and killed al-Ḏahhāk's successor. Thābit b. Nu‘aym al-Judhāmī rebelled in the region of Jordan. Marwān sent al-Rumāhīs b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz against him and appointed ‘Abd al-Wāhid b. Sulaymān | b. ‘Abd al-Malik over Medina and Mecca.

‘Abd al-Wāhid arrived in Mecca to perform the pilgrimage. The Khārijites<sup>2572</sup> arrived, along with Abū Ḥamza al-Mukhtār b. ‘Awf al-Ḥarūrī al-Azdī, and stood on Mount ‘Arafāt. Abū Ḥamza was there on behalf of ‘Abdallāh b. Yaḥyā al-Kindī, who was known as Ṭālib al-Ḥaqqa.<sup>2573</sup> When they stood at ‘Arafāt, they so frightened and alarmed the people that ‘Abd al-Wāhid sent a messenger to them to remind them of the respect due to the sacred territory, the solemn days, and the greatest day of the pilgrimage. They made an agreement with them

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<sup>2568</sup> This detail is also found in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:1941, and in Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta’rīkh*, 380, although in these accounts the person who broke into Marwān's tent in Marwān's absence and sat on his throne (or bed, Arabic *sarīr* has both meanings) was not al-Ḏahhāk, but his successor, al-Khaybarī, who performed his exploit after al-Ḏahhāk had been killed and who in turn was killed soon afterward.

<sup>2569</sup> The referent of the pronoun is unclear; apparently, they went over to the Khārijites. Khusāf lies in the desert roughly midway between al-Raqqa and Aleppo.

<sup>2570</sup> The reading is uncertain. The MSS read *al-Dalqā*; ed. Leiden emends to *al-Dalfā* on the basis of al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 2:1943, where his full name is given as Shaybān b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Yashkūrī.

<sup>2571</sup> Here called Ḥarūriyya.

<sup>2572</sup> The name means “Seeker of Truth.” ‘Abdallāh b. Yaḥyā al-Kindī was an Ibāḍī Khārijite leader who encouraged a revolt against the Umayyads in Ḥaḍramawt in the south of the Arabian peninsula. See the article by T. Lewicki in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Ibādiyya.

for the day of 'Arafa and four days after it.<sup>2574</sup> (The Khārijites) proceeded to Minā and encamped in the vicinity. Following their departure, 'Abd al-Wāhid went to Medina and summoned the people to arms.<sup>2575</sup> He dispatched the army under the command of 'Abd al-'Azīz b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr b. 'Uthmān b. 'Affān. They met<sup>2576</sup> at Qudayd<sup>2577</sup> in Ṣafar of the year 130.<sup>2578</sup> 'Abd al-'Azīz was killed, along with the people of Medina who were with him. The Quraysh accused the Khuzā'a of having conspired with the Khārijites against them.

Ten days before the end of Ṣafar, the Khārijites arrived in Medina. 'Abd al-Wāhid b. Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik fled, and Abū Ḥamza took over the city and delivered a famous sermon to its people. The people of Medina would pray behind him and then repeat the prayer. The Khārijites then marched towards Syria and were met by Marwān's cavalry led by 'Abd al-Malik b. Muḥammad b. 'Atīyya al-Sa'dī, who attacked them at Wādī l-Qurā. The Khārijites, defeated, limped back to Medina. The people of Medina came out to attack them and inflicted a great slaughter on them, and then [Ibn] 'Atīyya caught up with them and routed them. He pursued them first to Mecca and then to Yemen, where 'Abdallāh b. Yaḥyā was killed. As they neared Şa'da,<sup>2579</sup> Ibn 'Atīyya killed so many of them that the people trampled on their bodies. Then he<sup>2580</sup> entered Ṣan'a', where he received a letter from Marwān appointing him to lead the pilgrimage. He set out to do so, but died along the way amid his army.

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Marwān intended to go directly to Iraq, but on receiving news that the people of Ḥimṣ had rebelled, he set out against them. He deployed a trebuchet against the city until he destroyed its outer wall. The people sought a guarantee of safe-conduct; he granted it to all except three men to whom he did not grant safe-conduct and whom he executed.

When Yazīd b. 'Umar b. Hubayra arrived in Iraq, Manṣūr b. Jumhūr<sup>2581</sup> fled to al-Sind, where Ibn 'Arrār, the governor of al-Sind, was his relative. He was at the

<sup>2574</sup> The words "after it" (*ba'dahu*) are missing from C and ed. Leiden.

<sup>2575</sup> Literally, "he summoned the people to the *dīwān*," that is, to register their names on the military payroll. According to al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 2:1983, he gave each man a pay raise of ten dirhams.

<sup>2576</sup> The word *fa-ltaqaw* (they met) is missing from C and ed. Leiden.

<sup>2577</sup> Qudayd is north of Mecca, slightly less than halfway to Medina.

<sup>2578</sup> Ṣafar 130 = October 11 – November 8, 747.

<sup>2579</sup> A town and district (*mikhlāf*) about 240 km/150 mile north of Ṣan'a' (see the article by G. R. Smith in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Şa'da).

<sup>2580</sup> Reading with M, *dakhala*; C and ed. Leiden, *dakhalū* (they entered).

<sup>2581</sup> Manṣūr b. Jumhūr, a leader of the Kalb, had been involved in the murder of al-Walid

river's edge when Ibn 'Arrār sent word to him: "Proceed no further." He replied: "I wanted only to reside with you, but now may God sever your ties of kinship and bar from your company all to whom you are related! You will hear from me soon enough." He had boats constructed in Sadūsān<sup>2582</sup> that he loaded onto camels and launched in the Indus.<sup>2583</sup> Then he engaged Ibn 'Arrār in battle, forcing him to retreat to al-Manṣūra,<sup>2584</sup> where he besieged him. Ibn 'Arrār appealed for a guarantee of safe-conduct. Ibn Jumhūr replied, "I will grant you safe-conduct only on condition that you submit to my judgment." So Ibn 'Arrār submitted to Ibn Jumhūr's judgment. Ibn Jumhūr ordered that a column be constructed over him while he was still alive.<sup>2585</sup>

Manṣūr (b. Jumhūr) took up residence in al-Manṣūra and sent his brother Manzūr to Qandābil and al-Daybul. Manṣūr remained resident in al-Sind until Abū Muslim appeared in Khurāsān. Abū Muslim dispatched a man from Sijistān named Mughallis to al-Sind. As soon as he drew near, the companions of Manzūr, the brother of Manṣūr b. Jumhūr, rose against Manzūr and killed him. They wrote to Mughallis and he came to them. Manṣūr b. Jumhūr engaged him, fought him, and defeated him. Mughallis was captured and brought to Manṣūr, who killed him along with most of his brother's murderers.

Al-Kirmānī's strength increased in Khurāsān, and fighting persisted between him and Naṣr b. Sayyār. Finally al-Kirmānī gained the upper hand over Naṣr b. Sayyār. Abū Muslim wielded the greatest influence over al-Kirmānī. A number of our elders (*ashyākhinā*) related to me that Abū | Muslim used to say, "When al-Kirmānī and Naṣr b. Sayyār meet in battle, O God, endow them each with tenacity but deprive them of victory." Al-Kirmānī<sup>2586</sup> then was stabbed and killed, and Naṣr had his body gibbeted. Abū Muslim gained sway over his

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and was rewarded by Yazid b. al-Walid with the governorship of Iraq. He now fled from Marwān's newly appointed governor. See al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 2:1778, 1800, 1809, 1836, 1895.

<sup>2582</sup> MSS *Sandūsān*, corrected by Houtsma on the basis of al-Balādhurī, *Futūh*, 438; modern Sehwan, on the west bank of the Indus, about 130 km north of modern Hyderabad.

<sup>2583</sup> Arabic *Mihrān*.

<sup>2584</sup> The residence of the governors of Sind; see above, ed. Leiden, 2:389.

<sup>2585</sup> Arabic *uṣṭuwāna*: a column of brick or stone. Ibn 'Arrār apparently was immured and left to die.

<sup>2586</sup> Both MSS read *Ibn al-Kirmānī* (al-Kirmānī's son). However, the detail of the gibbeting of the body makes it clear that al-Kirmānī is the subject (cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 2:1975). Al-Kirmānī's sons 'Alī and 'Uthmān were later done away with by Abū Muslim; see al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 2:1997–2001.

forces and, as his authority mounted, increased his following. He engaged Naṣr b. Sayyār in pitched battle and handed him a series of defeats. He then publicly proclaimed the rightful leadership of the Banū Hāshim.<sup>2587</sup> This took place in the month of Ramaḍān in the year 129.<sup>2588</sup>

When Sulaymān b. Ḥabīb b. al-Muhallab rebelled in al-Ahwāz, Yazīd b. ‘Umar b. Hubayra sent Nubāṭa b. Ḥanẓala al-Kilābī against him. The two forces fought bitterly. Sulaymān, defeated, fled to Fārs, and Yazīd b. ‘Umar therefore dispatched ‘Āmir b. Ǧubāra al-Murri to Fārs.

As Naṣr b. Sayyār's authority in Khurāsān weakened, Abū Muslim's increased. Naṣr therefore wrote to Marwān describing his situation, the weakness of those who remained with him, and the emergence and strength of Abū Muslim. He wrote at the close of his letter:<sup>2589</sup>

Amid the ash I see the glowing coals  
about to blaze into a roaring flame.  
With but two sticks a fire can be lit,  
and words are oft the prelude to the deed.  
Amazed I ask, and would that I might know:  
Umayya, are you wakeful or asleep?

Marwān therefore wrote to Yazīd b. ‘Umar b. Hubayra, his governor in Iraq, to supply Naṣr b. Sayyār with troops. When Yazīd failed to act, Marwān sent more letters with threats. Yazīd finally sent his son, Dāwūd b. Yazīd, with a large army that included ‘Āmir b. Ǧubāra al-Murri, al-Juwayriya b. Ismā‘il, and Nubāṭa b. Ḥanẓala al-Kilābī. As Dāwūd b. Yazīd b. ‘Umar was young, Marwān wrote to Ibn Hubayra, complaining of his appointing his son Dāwūd despite his youth and ordering him to dispatch to him someone who would untie his banner<sup>2590</sup> and place the army under ‘Āmir b. Ǧubāra. | Ibn Hubayra did so. The army set out with Nubāṭa b. Ḥanẓala al-Kilābī in command of the vanguard.

<sup>2587</sup> Arabic *ażhara da‘wata Banī Hāshim* (he made manifest the call of the Banū Hāshim).

<sup>2588</sup> Ramaḍān 129 = May 16 – June 14, 747.

<sup>2589</sup> The verses, by Naṣr himself, are cited with variants in many sources: e.g., al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh*, 2:1973; al-Mas‘ūdī, *Murij*, 4:79 (§ 2286) (two extra verses); al-Dinawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 356 (two extra verses).

<sup>2590</sup> Arabic (following C and ed. Leiden), *man yaḥullu liwā’ahu*, that is, relieve him of his command. M appears to read, *man yaqillu liwā’uhu* (someone whose banner would be respected). However, the dot under the *jīm* is suspicious.

Marwān searched for Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Abbās on receiving word that Abū Muslim's campaign (*da'wa*) was being conducted in his name as the one deemed most worthy of the caliphate. ‘Uthmān b. ‘Urwa b. Muḥammad b. ‘Ammār b. Yāsir reported: “I was with Abū Ja‘far ‘Abdallāh b. Muḥammad in al-Ḥumayma, and with him were his two sons, Ja‘far and Muḥammad, who were still boys. I was joking and playing with them, but he said to me: ‘What are you doing with these two boys? Don’t you see what we are facing?’ I looked and there were Marwān’s messengers searching for Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad. I said, ‘Let me go out.’ He said, ‘Will you leave my house?—you, a descendant of ‘Ammār b. Yāsir?’”<sup>2591</sup> ‘Uthmān b. ‘Urwa continued: “They barred the doors of the mosque, and Ibrāhīm was identified so that they could lay hold of him. But the description they had been given was actually that of Abū l-‘Abbās—Abū l-‘Abbās had been described as the one who would kill them.”<sup>2592</sup> When Ibrāhīm was brought before Marwān, Marwān said, ‘But he does not fit the description.’ The messenger replied, ‘By God, I saw someone who fit the description, but you said Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad, and this is Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad.’ So Marwān sent them back to seek out Abū l-‘Abbās, but they found that he had disappeared. Marwān ordered that Ibrāhīm’s face be covered with a blanket until he died.” Others have said that his head was thrust into a bag of lime<sup>2593</sup> until he died. About Ibrāhīm, Ibn Harma said:<sup>2594</sup>

I thought myself stout-hearted, but a tomb in Ḥarrān,  
 where religion's defense<sup>2595</sup> lies interred, has rendered me weak.  
 Within it lies the Imam, the calamity of whose end has encompassed us  
 all,  
 and has deprived everyone, wealthy man and beggar alike.

<sup>2591</sup> The point of the exchange is clearer in the parallel text of the report of ‘Uthmān b. ‘Urwa in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:25, where ‘Uthmān says, “Let me go out *to them*.” ‘Ammār b. Yāsir, an early convert to Islam, was a strong partisan of ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib and died at the battle of Ḳifṭan. Thus it would be unwise for a descendant of his to be seen coming out of the house of an ‘Abbāsid.

<sup>2592</sup> Cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:25: “When Marwān had ordered them to seize Ibrāhīm, he had described the appearance of Abū l-‘Abbās, as he found it in books that such a one would kill the Umayyads.”

<sup>2593</sup> Arabic *nūra*, used as a depilatory.

<sup>2594</sup> Parallel with two more verses in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:44.

<sup>2595</sup> Arabic *‘ismat al-dīn* (the protection, or defense of religion), that is, the Imam whose presence guarantees the survival of true religion.

Abū Muslim publicly proclaimed the rightful claims of the Banū Hāshim. When Naṣr b. Sayyār sought a truce from him and asked him for a reconciliation, Abū Muslim sent Lāhiz b. Qurayz<sup>2596</sup> to him with a group of his men. Lāhiz b. Qurayz was one of the *nuqabā'*.<sup>2597</sup> (Abū Muslim) had ordered (Naṣr)<sup>2598</sup> to come forward to swear the oath of allegiance. Lāhiz went to him and said, "Reply to the commander," but then he recited: *The Council are conspiring to slay thee. Depart; I am one of thy sincere advisers.*<sup>2599</sup> Naṣr replied: "I will go inside to put on my clothes and come back to you."<sup>2600</sup> But Naṣr went into a garden of his, mounted his horses,<sup>2601</sup> and, setting off, escaped. He died in a village called Sāwa. Abū Muslim took Lāhiz b. Qurayz and had him beheaded.

Abū Muslim arrived in Nīshāpūr in the month of Ramaḍān or Shawwāl and sent out his governors. He appointed Sibā' b. Mu'ammār<sup>2602</sup> al-Azdī over Samarqand, and Abū Dāwūd Khālid b. Ibrāhīm over Ṭukhāristān. He put Abū Naṣr Mālik b. al-Haytham al-Khuzā'ī in charge of his security forces (*shurāṭ*), sent Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath al-Khuzā'ī to al-Ṭabasayn and Fārs, and sent al-Ḥasan b. Qaḥṭaba to be in charge of his vanguard. Qaḥṭaba b. Shabīb then arrived bearing the commission<sup>2603</sup> of Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī and a plan of action that he was to follow. Abū Muslim ratified it for him and sent

<sup>2596</sup> Here and below the MSS write the name as *Lāhin b. Qurṭ*, but the Leiden editor restored the usual form of the name.

<sup>2597</sup> The term *naqīb* (pl. *nuqabā'*) originally meant "chief" or "leader." Its most striking use prior to the 'Abbāsid revolution was in the time of Muḥammad, when the Medinans negotiating with him over his possible emigration to their city were asked by Muḥammad to appoint twelve *nuqabā'* as representatives. In the 'Abbāsid revolution, Abū Muslim is said to have appointed twelve *nuqabā'* in Marw as a kind of inner circle. See the article by C. E. Bosworth in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Nakīb*.

<sup>2598</sup> Although the pronouns in al-Ya'qūbī are ambiguous, the parallel in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 2:1990, makes the meaning clear.

<sup>2599</sup> Qur'ān 28:20.

<sup>2600</sup> Reading with M: *adkhulu albasu thiyyābī*. In C (and ed. Leiden following it) the graphically similar *ilā bustānī* (into my garden) from the next sentence has replaced the phrase.

<sup>2601</sup> Sic. The plural may indicate that he was accompanied by one or more persons.

<sup>2602</sup> Possibly *Ma'mar*; in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 2:2001, the name is given as Sibā' b. al-Nu'mān al-Azdī.

<sup>2603</sup> Arabic 'ahd, literally "a promise, covenant," but regularly used for the writ or document appointing a governor to office. In this case, the reference might be to a commission appointing Qaḥṭaba supreme commander in the war against the Umayyads, and the context supports this interpretation. For other possibilities, see the article by M. Sharon in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Qaḥṭaba b. Shabib*.

him to fight the army of the Umayyads. Qaḥṭaba marched to Jurjān, where he met Nubātā b. Ḥanẓala, and war broke out. Qaḥṭaba killed Nubātā, defeated his army, and took possession of everything in his camp. He sent the spoils to Khālid b. Barmak,<sup>2604</sup> who divided them among his men.

Qaḥṭaba stayed on until the first day of Muḥarram of the year 131.<sup>2605</sup> Then he sent his son, al-Ḥasan b. Qaḥṭaba, to Qūmis at the head of his vanguard; then he caught up with him and sent him from al-Rayy to Hamadhān. He dispatched al-‘Akkī to Qumm and Isfahan. Qaḥṭaba himself marched until he arrived there—Āmir b. Ḍubāra al-Murri was there.<sup>2606</sup> He sent a message to al-Murri to call on him to swear the oath of allegiance to the Family of Muḥammad. Ibn Ḍubāra sent back a message, saying, “You louts!<sup>2607</sup> By God, I hope to bind you in ropes!” He was | accompanied by forty thousand Syrian troops. Qaḥṭaba fell on him and killed him and his companions who were with him. Only a few of them survived, and they fled to Ibn Hubayra, who at the time was in Jalūlā.  
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Qaḥṭaba proceeded to Nihāwand, where Adham b. Muḥriz al-Bāhilī<sup>2608</sup> was with a group of those who had rallied to him. Qaḥṭaba laid siege to it for three months until, having annihilated most of them, he overran it and then marched to Hulwān. Qaḥṭaba would say, “There is nothing that I have done that the Imam did not inform me of (beforehand), except that he told me that I would not cross the Euphrates.”<sup>2609</sup>

Qaḥṭaba sent Abū ‘Awn ‘Abd al-Malik b. Yazīd to Shahrazūr, where he engaged and defeated ‘Uthmān b. Ziyād and plundered his camp.

<sup>2604</sup> This is the only appearance in al-Ya‘qūbi’s history of Khālid b. Barmak, the father of Hārūn al-Rashid’s famous vizier, Yahyā b. Khālid. He appears here as an administrator for Qaḥṭaba, responsible for the division of spoils. The parallel sources mention that Qaḥṭaba appointed him to various military commands. See the article by Kevin van Bladel in *EI*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. Barmakids.

<sup>2605</sup> August 31, 748.

<sup>2606</sup> That is, in Isfahan. The battle of Jābalq, fought near Isfahan, was a decisive defeat for the Umayyads. Cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:4–6, where the battle is dated to 23 Rajab 131 (March 18, 749).

<sup>2607</sup> Arabic *yā ‘ulūj*. The exact meaning of the term ‘ulūj (pl. of *‘ilj*), apart from its being an insult, is hard to determine. Originally, it meant a sturdy or brawny man, but it quickly came to be applied to peasants. Dozy, *Supplément*, s.v. gives evidence that it was later applied to persons who had changed their religion. That meaning would fit here, with Ibn Ḍubāra calling attention to the presence of non-Arab converts to Islam in the ‘Abbāsid army. However, one cannot be sure.

<sup>2608</sup> In al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:6, his name appears as Mālik b. Adham b. Muḥriz.

<sup>2609</sup> That is, everything in the Imam’s predictions has come to pass, with only the last part of it, the prediction of Qaḥṭaba’s death, remaining to be fulfilled.

Ḩumayd b. Qaḥṭaba reported that his father once said to him: “I entered the mosque of Kufa, during the days of the Banū Umayya, wearing a thick fur garment, and joined a circle of people. An old man at the head of the group was addressing them. He mentioned the days<sup>2610</sup> of the Banū Umayya, and then he spoke of the color black<sup>2611</sup> and those who wore it. He said, ‘Certain things will take place, and then a man called Qaḥṭaba will emerge before me, someone who will look like this desert Arab’—he pointed at me—‘and if I wished to say it is he, I would.’” Qaḥṭaba continued, saying: “Fearing for my own safety I stepped aside. As he left, I spoke to him, and he said: ‘Had I wished to say you were he, I would have done so.’ I enquired about him and was told that he was Jābir b. Yazid al-Ju‘fi.”<sup>2612</sup>

Ibn Hubayra was in Wāṣiṭ in Iraq. He fortified himself there and brought in food and provisions,<sup>2613</sup> and groups of defeated fighters pulled back to the city. Upon reaching Iraq, Qaḥṭaba came upon an encampment that had belonged to Yazīd b. Hubayra and allowed it to be plundered. He proceeded to al-Zāb,<sup>2:412</sup> which is in the district of Upper Fallūja, some twenty-four farsakhs from | Kufa. He engaged Yazīd b. ‘Umar b. Hubayra on the eve of Thursday, the ninth<sup>2614</sup> of Muḥarram, in the year 132. They fought through part of the night until Ibn Hubayra, routed, retreated to Wāṣiṭ, where he fortified his position. As soon as Qaḥṭaba was done fighting him, he rose to speak. He praised God, gave Him thanks, and pronounced blessings upon the Prophet; then he said: “People, by God, we have come out only to establish the right and to remove the dynasty of falsehood.”<sup>2615</sup> I have already told you how the Imam Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Abbās told me that I would take on Nubāṭa b. Ḥanzala al-Kilābī and ‘Āmir b. Ḏubāra al-Murrī and defeat them, plunder their camps, and kill their soldiers. This I announced to you before it happened, and now you see the truth of what I told you. The Imam also told me that I would not cross the

<sup>2610</sup> Arabic *qyyām*, which frequently has the connotation of “battle-days.”

<sup>2611</sup> The color of the ‘Abbāsid.

<sup>2612</sup> A Kufan traditionist of Shī‘ī tendencies, said to have believed in the doctrine of *raj‘a*—that Muḥammad, ‘Alī, or one of the other Imams would return from the dead. See al-Ṭabarī, *Tarīkh*, 3:250r; Sezgin, GAS, 1:307.

<sup>2613</sup> Accepting the Leiden editor’s emendation, *anzāl* (provisions). Both MSS read *atrāk* (Turks), possibly referring to Turkish auxiliaries, although no other sources refer to such forces, which are unlikely at this period.

<sup>2614</sup> Reading with M *tis’*; C and ed. Leiden read *sab'* (seven). The words are easily confused in Arabic script. 9 Muḥarram 132 (August 28, 749) was in fact a Thursday.

<sup>2615</sup> Arabic *dawlat al-bāṭil*. On the meanings of *dawla*, see the article by F. Rosenthal in *EI*<sup>2</sup> s.v. Dawla.

Euphrates, but you would cross it, and that I would be the only casualty of the army. By God, there is no falsehood in what he said! And so, when you lose me, the commander of the people shall be Ḥumayd b. Qaḥṭaba and, if he is absent, then al-Ḥasan b. Qaḥṭaba. Peace be upon you<sup>2616</sup> and the mercy of God and His blessings."

At daybreak they crossed the Euphrates. It was the season of high water and flooding. As morning came, they could not find Qaḥṭaba and did not know what had happened to him. Some said he had drowned; some said that the riverbank had collapsed on him; some said that his horse had pulled him under. Abū Salama<sup>2617</sup> had written to him from Kufa: "I have prepared some lodgings for you." Qaḥṭaba had written back to him: "O Wazīr,<sup>2618</sup> if I meet you, the Banū Umayya will still have time remaining to them."

Ibn Hubayra was defeated after Qaḥṭaba's drowning. When Marwān received the news, he said: "By God, this is the end of good fortune! How else could one hear of a dead man defeating a living man?"

Ḥumayd b. Qaḥṭaba marched into Kufa four nights after the loss of Qaḥṭaba. Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh al-Qasrī had taken Kufa | on behalf of the Banū Hāshim and had made public their claim to leadership (*da'wa*). He had driven away those of the Banū Umayya and their supporters who were there, and he displayed black.<sup>2619</sup> Sufyān b. Mu‘āwiya b. Yazīd b. al-Muhallab took control of Basra and displayed black.

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Abū Salama Ḥafṣ b. Sulaymān al-Khallāl publicly proclaimed the cause of the Banū Hāshim and set about designating governors. He dispatched al-Ḥasan b. Qaḥṭaba against Ibn Hubayra, reinforced him with Mālik b. al-Haytham, and ordered them to lay siege against Ibn Hubayra. Al-Ḥasan besieged the western

<sup>2616</sup> Thus in M. In C and ed. Leiden: "Peace be upon him who follows right guidance."

<sup>2617</sup> The original reading of the MSS was Abū Muslim, which must be a copyist's error, as Abū Muslim could not have written from Kufa. In M (but apparently not in C) someone has written Salama above Muslim, referring to Abū Salama Ḥafṣ b. Sulaymān al-Khallāl, who had become the ‘Abbāsid emissary in Kufa. See the article by Elton L. Daniel in *EI*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. Abū Salama Ḥafṣ b. Sulaymān al-Khallāl. To make sense of the reading Abū Muslim, the Leiden editor assumed a lacuna after the words "wrote to him," yielding the reading: "Abū Muslim wrote to him [...] from Kufa." I.e., "and then (someone else) wrote to him from Kufa." The reading from M makes it unnecessary to assume a lacuna.

<sup>2618</sup> Here probably in its earlier sense of "helper" or "representative," that is, of the Imam. See Sharon, *Banners*, 199–200, and the article by M. Zaman et al. in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Wazīr.

<sup>2619</sup> Arabic: *wa-ażhara l-sawād* (he displayed black). Whether this refers to black turbans or garments or to the black banners of the ‘Abbāsids is not clear. In the next sentence, Sufyān b. Mu‘āwiya *sawwada* (blackened), that is, put on or displayed black.

sector of the city;<sup>2620</sup> Mālik the eastern sector. Abū Salama also sent Hishām b. Ibrāhīm, a client (*mawlā*) of the Banū Layth, against ‘Abd al-Wāhid b. ‘Umar b. Hubayra, who was his brother’s governor in al-Ahwāz. Hishām fought ‘Abd al-Wāhid and routed his army, and ‘Abd al-Wāhid b. ‘Umar b. Hubayra withdrew in defeat. He joined up with Salm b. Qutayba al-Bāhilī, who was Yazid b. ‘Umar’s governor of Basra.

Abū l-‘Abbās, his brothers, and his household came to Kufa in Muharram of the year 132.<sup>2621</sup> Abū Salama lodged them in the home of al-Walīd b. Sa‘d among the Banū Awd and kept their presence so secret that no one learned of them.<sup>2622</sup> They remained in that house for two months, until Abū Ḥumayd<sup>2623</sup> met one of their servant boys and asked after them. The boy told him of their badly weakened state. He went to them and found them in a cellar. He asked them, “Which one of you is ‘Abdallāh b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥārithiyya?” Abū l-‘Abbās was pointed out to him. He greeted him as one would a caliph and departed. Then, gathering his companions, he brought Abū l-‘Abbās out and the people gave him the oath of allegiance. When word reached Abū Salama, he set out immediately to catch up with them and said to him,<sup>2624</sup> “You have acted in haste, but I hope that all will turn out well.” Abū l-‘Abbās went to the mosque, where he delivered a sermon and prayed.

2:414 Abū l-‘Abbās dispatched his uncle, ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Alī b. ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Abbās, to fight Marwān. He engaged Marwān at the Zāb River near Mosul. Marwān had made for the Zāb because the Banū Umayya | had passed down oracular traditions<sup>2625</sup> that the authority of the “Black-bannered ones” would not reach beyond the Zāb. They imagined that this referred to the Zāb of Mosul, and so Marwān made his way there, thinking that ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Alī would not cross it; but it referred, in fact, to a Zāb in the farthest west.<sup>2626</sup> ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Alī engaged Marwān and defeated him. He kept pursuing the fleeing Marwān, turning aside for nothing, until he drove him first into the Jazīra, then from the Jazīra to Syria. Matters were such that, in every one of the military districts of Syria

<sup>2620</sup> That is, Basra.

<sup>2621</sup> Muharram 132 = August 20 – September 19, 749.

<sup>2622</sup> Cf. the parallel in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:27–28, where the mixed motives for Abū Salama’s behavior come out more clearly.

<sup>2623</sup> Full name: Abū Ḥumayd Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm.

<sup>2624</sup> The antecedent of the pronoun is unclear.

<sup>2625</sup> Arabic *malāhim*: oracular traditions about apocalyptic battles; see the note to ed. Leiden, 2:392, above.

<sup>2626</sup> In fact, there is a region of the Algerian Sahara around Biskra that bears this name (Zāb, pl. Zibān). See the article by M. Côte in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Zāb.

through which Marwān passed, they plundered his forces. Reaching Damascus, he counted on being able to prepare for a siege there. But the inhabitants of Damascus also plundered his forces, while those of the Qays who were in the city rose up against him. 'Abdallāh b. 'Alī entered the city by force,<sup>2627</sup> killing al-Walīd b. Mu'awiyah b. Marwān b. 'Abd al-Malik, Marwān's deputy in the city. Marwān, fleeing, made his way to Palestine, where 'Abdallāh<sup>2628</sup> b. 'Abd al-Malik joined him; but 'Abdallāh b. 'Alī captured him and, with him, 'Abdallāh b. Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik. He sent both men to Abū al-'Abbās, who had them crucified in al-Hīra.

Şālih b. 'Alī arrived to be governor of Egypt, where Marwān had fled.<sup>2629</sup> Şālih pursued him and forced him to take refuge in the village of Būṣir in the district of Ushmūn in Upper Egypt,<sup>2630</sup> where he continued to resist, with fighting between them. Then, however, Marwān sent a message to him, saying, "When you have triumphed in this affair, I entreat you to deal well with my women." Şālih replied, "Ignorant one, we have a rightful claim on you as regards your life, and you have a claim on us as regards your women."

'Abdallāh b. 'Alī set out to return to Damascus, while Şālih continued fighting against Marwān. Marwān then was killed in the fighting. The head of the force was 'Umar b. Ismā'il al-Hārithī. Marwān's reign up to the time of his death was five years. He was killed in Dhū l-Hijja in the year 132<sup>2631</sup> at the age of sixty-four—according to others, sixty-eight. His head was cut off, and when it was hollowed out<sup>2632</sup> a cat carried off his tongue. | The head was taken to Abū l-

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<sup>2627</sup> Arabic 'anwatan: without a formal agreement of surrender. This entailed consequences in Islamic law.

<sup>2628</sup> A second hand in M has written "Yazīd" between the lines and above "b. 'Abd al-Malik"; C and ed. Leiden lack this addition, implying that 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-Malik and 'Abdallāh b. Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik are different persons. This must be correct, as Marwān, who escaped to Egypt, was not one of the two men whom 'Abdallāh b. 'Alī captured and sent to al-Hīra to be crucified.

<sup>2629</sup> On the career of Şālih b. 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās, the brother of 'Abdallāh b. 'Alī, see the article by A. Grohmann and H. Kennedy in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Şālih b. 'Alī.

<sup>2630</sup> The original reading of M seems to have been simply Şabır (or Şubayr), to which has been added between the lines bi-Abī or (apparently) bi-Bū. The Leiden editor has emended to Būṣir, as in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 3:46. Ushmūn (modern al-Ashmūnayn) is a town west of the Nile about 8 km north of Mallawī in Upper Egypt. See the article by G. Wiet in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Būṣir or Abūṣir.

<sup>2631</sup> Dhū l-Hijja 132 = July 11 – August 8, 750. Al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 3:51 (al-Madā'inī) gives a date of three days before the end of Dhū l-Hijja.

<sup>2632</sup> Arabic *quwwira* (make a round hole in something, scoop out something); apparently this refers to the process of preparing the head to be taken back to Abū l-'Abbās.

'Abbās, and when it was placed before him, he said, "Which of you can identify this?" Sa'īd b. 'Amr b. Ja'da said, "This is the head of Marwān b. Muḥammad b. Marwān b. al-Hakam, our caliph only yesterday." People rebuked him for saying this, but Abū l-'Abbās said: "The old man said this only to demonstrate loyalty."

The persons with the greatest influence over Marwān were Abū Ḥadīda al-Sulamī, Ismā'il b. 'Abdallāh al-Qasrī, and Ishāq b. Muslim al-'Uqaylī. Al-Kawthar b. al-Aswad al-Ghanawī led his security forces (*shurat*). He was the one to whom Marwān said one day while in battle, "Dismount, damn you, and fight!"—but he refused to do it. Marwān said, "By God, I will run you through!"<sup>2633</sup>—to which al-Kawthar replied: "I only wish, by God, that you could!"<sup>2634</sup> Siqlāb, his client (*mawlā*), led his personal guard (*haras*), and his chamberlain (*hājib*) was Salīm, who was also his client.

He had four sons: 'Abd al-Malik, 'Abdallāh, 'Ubaydallāh, and Muḥammad. On the night of Marwān's death, Marwān's sons 'Abdallāh and 'Ubaydallāh set out for Upper Egypt and made their way to Nubia. A group of Marwān's supporters joined them, and they came to number over four thousand. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd b. Yahyā,<sup>2635</sup> Marwān's secretary, stayed behind in Egypt. He remained in hiding until he was betrayed to Ṣāliḥ b. 'Alī.

A group of Umayyad women—daughters, sisters, and cousins—had set out on foot with 'Abdallāh and 'Ubaydallāh. They were wandering, utterly lost, when a man from Syria came across a young girl abandoned and crying. She turned out to be a six-year-old daughter of Marwān. He took her with him and delivered her to 'Abdallāh b. Marwān.

<sup>2:416</sup> The group reached Nubia, where the ruler | of the Nubians made them welcome. They said: "We will settle in one of these fortresses in the land of Nubia. Perhaps we can use it as a stronghold and fight the enemies who are near us. We will summon them to submit to our authority, and perhaps God will return to us some of what has been taken from us." The ruler of the Nubians said to them: "These crows"—he meant the blacks—"are many in number and have little plunder. I fear for your safety, and people will say, 'You have killed them!'" They replied: "We will write a document for you, saying that when we reached

<sup>2633</sup> Reading with M, *la-asurrannaka*, literally, "I will stab you through the navel." Ed. Leiden (and the parallel in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 3:41) *la-asū'annaka*, "I will do you harm." The reading *la-asurrannaka* explains the pun in the next sentence, as the more common meaning of the verb is "make someone happy." Kawthar takes the word in this sense.

<sup>2634</sup> I.e., make me happy.

<sup>2635</sup> This is al-Ya'qūbī's only reference to the author who is often cited as the founder of the Arabic epistolary style. See the article by Wadād al-Qādī in *EI*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd b. Yahyā al-Kātib.

your land, you were generous in offering us refuge, excellent in extending to us protection, and insistant that we not leave your side, but we insisted on departing, deeply grateful to you."

So they departed and entered enemy territory. On more than one occasion they encountered the army from Abyssinia and fought with them. Then they made their way to Bajāwa, where the ruler of the Beja attacked them, and they departed, intending to go to Yemen. As they passed through the country, 'Abdallāh and 'Ubaydallāh came upon two roads with a mountain between them. Each man chose one of the roads, intending to meet up sometime later. They marched all that day, but when they tried to return, they were unable to do so, and so they traveled on for several days. Then 'Ubaydallāh encountered a troop of Abyssinians and fought them. One of their men ran him through with a short spear. 'Ubaydallāh was killed and his companions surrendered. The Abyssinians stripped them of all of their possessions and left them. They wandered naked and barefoot through the deserts. Finally, their thirst became so intense that a man would urinate in his hand and drink it, or he would urinate, mix it into a paste with sand, and eat it. They finally caught up with 'Abdallāh b. Marwān, who had suffered even greater deprivation and distress than they. He had a number of his women with him, naked and barefoot, with nothing to conceal them. Their feet were torn from walking and their lips were split from drinking urine. They finally arrived in al-Mandab, where they remained for a month. The inhabitants collected something for them, and they left for Mecca disguised as porters.

Those who led the pilgrimage during the days of Marwān were:

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- in the years 127 and 128: 'Abd al-'Azīz b. 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz;
- in the year 129: 'Abd al-Wāhid b. Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik, and joining him on the pilgrimage was Abū Ḥamza al-Mukhtār b. 'Awf al-Ibādī, the companion of al-A'war 'Abdallāh b. Yahyā al-Kindī, who referred to himself as *Tālib al-Haqqa*,<sup>2636</sup>
- in the year 130: Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān,<sup>2637</sup>

<sup>2636</sup> *Al-A'war* means "the one-eyed." For *Tālib al-Haqqa*, see the note to ed. Leiden, 2:406, above.

<sup>2637</sup> The Leiden editor suggested in the *Addenda et emendanda* of Volume 1 that the correct reading was probably 'Abd al-Malik b. Muḥammad; however, the reading Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān is supported by Al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 2:2017. Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta'rīkh*, 395, gives the name as Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Malik b. Muḥammad b. 'Aṭīyya al-Sādī (whom al-Ya'qūbī assigns to 131).

- in the year 131: Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Malik b. ‘Atīyya al-Sa‘dī. It was said that this was the last pilgrimage of the Banū Umayya.

No campaigns (against the Byzantines) were conducted during the days of Marwān.

The religious scholars (*fuqahā'*) during his days were:

- Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr [b. Muḥammad] b. ‘Amr b. Ḥazm,
- Abū l-Ḥuwayrith al-Murādī,<sup>2638</sup>
- ‘Amr b. Dīnār,
- Ṣāliḥ b. Kaysān,<sup>2639</sup>
- Abū l-Zinād ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Dhakwān,<sup>2640</sup>
- ‘Abdallāh b. Abī Najīḥ,
- Qays b. Sa‘d,<sup>2641</sup>
- Abū l-Zubayr Muḥammad b. Muslim,<sup>2642</sup>
- Ibrāhīm b. Maysara,<sup>2643</sup>
- ‘Abd al-Malik b. ‘Umayr al-Laythī,<sup>2644</sup>
- Salama b. Kuhayl,<sup>2645</sup>
- Jābir b. Yazīd al-Ju‘fi,
- Ghaylān b. Jāmi‘ al-Muḥāribī,<sup>2646</sup>
- Abū Bakr b. Nasr b. Ḥarb,<sup>2647</sup>

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<sup>2638</sup> Medinan, died c. 130/747–748, full name: Abū l-Ḥuwayrith ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mu‘āwiya b. al-Ḥuwayrith al-Zurqī; see al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:2503; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 6:272–273.

<sup>2639</sup> A Medinan traditionist (d. 141/758–759) who tutored the children of ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-Azīz; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 4:399–401.

<sup>2640</sup> His name is usually given as ‘Abdallāh b. Dhakwān; died between 130 and 132/747–750; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 5:203–205.

<sup>2641</sup> Abū ‘Abd al-Malik Qays b. Sa‘d, Meccan; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 8:397.

<sup>2642</sup> Muḥammad b. Muslim b. Tadrus al-Asadī, died c. 126/743–744; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 9:440–443.

<sup>2643</sup> Ibrāhīm b. Maysara al-Ṭā’ifi, Meccan traditionist, died c. 132/749–750; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 1:172.

<sup>2644</sup> Perhaps to be identified with the Kufan traditionist ‘Abd al-Malik b. ‘Umayr al-Lakhmī, d. c. 136/753–754; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 6:411–413.

<sup>2645</sup> Thus M, correctly; ed. Leiden, wrongly, Kumayl. Salama b. Kuhayl al-Ḥaḍramī was a Kufan, who according to al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:2499, died either on the last day of 121 or in 122 (i.e., after December 6, 739); Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 4:155–157.

<sup>2646</sup> Abū ‘Abdallāh Ghaylān b. Jāmi‘ b. Ash‘ath al-Muḥāribī was a Kufan judge who died in 132/749–750; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 8:252–253.

<sup>2647</sup> Unidentified.

- Yazīd b. ‘Abdallāh b. al-Shikhkhīr,
- Sālim al-Aftas,<sup>2648</sup>
- ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Hanafī.<sup>2649</sup>

### The Days of Abū l-‘Abbās al-Saffāh

‘Abdallāh b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Abbās—his *kunya* was Abū l-‘Abbās and his mother was Rayṭā bint ‘Ubaydallāh b. ‘Abdallāh | b. ‘Abd al-Madān b. al-Dayyān al-Ḥārithī—received the oath of allegiance on Friday the 13th day of Rabi‘ I or, it also has been said, on Wednesday, two nights remaining in Dhū l-Hijja in the year 132.<sup>2650</sup> In the months of the non-Arabs the former date corresponds to Tishrīn II (November).

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On that day the Sun was in Sagittarius, 10°; the Moon in Aquarius, 21° 40'; Jupiter in Scorpio, 22° 40'; Mars in Leo, 27°; Venus in Libra, 30°; Mercury in Scorpio, 11° 20'; and the Ascending Node in Libra, 45'. The oath of allegiance to him was given in Kufa at the residence of al-Walīd b. Sa‘d al-Azdī.

It has been said, however, that Abū Salama had concealed Abū l-‘Abbās and his family in Kufa and had plotted for the office (of caliph) to go to the descendants of ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. He sent a letter to Ja‘far b. Muḥammad<sup>2651</sup> with one of his messengers. Ja‘far replied, “I am not your master; your master is in the land of al-Sharāt.”<sup>2652</sup> Then he wrote to ‘Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan,<sup>2653</sup> inviting

<sup>2648</sup> Full name: Sālim b. ‘Ajlān al-Aftas al-Umawī, a mawlā of Muḥammad b. Marwān, said to have been captured at Kābul, d. 132/749–750; see Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhīb*, 3:441–442.

<sup>2649</sup> ‘Abd al-Karīm b. Salīṭ b. Atīyya al-Hanafī has been mentioned above, ed. Leiden, 2:392, as having been sent to Hishām by the governor of Iraq as “someone with a knowledge of Khurāsān.” Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhīb*, 6:373, mentions that he was originally from Marw, but resided later in Basra.

<sup>2650</sup> 13 Rabi‘ I 132 = October 30, 749; 27 Dhū l-Hijja 132 = August 6, 750; curiously, al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh*, 3:23, gives one possible date as 13 Rabi‘ II 132, which does correspond to November (November 26, 749).

<sup>2651</sup> That is, to Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq (Ja‘far b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib), the sixth Shi‘ī Imam; see the article by M. G. S. Hodgson in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Dja‘far al-Ṣādiq*.

<sup>2652</sup> That is, he is one of the ‘Abbāsids. Al-Sharāt is the name of the district between Damascus and Medina that contained al-Ḥumayma, where the family of ‘Alī b. ‘Abdallāh b. al-‘Abbās had settled; see Yāqūt, s.v.

<sup>2653</sup> That is, to ‘Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, the leader of the branch of the ‘Alid family descended from al-Ḥasan; see the article by Mohammad Ali Amir-Moezzi in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *‘Abdallah b. al-Ḥasan*.

him to the same. ‘Abdallāh replied, “I am an old man; my son Muḥammad<sup>2654</sup> is more suited for this matter,” and he wrote to his father’s clan<sup>2655</sup> saying, “Give the oath of allegiance to my son Muḥammad, for here is the letter of Abū Salama Ḥafṣ b. Sulaymān to me.” But Ja’far b. Muḥammad said: “Old man! Do not shed your son’s blood, for I fear that he may turn out to be the one killed at Ahjār al-Zayt.”<sup>2656</sup>

Abū Salama remained waiting for his messengers to return to him. Abū Ḥumayd, passing along, chanced upon Abū l-‘Abbās’s servant boy, who directed him to the latter’s location. Abū Ḥumayd went to him and greeted him as one would a caliph. Then he left and told his companions where Abū l-‘Abbās was. Six men went with him; they were Abū l-Jahm b. ‘Atīyya, | Mūsā b. Ka'b, Abū Ghānim ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd b. Ribātī, Salama b. Muḥammad, Abū Sharāḥīl, and ‘Abdallāh b. Bassām—Abū Ḥumayd was the seventh. They proceeded without Abū Salama’s knowledge. They greeted Abū l-‘Abbās as one would a caliph, and then Abū Ḥumayd clad him in black, brought him forth, and accompanied him to the Great Mosque. When Abū Salama received word of this, he hurried to reach them, and said, “I was only making arrangements for the affair to take place in proper order; otherwise, I would do nothing regarding it.”

We have already mentioned the administering of the oath of allegiance to Abū l-‘Abbās in the days of Marwān and have described what was accomplished by those who had been sent to fight Marwān. We continued our account up to when Marwān was killed, so there is no need to repeat it here.

There were twenty-two men of the Banū Hāshim who came to Kufa. Among them were Dāwūd, Sulaymān, Ḫisā, Ṣalīḥ, Ismā‘īl, ‘Abdallāh, and ‘Abd al-Ṣamad, the sons of ‘Alī b. ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Abbās; Mūsā b. Dāwūd; Ja’far and Muḥammad, the sons of Sulaymān; al-Faḍl and ‘Abdallāh, the sons of Ṣalīḥ; Abū l-‘Abbās and his son Muḥammad; Ja’far and Muḥammad, the sons of al-Manṣūr; Ḫisā b. Mūsā b. Muḥammad; ‘Abd al-Wahhāb and Muḥammad, the sons of Ibrāhīm; Yahyā b. Muḥammad; and al-‘Abbās b. Muḥammad.

When Abū al-‘Abbās was given the oath of allegiance, he ascended the pulpit on the day the oath was administered. He was shy and became tongue-tied. He stood silent for a long while, until Dāwūd b. ‘Alī ascended the pulpit and

<sup>2654</sup> This is al-Ya‘qūbī’s first reference to the ‘Alid known as al-Nafs al-Zakiyya (the Pure Soul) who later did rebel against the ‘Abbāsid sultans and was killed in 145/762. See Amikam Elad, *The Rebellion of Muhammad al-Nafs al-Zakiyya in 145/762*.

<sup>2655</sup> Arabic *jamā‘at banī abīhi*, literally, “the assemblage of the sons of his father.”

<sup>2656</sup> Muḥammad al-Nafs al-Zakiyya was indeed killed by ‘Abbāsid troops at Ahjār al-Zayt in 145/762, some years after the events described here.

stood on a stair below him. Dāwūd praised and extolled God and pronounced blessings on Muḥammad. He then said:<sup>2657</sup>

People! Now the darkness of civil strife has dissipated, that which covered the world has lifted, earth and sky are bathed in light. The sun has risen from its rising place, the arrow has returned to the archers,<sup>2658</sup> the bow to its maker,<sup>2659</sup> and right has returned to its source among the people of your Prophet's house, | people who extend to you compassion, mercy, and affection. To you is given the pledge of God, the pledge of His messenger, and the pledge of al-‘Abbās that we will act and wield authority over your notables and commoners according to the Book of God and the Sunna of His Messenger. By God, O people, no one has occupied this position since the death of the Messenger of God who is more worthy of it than ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib and he who stands behind me. Servants of God, accept thankfully that which has come to you, and praise God for the victory that He has bestowed on you! In exchange for Marwān, the All-Merciful's enemy and Satan's ally, God has given you a young man of deliberation, a youth of maturity,<sup>2660</sup> one who follows in the footsteps of his ancestors, the successor of his Imams and of his forefathers whom God guided. He has taken their guidance as his model, they who were lights in the darkness, signposts of guidance, gates of mercy, keys of goodness, springs of blessing, rulers of truth, and leaders of justice.

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Then he stepped down and Abū l-‘Abbās spoke. He thanked God and praised Him, invoked God's blessings upon Muḥammad, and vowed to act virtuously. Then he descended.

Abū l-‘Abbās appointed Dāwūd b. ‘Alī over Kufa. He was the first to be appointed by Abū l-‘Abbās. Abū l-‘Abbās sent his brother Abū Ja‘far<sup>2661</sup> to Khurāsān to accept the oath of allegiance from Abū Muslim. Abū Ja‘far made his way to Marw amid thirty horsemen. Abū Muslim showed him no regard, did not meet him, and treated him with disdain. So Abū Ja‘far departed, infuriated with him, and complained about him to Abū l-‘Abbās, telling him how he had

<sup>2657</sup> Parallel version in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:31–33.

<sup>2658</sup> That is, property has returned to its rightful owners.

<sup>2659</sup> That is, matters are in the right hands.

<sup>2660</sup> Following ed. Leiden, which restores the text, corrupt in the MSS, on the basis of al-Ṭabarī.

<sup>2661</sup> The future caliph al-Manṣūr: on this journey and Abū Muslim's behavior, cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:58–61.

been treated and making much of all this in his presence. Abū l-‘Abbās replied: “How shall we deal with him? You know what his standing was with the Imam and with Ibrāhīm, and he was the master of the revolution (*dawla*) and the one who brought it to fruition.”

Abū Muslim then came to Abū l-‘Abbās, who honored and praised him, making no mention of the matter concerning Abū Ja‘far. One day, Abū Muslim entered Abū l-‘Abbās’s presence while Abū Ja‘far was seated with the caliph. He  
2:421 greeted him | while standing and then left without greeting Abū Ja‘far. Abū l-‘Abbās said to him: “Your master! Your master! Why do you not greet him?”—he meant Abū Ja‘far. Abū Muslim replied, “I did see him, but in the caliph’s court one does one’s duty to him and to no other.”

When Şāliḥ killed Marwān b. Muḥammad, he sent his head to Abū l-‘Abbās. He laid hold of his treasures and wealth and took with him Abū ‘Uthmān and Yazīd, Marwān’s sons,<sup>2662</sup> and some of the women of Marwān’s family and his daughters. When the women arrived in Kufa, he released the women and imprisoned the men. ‘Abdallāh b. Marwān was arrested in Mecca, carried off like the others, and was imprisoned with the rest of his household.

Abū l-‘Abbās appointed Dāwūd b. ‘Alī over the Ḥijāz. The latter arrived while Marwān’s governor, al-Walīd b. ‘Urwa b. ‘Aṭiyya al-Sa‘dī, was still living in Mecca, unaware that the people had sworn allegiance to Abū l-‘Abbās. When he found out, he fled. Dāwūd arrived and delivered a well-known speech of his in which he reminded them of how God had favored them and the injustice of those who had been unjust to them. Then he said: “Upon all of you we had claims and demands, but we have put all that aside, and now all of you, red and black,<sup>2663</sup> young and old, are safe with God’s peace. We have waived our claims against you and pardoned acts of wrongdoing. By the Lord of this building, we will not turn against anyone!” He pointed toward the Ka‘ba with his hand. While he was speaking, Sudayf b. Maymūn<sup>2664</sup> stood up. He said: “May God make the governor prosper! Allow me to approach you, and grant me permission to speak.” He replied: “Come up then!” Sudayf ascended the pulpit until he was

<sup>2662</sup> Reading with M, *ibnay Marwān* (the two sons of Marwān), that is, Abū ‘Uthmān [otherwise unidentified] and Yazīd b. Marwān. Ed. Leiden has *ibn Marwān* (the son of Marwān).

<sup>2663</sup> A short way of saying everyone: “red” designating the relatively fair Persians and Greeks, “black” the relatively swarthy Arabs.

<sup>2664</sup> Sudayf b. Maymūn was a Ḥijāzī poet strongly favorable to the Banū Hāshim, particularly the ‘Alids, known for engaging in poetic contests with rival poets favorable to the Umayyads. His pro-‘Alid sentiments eventually led him to attack al-Manṣūr, who had him executed in 147/764. See F. Sezgin, *GAS*, 2:449–450.

only one step below Dāwūd; then he turned to face the people. Having praised God and invoked blessings on Muḥammad, he said:

Do those who are misled—may their acts come to nothing—dare to claim that anyone other than the family of the Messenger of God is better suited to assume his legacy? Why, good people, and in what manner? | Does companionship give you precedence over those with ties of kinship, those who share lineage and the inheritance of spoils? For it was they who included the ignorant among you in the distribution of spoils, they who provided food in times of hardship to those of you who were hungry, and they who assured protection in the face of fear to those of you who asked it. No one like al-‘Abbās b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib has ever been seen to whom the community agreed that honor was due. For he was the father of the Messenger after his father and the very skin between the Prophet’s eyes on the day of Khaybar, never challenging one of his orders or questioning his distribution of the spoils. By God, you of the Quraysh, never for a moment have you chosen for yourselves from whence God has chosen for you!

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Then he stepped down. Dāwūd then concluded his speech and stepped down.

When the pilgrimage season ended, Dāwūd proceeded against members of the Banū Umayya who were in Mecca. He killed a number of them; others he bound in chains and sent to al-Tā’if, where they were executed. He also imprisoned a group of these people, and they died in his prison. Then he went to Medina and did the same. He had been in Medina for only two months when he died.

Abū l-‘Abbās was informed of things concerning Abū Salama al-Khallāl of which he disapproved. He was told that Abū Salama had plotted against him, had delayed him, and had sought to transfer the revolution (*dawla*) to one of the Tālibids. Abū Muslim wrote to Abū l-‘Abbās from Khurāsān, saying, “Kill Abū Salama, for he is a treacherous enemy and full of malice.” But Abū l-‘Abbās wrote back to him: “*You send someone to kill him.*” Abū l-‘Abbās did not wish to make Abū Muslim uneasy by his murdering Abū Salama or enable Abū Muslim to use Abū Salama as a source of grievance against him. Abū Muslim sent Murād b. Anas al-Ḍabbī.<sup>2665</sup> He waited outside the residence of Abū l-‘Abbās where Abū Salama was spending the evening in his company. When Abū Salama came out, al-Ḍabbī assaulted him and cut off his head.

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<sup>2665</sup> Other sources (e.g., al-Tabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:59) give his name as Marrār b. Anas al-Ḍabbī.

2:423 Abū Salama had been known as the *wazīr* of the family of Muḥammad.<sup>2666</sup> Abū Muslim would address letters to him: “To the commander (*amīr*), Ḥafṣ b. Sulaymān, *wazīr* | of the family of Muḥammad, from Abū Muslim, trustee (*amīn*) of the family of Muḥammad.” When Abū Salama was killed, Sulaymān b. Muḥājir said:

Verily the *wazīr*, the *wazīr* of the family of Muḥammad, has died,  
and the one who hates you has turned out to be a *wazīr*.

Abū l-‘Abbās sent his brother Abū Ja‘far to Wāsit, where al-Ḥasan b. Qaḥṭaba was besieging Yazīd b. ‘Umar b. Hubayra, and ordered him to redouble efforts against Yazīd. The latter was kept under siege for eleven months. With him was a group of Marwān’s commanders and men, as well as those who had been with Āmir b. Ḍubāra and Nubātā b. Ḥanẓala, both of whom had been killed by Qaḥṭaba. Yazīd had prepared for a siege of two years, bringing in enough food and fodder for twenty thousand fighters. But the besiegers fought him determinedly, and he therefore requested a pledge of safe-conduct. He dispatched mediators and received a positive response: a letter of safe conduct was sent to him. It contained the conditions that he had sought and was sealed by Abū al-‘Abbās.

2:424 Ibn Hubayra came out and made his way to Abū Ja‘far. He swore the oath of allegiance and then returned to where he had been. He would ride out each day at the head of a thousand horsemen and a thousand foot soldiers. One of Abū Ja‘far’s men said to him: “May God make the commander prosper! When Ibn Hubayra arrives, the entire army is humbled before him.” So he said to Abū Khālid,<sup>2667</sup> his chamberlain, “Tell Ibn Hubayra to reduce the size of his retinue!” So Ibn Hubayra rode to him accompanied by five hundred foot soldiers. The chamberlain said to him, “It is as if you were coming to us ready for battle!” So Ibn Hubayra rode to them accompanied by thirty horsemen and thirty foot soldiers. Abū Ja‘far was given to saying: “I have never seen anyone nobler or haughtier than Ibn Hubayra. For when he entered to see me, he would say: ‘How are you, old fellow?’ or ‘How goes it?’ or ‘What news of your friend?’<sup>2668</sup> When I | addressed him, he would say, ‘What a man your father was!’ Then, realizing what he had said, he would say: ‘May God make the commander prosper! It has

<sup>2666</sup> See Agha, *Revolution*, 114; Sharon, *Black Banners*, 199.

<sup>2667</sup> Thus in M; in C and ed. Leiden there is a lacuna (the name is omitted and the word *ḥājib* “chamberlain” has only its first two letters written). Note that the name of Abū Ja‘far’s chamberlain is given below, ed. Leiden 2:433, 437, as Abū Ghassān.

<sup>2668</sup> Arabic. *ṣāḥib*. The reference is to Abū l-‘Abbās.

not been long since I was acquainted with governorship,<sup>2669</sup> and whenever a man would address me, I would speak to him in this manner.” One day, Abū Ja‘far said to him, “Talk to me.” Ibn Hubayra said: “Let me share sincere advice with you. The covenant with God ought not to be broken, or its knot undone. This authority of yours is fresh; so allow the people to taste its sweetness, and spare them its bitterness.”

Letters were found written by Ibn Hubayra to Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh b. Ḥasan, informing him that he would swear allegiance to him, that at his disposal were money, equipment, and arms, and that he had twenty thousand fighters. The letters were sent on to Abū l-‘Abbās. Abū l-‘Abbās said: “He has violated his oath and been guilty of actions that make licit the shedding of his blood.” He therefore wrote to Abū Ja‘far, saying: “Strike off his head, for he has betrayed, reneged, and broken his promises.” Abū l-‘Abbās sent many letters to this effect. Abū Muslim too wrote from Khurāsān, urging that Ibn Hubayra be killed and insisting that matters would remain unsettled as long as he lived and that he was among those who were better off dead. Abū Ja‘far said to al-Ḥasan b. Qaḥṭaba al-Ṭā’ī, “The Commander of the Faithful has ordered the killing of this man; so see to it!” Al-Ḥasan replied: “If I kill him, there will be feuding and enmity between my people and his, and those in your army who belong to each side will cause you trouble. Rather, send him a man from Muḍar to kill him.” So he sent Khāzim b. Khuzayma al-Tamīmī. He came to Ibn Hubayra with a group of men and found him sitting in the courtyard of the palace in Wāsiṭ. When Ibn Hubayra saw them, he said, “I swear by God that there is treachery in the faces of these people!” When they approached him, his son Dāwūd rose to face them, but one of them struck him with his sword, knocking him to the ground. They turned on Yazīd (Ibn Hubayra) with their swords and killed him; then they pursued his commanders and men and slaughtered every one of them.

Sharīk b. Shaykh al-Mahrī rebelled in Bukhārā. He said: “Not for this did we swear allegiance to the family of Muḥammad, to shed blood and act unjustly.” Against him Abū Muslim sent Ziyād b. Ṣalīḥ al-Khuza’ī, who fought him and killed him.

Abū Muḥammad al-Sufyānī—he was Yazīd b. ‘Abdallāh b. Yazīd b. Mu‘āwiya b. Abī Sufyān—rebelled in [...].<sup>2670</sup> Muḥammad b. Maslama b. ‘Abd al-Malik

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<sup>2669</sup> As corrected by the Leiden editor *bi-imāra*; M (and apparently C) appear to read *bi-‘umarā’ihī*, with his (Marwān’s?) governors.

<sup>2670</sup> The MSS reading is uncertain. M has been read as *bi-l-madīna* (in Medina), but there seems to be an extra letter before the *bā’ alif lām* of this reading, making it problematic. C is similar. Houtsma conjectured reading its undotted letters as *bimā ladayhi* (with what was with him). In any case, the locus of Abū Muḥammad al-Sufyānī’s activ-

rebelled in Harrān, besieging Mūsā b. Ka'b, who was Abū Ja'far's governor there—Abū Ja'far himself being governor of the Jazīra at the time. He bombarded Harrān with a trebuchet and burnt down its gates. This took place in the year 133.<sup>2671</sup>

When Muḥammad b. Maslama received word that Abū Muḥammad al-Sufyānī and Abū l-Ward b. al-Kawthar b. Zufar had been killed, he left Harrān, and his forces dispersed. Mūsā b. Ka'b pursued him, killing a number of his supporters and destroying<sup>2672</sup> several towns in the Jazīra.

Ishāq b. Muslim al-‘Uqaylī remained in Sumaysāt<sup>2673</sup> for seven months while Abū Ja'far besieged him there—some say that it was not Abū Ja'far who besieged him, but ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Alī. Ishāq would say, “I am bound by an oath of allegiance and will not break it until I know that the person to whom it was sworn has died or has been killed.” Abū Ja'far sent word to him that Marwān had been killed. He replied, “Let me find out for sure.” When he became convinced that Marwān had indeed been killed, he requested a guarantee of safe conduct, which was given to him. He allied himself with Abū Ja'far, assuming a position of great influence.

‘Abdallāh b. ‘Alī made his way to Palestine for the reason that we have noted in what we said of him in our account of Marwān's reign. When he arrived at the river of Abū Fuṭrus,<sup>2674</sup> between Palestine and Jordan, he assembled the Banū Umayya to himself and ordered them to | come to him the following morning to accept gifts and payments. The next morning, he sat in open session and gave

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ity was Syria. Two separate accounts in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:52–55, place him in Syria, Qinnasrīn in particular, mentioning also Bālis, Tadmur, and Ḥimṣ, and associating him with the revolt of Abū l-Ward, as al-Yaqūbī will shortly do. He is reported to have fled afterward to the Ḥijāz and to have been killed there by Ziyād b. ‘Ubaydallāh al-Ḥārithī, the governor of Medina. If ‘in Medina’ is in fact the reading of M and C, one must assume a lacuna before it. The original text may have read something like: “Also rebelled Abū Muḥammad al-Sufyānī—he was Yazīd b. ‘Abdallāh b. Yazīd b. Mu’āwiya b. Abī Sufyān. [...] and he fled to the Ḥijāz and was killed by Ziyād b. ‘Ubaydallāh, the governor] in Medina.” On the revolt of Abū l-Ward and Abū Muḥammad al-Sufyānī in Syria, see Paul M. Cobb, *White Banners*, 46–48.

<sup>2671</sup> 133 A.H. = August 9, 750 – July 29, 751.

<sup>2672</sup> Reading with M, *wa-hadama*; ed. Leiden (following C) *wa-ta’ammada* (he betook himself to).

<sup>2673</sup> Reading the name as corrected by the Leiden editor; the MSS have the otherwise unknown “Mushmushyāt.” Cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:56–58.

<sup>2674</sup> Abū Fuṭrus is the ancient Antipatris on the ‘Awjā’ River near Ramla. Cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:51.

them permission to enter. Eighty men from the Banū Umayya did so. Beside each of them he placed two men armed with clubs. He then fell silent for a while, and then al-‘Abdī<sup>2675</sup> stood up and recited his ode in which he says:

Hāshim are they who summon to gardens of Paradise;  
Banū Umayya belong to the dogs of Hell.

Al-Nu‘mān b. Yazīd b. ‘Abd al-Malik, who was sitting next to ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Alī, said to him, “You lie, you son of an uncircumcised woman!” ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Alī replied, “Nay, you have told the truth, Abū Muḥammad.”<sup>2676</sup> Finish your poem!” Then ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Alī turned to them, reminded them of the killing of al-Ḥusayn and his family, and then clapped his hands. His men struck at their heads with the clubs, until they had finished them off. A man called to him from the far end of the crowd:

‘Abd Shams is your father and also ours;  
we do not appeal to you from a distant place.  
The affinities between us are closely tied,  
fastened tight by a bond that is strong.

“By no means!” he replied. “The killing of al-Ḥusayn has severed it!” He then ordered them to drag the bodies together and spread carpets over them. Sitting on them, he called for food and began to eat. He said, “A day like the day of al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī—neither of them has its equal!” A man from Kalb had come in with them, but when he saw what had happened to them, he said: “I am not of these people; I am a man from Kalb.” ‘Abdallāh asked, “What brought you in with them?”<sup>2677</sup> He replied, “I had hoped they were going to be well treated and that I would be as well.” ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Alī replied:

He who sticks his head between two parties, when no one  
has invited him, will find himself tossed by the rope.

—“Behead him!”

<sup>2675</sup> Otherwise unidentified.

<sup>2676</sup> That is, al-‘Abdī. Parallels in Ibn Qutayba, *Uyūn*, and Ibn ‘Abd Rabbīhi, *Iqd*.

<sup>2677</sup> M makes it possible to fill the lacuna in C and ed. Leiden. Read: *rajul min kalb wa-lammā raṭā mā ḥalla bihim qāla wa-mā ana min al-qawm ana rajul min kalb qāl fa-mā adkhalaka ma’dhūm ...*

‘Abdallāh b. ‘Alī reached Damascus during the month of Ramadān of the year 132<sup>2678</sup> and laid siege to it. Seeking relief, the people sent Yaḥyā b. Bahr to him | to ask for a guarantee of safe-conduct. He went to ‘Abdallāh and requested the guarantee, which ‘Abdallāh granted him. Yaḥyā entered the city; he announced the guarantee of safe-conduct to the people, and a number of people went out. Yaḥyā b. Bahr then said to ‘Abdallāh, “Commander, put the guarantee of security in writing for us.” So ‘Abdallāh ordered an inkwell and paper. Then he turned his gaze toward the city, whose wall was swarming with black-clad troops. So he said to Yaḥyā, “I have entered it by force.” Yaḥyā replied, “No, by God; but by treachery!”<sup>2679</sup> ‘Abdallāh said to him, “If I did not know of your affection for us, the family of the Prophet, I would have you beheaded for receiving me in this way.” Then, regretting his conduct, he said, “Boy, take this banner,<sup>2680</sup> affix it to his house, and announce that anyone who enters the house of Yaḥyā b. Bahr shall be safe.” People therefore crowded into the house, and no one was killed either there or in the neighboring houses. After many people had been killed, the crier proclaimed: “Safe-conduct is guaranteed to all but five: al-Walīd b. Mu‘āwiya, Yazīd b. Mu‘āwiya, Abān b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz, Ṣalīḥ b. Muḥammad, and Muḥammad b. Zakariyyā.”

‘Abdallāh b. ‘Alī went to the Great Mosque and gave a famous speech in which he spoke of the Banū Umayya, their oppression and hostility, and how they had treated God’s religion as a mockery and plaything. He described the prohibited things that they had allowed, their wrongdoings, and their misdeeds. He spoke of how they had conducted themselves in the community of Muḥammad, suspending ordinances, dispensing with the prescribed punishments, monopolizing state revenue, and committing shameful acts. He spoke of how God had visited His vengeance on them and had set the sword of justice against them. Then he stepped down.

Some say that Abū l-‘Abbās wrote to him saying, “Exact retribution from the Banū Umayya!”—and so he did to them what he did. He gave orders to dig up the tombs of the Banū Umayya, and he had the bodies removed and burned; he spared none of them. When he reached al-Ruṣāfa, he had Hishām b. ‘Abd al-Malik exhumed. He found him in a cave atop his throne—he had been painted with a liquid to preserve him. He had the body brought out, and he struck its face with a club. He had the body suspended between two stakes | and flogged one hundred and twenty times, until the body parts were strewn about. He then

<sup>2678</sup> Ramaḍān 132 = April 13 – May 12, 750.

<sup>2679</sup> This suggests disagreement over the terms of surrender and, hence, the city’s status.

<sup>2680</sup> As corrected by ed. Leiden. Both MSS write *al-ghulām* (the boy, servant), instead of *al-‘alam* (the banner).

had it collected and burned. ‘Abdallāh said at the time: “My father”—he meant ‘Alī b. ‘Abdallāh—“was praying one day, wearing a waistcloth and a cloak. The cloak fell off and I saw the marks of whip-strokes on his back. When he finished his prayers, I said to him, ‘Father, may God make me your ransom, what is that?’ He replied, ‘The cross-eyed one’—meaning Hishām—‘wrongfully seized me and had me whipped sixty times.’ I swore to God that if I ever got hold of him, I would whip him twice for each of those strokes.”

Ḩabīb b. Murra al-Murrī rebelled in al-Ḩawrān; he clothed himself in white and installed one of the Banū Umayya.<sup>2681</sup> ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Alī marched against him, killed him, and dispersed his following.

Marwān’s governor over Ifrīqiya was ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Ḥabīb al-Uqbī, who had arrived there in 127 and was still there when Marwān was killed. When the people of Ifrīqiya discovered that Marwān had been killed, a group of people of the land rose up against him, including ‘Uqba b. al-Walīd al-Ṣadafī from the region of [...].<sup>2682</sup>

Following the killing of Marwān, the Banū Umayya scattered. A group of them reached<sup>2683</sup> Ifrīqiya and made their way to ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Ḥabīb. ‘Abd al-Rahmān kept fighting against the partisans of Abū l-‘Abbās; however, his brother, Ilyās b. Ḥabīb, rose against him, declaring himself in support of the Banū l-‘Abbās, and the people gave him the oath of allegiance. He seized those of the Banū Umayya who had come to Ifrīqiya, imprisoned them, and sent word of them to Abū l-‘Abbās.

The people of Mosul rose against their governor, plundered his property, and expelled him. Abū l-‘Abbās appointed his brother, Yahyā b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī, over Mosul, assigning him four | thousand men from Khurāsān. He arrived in Mosul in the year 133<sup>2684</sup> and killed a great number of its people. Some have said that he assaulted the people on a Friday, killing eighteen thousand persons of pure Arab stock. He then killed their slaves and their clients until he had annihilated them. So much blood flowed that the waters of the Tigris changed color. The people of Mosul have not been known to rebel to this day.

Abū l-‘Abbās appointed Muḥammad b. Ṣūl over Armenia, and he marched there with a large force. At that time, Musāfir b. Kathīr controlled the region as the deputy of Ishāq b. Muslim al-‘Uqaylī, Marwān’s governor. Muḥammad

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<sup>2681</sup> For details of this revolt, see Cobb, *White Banners*, 76–78.

<sup>2682</sup> Apparent lacuna in both MSS.

<sup>2683</sup> Reading with M, *fa-laḥīqa*; the copyist of C transposed the letters *l* and *ḥ* (undotted), leading the Leiden editor to read *fa-khalafa* (and a group of them survived).

<sup>2684</sup> 133 A.H. = August 9, 750 – July 29, 751.

b. Şūl fought and killed him and took control of Armenia. The people of al-Baylaqān went up<sup>2685</sup> into the fortress of al-Kilāb, surrendering the city, whose chief at that time was Ward b. Şafwān al-Sāmī of the clan of Sāma b. Lu'ayy. They gathered around themselves a mob of vagabonds (*sa'ālik*)<sup>2686</sup> and others in the fortress of al-Kilāb. Muḥammad b. Şūl sent Şālih b. Şubayḥ al-Kindī against them. He besieged them and killed a great many of them.

Abū l-‘Abbās sent Mūsā b. Ka'b al-Tamīmī to al-Sind, where Manṣūr b. Jum-hūr was in control. Mūsā set out with twenty thousand fighters and reached Qandābil, where he remained for a time. Mūsā then wrote to those who were supporting Manṣūr, as did their tribes.<sup>2687</sup> Mūsā marched until he engaged Manṣūr, who fled from him. He passed through a stretch of desert where Manṣūr overtook him and killed him.

2:430 Abū l-‘Abbās moved from al-Ḥīra and settled at al-Anbār. There, in the year 134,<sup>2688</sup> he established a city that he named al-Hāshimiyya. He purchased from the people many plots of lands on which he built, | distributing them as grants to the members of his family and his commanders. But the former owners of these lands and dwellings petitioned him, saying they had not been paid their proper value. He therefore said, “This is building that has been founded on what is not godfearing!” He commanded that his tents should be pitched on the city’s outskirts and flatlands until the people received full payment for their lands; then he returned to his palace.

Abū l-‘Abbās appointed his brother, Abū Ja‘far, over the Jazīra, Mosul, the regions along the frontier,<sup>2689</sup> Armenia, and Azerbaijan. Abū Ja‘far set out and made his way to al-Raqqa. He laid out al-Rāfiqa<sup>2690</sup> on the banks of the Euphrates. It was designed for him by Adham b. Muhriz. He appointed al-Ḥasan b. Qaḥṭaba al-Tāī over the Jazīra and Yazīd b. Usayd<sup>2691</sup> al-Sulamī over

<sup>2685</sup> Reading with M: *fa-ṣa'ida*; C and ed. Leiden, *fa-ṣadda* (he turned [the people]).

<sup>2686</sup> Arabic *sa'ālik* (plural of *ṣu'lūk*) apparently refers to gangs of brigands ready to hire themselves out as mercenaries. See the article by A. Arazi in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Ṣu'lūk*.

<sup>2687</sup> Following M, *wa-kātabathum qabā'iluhum*. C and ed. Leiden read, *wa-kātabahum qabā'iluhum*, which would mean the same thing. The Leiden editor conjectured the existence of a lacuna before the phrase and suggested emending to *wa-kātaba qabā'ilahum* (and he wrote to their tribes).

<sup>2688</sup> 134 A.H. = July 30, 751 – July 17, 752.

<sup>2689</sup> Arabic. *al-thughūr*: the regions along the Byzantine frontier.

<sup>2690</sup> On al-Rāfiqa (the name means “the Companion,” i.e., of al-Raqqa), located immediately to the west of al-Raqqa, see the article by M. Meinecke in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *al-Rakka*.

<sup>2691</sup> This is the most common vocalization of the name, but it possibly is to be read “Asīd.”

Armenia. Then, dismissing the latter, he appointed al-Ḥasan b. Qaḥṭaba al-Tā’ī over Armenia, where he remained throughout the days of Abū l-‘Abbās.

Sulaymān b. Hishām b. ‘Abd al-Malik, having requested a guarantee of safe-conduct from Abū l-‘Abbās, arrived to see him, accompanied by two of his sons. Abū l-‘Abbās welcomed him warmly and graciously and had him seated with his two sons on cushions and chairs. [Abū] al-‘Abbās used to hold evening sessions to which his courtiers and kinsmen were allowed entry. Abū l-Jahm entered to see him on a particular night in which he had allowed kinsmen and courtiers to be present. He said to him: “A desert Arab has come riding swiftly on his camel and has tied and hobbled it at the gate. He came to me and said, ‘Seek permission for me to see the Commander of the Faithful.’ I replied, ‘Go take off your traveling clothes and come back to me and I will ask his permission.’ But he replied, ‘I have sworn not to remove any garment or lift my face covering until I see his face.’” Abū l-‘Abbās asked, “Did he tell you who he was?” Abū l-Jahm replied, “Yes, he claimed to be Sudayf, your client.” Abū l-‘Abbās said: “Sudayf? Allow him in.” A desert Arab entered, looking like a crooked staff. He stood and greeted Abū l-‘Abbās as Commander of the Faithful; then he came forward, kissed his hands and feet, and moved back. Facing the caliph, he launched into the following:<sup>2692</sup>

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Sovereignty now is set on a firm foundation  
 with the illustrious lords of the Banū l-‘Abbās.  
 O Commander of those who have been cleansed of every filth,  
 O Head to whom every head makes its way!  
 You are the rightly-guided one of Hāshim and their summit;<sup>2693</sup>  
 how many men, one after another, have hoped for you!  
 Do not forgive ‘Abd Shams their lapses;  
 cut down every one, mature or newly sprouted.  
 Annihilate them, O Caliph, with the blade;  
 eradicate from you all traces of their stain.  
 Send them down to where God has sent them:  
 to the abode of humiliation and misery.  
 I am vexed, as are my kind, to see them  
 seated on pillows and on chairs.

<sup>2692</sup> The poem by Sudayf b. Maymūn (on whom see the article by Taieb El Acheche in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v.) is well known. *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, 4:93, gives a twelve-line version. Moscati, “Massacre des Umayyades,” 106–107 (Arabic) and 111–112 (translation), provides a version of the poem preserved in al-Balādhurī and others.

<sup>2693</sup> Reading with M, *wa-sawāhā kam*. For this meaning of *sawā*, see Lane, s.v.

Only their fear has made them ingratiate themselves;  
 so to them from you be it as the cutting of razors.  
 Remember the death of al-Ḥusayn and Zayd,  
 and him who at al-Mihrās was laid low;<sup>2694</sup>  
 And the slain one<sup>2695</sup> who in al-Ḥarrān was consigned to a grave,  
 in a strange land and in oblivion.  
 What a fine dog for the fight your client<sup>2696</sup> would be!  
 Why not release him from the snares of destitution?<sup>2697</sup>

Sulaymān b. Hishām stood up and said, “Commander of the Faithful, this client of yours has been inciting you to kill me and my two sons from the moment of his appearance before you, and, by God, you make every sign of wishing to do away with us treacherously.” Abū l-‘Abbās replied: “If I had wanted to, nothing on your part would have prevented me, nor should I have had to resort to deception. But inasmuch as this has come into your mind, there is nothing good in you. Abū Jahm, take him and his sons, execute them, and bring me their heads!” He went out, executed them, and returned to him with their heads.

‘Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan came to Abū al-‘Abbās with his brother al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan. Abū l-‘Abbās welcomed him graciously, showing him generosity and affection, and gave him many gifts. He then learned of a matter concerning Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh that offended him. | He mentioned it to ‘Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan, who said, “By God, Commander of the Faithful, there is nothing about Muḥammad that should trouble you.” Al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan, ‘Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan’s brother, then said to him, “Commander of the Faithful, shall we speak with the tongue of loyalty and kinship, or out of awe of power and reverence for the office of caliph?” He replied, “Why, as a kinsman, of course!” Al-Ḥasan said, “Do you think, Commander of the Faithful, that if

2:432 2694 See Moscati, “Massacre,” 112, note 79. The words “him who at al-Mihrās was laid low” refer to Ḥamza b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib, the Prophet’s paternal uncle killed at the Battle of Uhud. See the article in *EI*<sup>2</sup> by G. M. Meredith-Owens, s.v. Ḥamza b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib.

2695 The other version of the line has *al-imām* (rather than *al-qatīl*). Moscati sees it as a reference to Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad, Abū l-‘Abbās’s murdered brother.

2696 Arabic *mawlā*, an apparent self-reference on the poet’s part.

2697 The second half of the line is obscure and there are several versions, none completely clear. Both MSS of al-Ya‘qūbī reads *lawlā h-l-h*, with the second word ambiguous as to vocalization. If one reads *lawlā halluhū* (“but for his being released from the snares of destitution,” or, “why not release him ...”), the line refers to the poet’s poverty and is a thinly disguised plea for a gift as recompense for the encomium.

God had decreed that Muḥammad should take charge of this dominion and you sought to confront<sup>2698</sup> him, even with the occupants of heaven and earth at your side, that you would have overcome him?" "No," replied Abū l-‘Abbās. Al-Ḥasan continued, "And what if He had not granted this to Muḥammad, and Muḥammad had set forth with the occupants of heaven and earth at his side, would Muḥammad have been able to harm you?" "No, by God," he replied, "it is all just as you have said." Al-Ḥasan then said, "Then why deprive this old man of your grace and goodness?" Abū l-‘Abbās replied, "You will not hear me mention him again after today."

Word reached Abū l-‘Abbās that Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh had stirred up unrest in Medina. He wrote to ‘Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan about it, including the following verse in his letter:

I wish to incline toward him,<sup>2699</sup> but he wishes to kill me!  
Bring some excuse for your friend, for what he wishes to do!

‘Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan wrote back:

How could he intend this when for him  
you are as the aorta to the heart?  
How could he intend this when for him  
it is your spark and no other that sets him ablaze?  
How could he intend this when for him  
you are a leader and guide for the Banū Hāshim?

The affair of Muḥammad (b. ‘Abdallāh) went unmentioned during the caliphate of Abū l-‘Abbās; nothing involving him became apparent. Whenever any news of him reached Abū l-‘Abbās, he would mention it to ‘Abdallāh, who would say, "Commander of the Faithful, we will defend it<sup>2700</sup> against the smallest particle of dust that would irritate your eye." Abū l-‘Abbās would reply, "I trust you and I rely on God."

<sup>2698</sup> Reading with ed. Leiden, *ajlabta*. The word is undotted here and in next line in both mss; the reading and translation are uncertain.

<sup>2699</sup> Or, "to give him gifts"—accepting the emendation of ed. Leiden: *hibā’ahū*. M reads *hayyāhū*, which is both unmetrical and yields no sense. The copyist of C apparently corrected to *hayātahū* (his life), which is metrical and makes sense, but is probably a copyist's substitution of a more common word (*a lectio facilior*) for a less common one.

<sup>2700</sup> That is, the caliphate.

2:433 Abū l-‘Abbās was generous, forbearing, magnanimous, and devoted to the members of his family. Muhammad b. ‘Alī b. Sulaymān al-Nawfālī told me, on the authority of his grandfather, Sulaymān, who said: “A group of us from the Banū Hāshim called on Abū l-‘Abbās. He had us approach and even had us sit beside him, saying, ‘O Banū Hāshim, praise God that He placed me among you and did not make me a miser or an envier.’”

Abū Muslim sought permission to present himself and was granted it. He arrived from Khurāsān in the year 136.<sup>2701</sup> When it came time for the pilgrimage, he asked permission to participate and was granted it. Abū Ja‘far al-Manṣūr made the pilgrimage with him. When they departed, Abū l-‘Abbās’s illness grew more severe. He was told, “Make the succession go to Abū Ja‘far.” [He died]<sup>2702</sup> of his illness following Abū Ja‘far’s departure on the pilgrimage.

The person with the greatest influence over Abū l-‘Abbās was Abū l-Jahm b. ‘Atīyya al-Bāhilī. His companions at his evening gatherings included Abū Bakr al-Hudhalī, Khālid b. Ṣafwān, ‘Abdallāh b. Shubruma, and Jabala b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Kindī. ‘Abd al-Jabbār b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Azdī<sup>2703</sup> was in charge of his security forces (*shurṭa*), and Abū Bakr<sup>2704</sup> b. Asad b. ‘Abdallāh al-Khuza‘ī was in charge of his personal guard (*haras*). His chamberlain (*hājib*) was [Abū] Ghassān, his client. His judges were ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Laylā and Ibn Shubruma.

When his illness worsened, two envoys<sup>2705</sup> came to see him, one from al-Sind, the other from Ifrīqiya. When he learned of their arrival, he said, “I shall die in three days.” According to Īsā b. ‘Alī: “I said to him, ‘Not so! God will prolong your life.’” He replied: “My brother Ibrāhīm told me on the authority of his father and mine, who received it from Abū Hāshim ‘Abdallāh b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Abī Tālib, who received it from his father, from his grandfather, that two

2701 136 A.H. = July 7, 753 – June 26, 754.

2702 Filling the apparent lacuna in both MSS as suggested by Landberg. If one assumes no lacuna, the text as written may mean: “He was told ... during his illness following his (namely, Abū Ja‘far’s) departure on the pilgrimage.”

2703 On the career of ‘Abd al-Jabbār b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Azdī, who was later appointed by al-Manṣūr to be governor of Khurāsān, where his measures against the ‘Alids and even some partisans of the ‘Abbāsids eventually brought him to grief (cf. below, ed. Leiden, 2:445–446), see the article by Elton L. Daniel in *EI*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. ‘Abd al-Jabbār b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Azdī.

2704 Sic ed. Leiden; M: Abū Mālik Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta’rīkh*, 415, gives the name as Asad b. ‘Abdallāh b. Mālik al-Khuza‘ī.

2705 Or, “messengers”: reading with M, *wāfidāni*; ed. Leiden, *wafdāni* (two delegations). However, ed. Leiden later reads *wāfidāni* as in M.

envoys would come to me in this city of mine, one from al-Sind and the other from the people of Ifrīqiya, and no more than three days later I would be laid in my grave and my authority would be inherited from me.' Then he arose and said, 'Do not leave your place until I go out to you.'" (Continuing his report,) ‘Isā b. ‘Alī said: "I was still in my place when the muezzins, at the time of the afternoon prayer, wished peace upon the caliph.<sup>2706</sup> Then his messenger arrived and directed me to lead the people in prayer; so I went in (to the mosque). He still had not appeared when the muezzins finished the call for the sunset prayer.<sup>2707</sup> His messenger appeared to me directing me to lead the people in prayer, and I did so. Still he did not appear when the muezzins finished the call for the evening prayer. His messenger again came to me directing me to lead the people in prayer and I did so. Then I returned to my place until the night had passed.<sup>2708</sup> When I had completed my *qunūt* prayer<sup>2709</sup> he came to me with a letter addressed, 'From ‘Abdallāh and his heir,<sup>2710</sup> to the Family of the Messenger of God, his supporters, and all Muslims.' Then he said: 'Uncle, when my soul departs, wrap me in my gown, and keep my death a secret until this letter has been read to the people. When it has been read, administer the oath of allegiance to the one who is named in it. When the people have given the oath, tend to me: prepare my body, pray over me, and bury me.' I said, 'Commander of the Faithful, do you feel any sickness?' He replied: 'What illness is stronger than a sound report transmitted from the Messenger of God? By God, I have not been lied to, nor have I lied, nor have you been lied to.<sup>2711</sup> Take this letter and proceed in the proper fashion.'

He fell ill that night and died on a Sunday, the 12th day of Dhū l-Hijja in the year 136, at the age of thirty-six.<sup>2712</sup> Others say that he had not yet reached that age as he was born in the year 105<sup>2713</sup> in the days of Yazīd b. ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān. Ismā‘il b. ‘Alī led the prayer for him—according to others, ‘Isā b. ‘Alī did. He was buried at al-Anbār in his palace. His reign lasted four years and nine

<sup>2706</sup> That is, completed the call to prayer.

<sup>2707</sup> The words *fa-lam yakhrūj ilā an yusallima l-mu’adhdhinūna li-waqt ṣalāt al-maghrib* have dropped out of C (and ed. Leiden) by homeoteleuton.

<sup>2708</sup> Reading with M: *ilā an zāla l-layl*.

<sup>2709</sup> An intercessory prayer inserted into the morning prayer.

<sup>2710</sup> That is, Abū Ja‘far al-Manṣūr.

<sup>2711</sup> The utterance consists of three inflected forms of the Arabic verb "to lie," but since the MS is unvocalized, which forms are intended is not clear. The translation follows the conjecture of the Leiden editor.

<sup>2712</sup> June 9, 754.

<sup>2713</sup> 105 A.H. = June 10, 723 – May 28, 724.

months. He left behind a son who was still a minor. His daughter was Rayṭā, the wife of al-Mahdī, who was the only one of the caliphs of the Banū Hāshim whom it was permissible for her to marry.

Those who led the pilgrimage during his days:

- in the year 132, Dāwūd b. ‘Alī;
- in the year 133, | Ziyād b. ‘Ubaydallāh<sup>2714</sup> al-Ḥārithī;
- in the year 134, Ḥasā b. Mūsā;
- in the year 135, Sulaymān b. ‘Alī.

Those who led the campaigns during his days: In the year 133, the Byzantine tyrant, that is Constantine,<sup>2715</sup> marched until he encamped by Malatya. He besieged the town, but then a settlement was arranged.<sup>2716</sup> Mūsā b. Ka'b al-Tamīmī marched towards him, but they did not engage one another. Abū l-‘Abbās wrote to ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Alī, informing him that the enemy had moved into action when he was off his guard. He ordered him to move forward with the forces under his command, and spread them across<sup>2717</sup> the areas of the frontier. He marched, crossing through the pass, and was still positioning his forces when word arrived of the death of Abū l-‘Abbās; he therefore came back.

The religious scholars (*fuqahā’*) during his days were:

- Yahyā b. Sa‘id al-Anṣārī,<sup>2718</sup>
- Ibn Abī Ṭuwāla al-Anṣārī,<sup>2719</sup>
- Mūsā b. ‘Uqba,
- ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Ḥarmala al-Aslāmī,<sup>2720</sup>

<sup>2714</sup> M, C, ed. Leiden, ‘Abdallāh; corrected in ed. Leiden, *Addenda et corrigenda*, 1:xiii.

<sup>2715</sup> Constantine v.

<sup>2716</sup> Arabic *ṣūliha ‘anhā* implies that he agreed to retreat from the city against the payment of tribute.

<sup>2717</sup> Conjectural reading: both MSS appear corrupt.

<sup>2718</sup> Yahyā b. Sa‘id b. Qays al-Anṣārī (d. 143/760) was a Medinan judge who later served under al-Manṣūr in al-Ḥāshimiyya. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 11:221–224; Sezgin, *GAS*, 1:407.

<sup>2719</sup> Apparently the son of Abū Ṭuwāla ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Ma‘mar b. Ḥazm al-Anṣārī, who served as judge in Medina during the reign of ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz and died in 134/751–752; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 5:297.

<sup>2720</sup> ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Ḥarmala b. ‘Amr b. Sanna al-Aslāmī was a Medinan scholar who died in 145/762–763; see al-Ṭabarī, *Tarīkh*, 3:2560; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 6:161.

- Abū Ḥamza al-Thumālī,<sup>2721</sup>
- Zayd b. Aslam,<sup>2722</sup>
- Abū Khāzim al-Qādī,<sup>2723</sup>
- Hishām b. ‘Urwa b. al-Zubayr,<sup>2724</sup>
- Muḥammad b. [... b.] ‘Alqama,<sup>2725</sup>
- Mūsā b. ‘Ubayda al-Rabadhī,<sup>2726</sup>
- Ibn Abī Ṣa’ā'a,<sup>2727</sup>
- Rabī'at al-Ra'y,<sup>2728</sup>
- ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Umar b. Ḥafṣ b. Ḥāsim b. ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb,<sup>2729</sup>
- Muḥammad b. Ishāq b. [Yasār],<sup>2730</sup>

<sup>2721</sup> Abū Ḥamza Thābit b. Abī Ṣafīyya Dīnār (or Sa‘īd) al-Thumālī al-Azdī, a Kufan client of the Muhallab family, was an extreme Shi‘ite and lived into the reign of al-Manṣūr; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 2:7–8.

<sup>2722</sup> Abū Usāma Zayd b. Aslam al-‘Adawī (d. 136/753–754) was a Medinan scholar, a client of the family of ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, known as Qur’ān reader and exegete. See Sezgin, *GAS*, 1:405–406; al-Ṭabarī, *Tarīkh*, 3:2560.

<sup>2723</sup> Khāzim is the Leiden editor’s emendation (*Addenda et corrigenda*, 1xiii); the MSS read Abū Ḥāzim. Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Tarīkh*, 411, notes the death in 135/752–753 of an Abū Ḥāzim, though without adding al-Qādī (the judge). The person meant here is not to be confused with a later Abū Khāzim (d. 292/905), who was judge in Kufa and Baghdad.

<sup>2724</sup> Hishām b. ‘Urwa b. al-Zubayr (61/680–146/736) was a Medinan traditionist and jurist who eventually settled in Baghdad. See Sezgin, *GAS*, 1:88–89.

<sup>2725</sup> Here he is called simply Muḥammad b. ‘Alqama, but in a later list (ed. Leiden, 2:470) he is called Muḥammad b. ‘Umar b. ‘Alqama. Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Tarīkh*, 420, notes the death in 143/752–753 of Muḥammad b. Amr b. ‘Alqama, and ‘Amr is probably the correct reading. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 9:375–377.

<sup>2726</sup> Mūsā b. ‘Ubayda al-Rabadhī was born in Medina and died in 152/769 or 153. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 10:356–360.

<sup>2727</sup> Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 5:265, gives his name as ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, but with little further information.

<sup>2728</sup> The Medinan jurist Rabī'a b. Abī ‘Abd al-Raḥmān (also given as Rabī'a b. Farrūkh, d. 136/753–754) was called Rabī'at al-Ra'y (Rabī'a of Opinion) because of his use of individual opinion (*ra'y*) to decide matters of law where no clear text of Qur’ān or ḥadīth was available. See the article by J. Wakin in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ra'y; al-Ṭabarī, *Tarīkh*, 3:245; Sezgin, *GAS*, 1:406–407.

<sup>2729</sup> Medinan, said to have been imprisoned for his involvement in the uprising of Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh b. Ḥasan but to have been released by al-Manṣūr. Died 171/787–788, according to Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Tarīkh*, 448; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 5:326–328.

<sup>2730</sup> Usually called simply Ibn Ishāq (b. Medina c. 85/704, d. Baghdad 150/767), Muḥammad b. Ishāq was one of the main authorities on the life of the Prophet. See the article by J. M. B. Jones in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ibn Ishāq.

- ‘Abdallāh b. Ṭāwūs,<sup>2731</sup>
  - Ṣadaqa [b.] Yasār,<sup>2732</sup>
  - Ḥumayd b. Qays al-A’raj,<sup>2733</sup>
  - ‘Abdallāh b. Ūthmān b. Khuthaym,<sup>2734</sup>
  - ‘Uthmān b. al-Aswad,<sup>2735</sup>
  - ‘Abd al-Malik b. Jurayj,<sup>2736</sup>
- 2:436 – ‘Abd al-Malik b. ‘Umayr | al-Laythī,
- Abū Sār al-Nasā’ī,<sup>2737</sup>
  - Muṣṭalid b. Sa’īd,<sup>2738</sup>
  - al-Ajlaḥ b. ‘Abdallāh al-Kindī,<sup>2739</sup>
  - Maṇṣūr b. al-Mu’tamir al-Sulamī,<sup>2740</sup>
  - Muṭarrif b. Ṭarīf al-Ḥārithī,<sup>2741</sup>

<sup>2731</sup> ‘Abdallāh b. Ṭāwūs b. Kaysān (d. 132/749–750) was known for his expertise on rare words; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 5:267–268.

<sup>2732</sup> A Ṣadaqa b. Yasār appears in two isnāds in al-Ṭabarī’s *Tarīkh*, both times as an informant of Ibn Ishāq. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 4:419, identifies him as Meccan, originally from the Jazīra, and says that he lived into early ‘Abbāsid times; see also Ibn Sa’īd, *Tabaqāt*, 5:357.

<sup>2733</sup> Ḥumayd b. Qays al-A’raj (d. 130/747–748) was a Meccan Qur’ān reader; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 3:46–47.

<sup>2734</sup> ‘Abdallāh b. Ūthmān b. Khuthaym (d. c. 137/754–755) was a Meccan Qur’ān reader and traditionist; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 5:314–315.

<sup>2735</sup> Ūthmān b. al-Aswad b. Mūsā Bādhān was a Meccan client of the Banū Jumāḥ; died in 147/764–765, according to Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Taṛīkh*, p. 424, or in 150/749, according to Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 7:107.

<sup>2736</sup> Ibn Jurayj (full name ‘Abd al-Malik b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Jurayj) was a Meccan traditionist and jurist, b. 80/699, d. 150/767. See the article by Harald Motzki in *EI*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. Ibn Jurayj; and Sezgin, *GAS*, 1:91.

<sup>2737</sup> Sic ed. Leiden, but the name is otherwise unknown, and the reading of M looks like Yasār or Bashshār. He is mentioned again at ed. Leiden, 2:470–471, below. It may be a copyist’s error for the attested Kufan traditionist Abū Sinān Dirār b. Murra al-Shaybānī (d. 132/749–750). See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 4:457.

<sup>2738</sup> The Kufan scholar Muṣṭalid b. Sa’īd b. ‘Umayr al-Hamdānī died at the end of 144/762; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 10:39–41.

<sup>2739</sup> Al-Ajlaḥ b. ‘Abdallāh al-Kindī (d. c. 145/762–763) was a Kufan Shī’ī traditionist; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 1:189–190.

<sup>2740</sup> Abū ‘Attāb Maṇṣūr b. al-Mu’tamir b. ‘Abdallāh al-Sulamī was a Kufan traditionist who died in 132/749–750; see Sezgin, *GAS*, 1:404; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 1:312.

<sup>2741</sup> Both MSS write his father’s name as Ṭarf, but he is attested as Muṭarrif b. Ṭarīf al-Ḥārithī, a Kufan who died between 133/750–751 and 143/760–761; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 10:172–173.

- Jābir b. Yazīd al-Ju‘fī,<sup>2742</sup>
- al-Ḥasan b. ‘Umar al-Fuqaymī,<sup>2743</sup>
- Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Abī Laylā,<sup>2744</sup>
- al-Ḥasan b. ‘Umāra,<sup>2745</sup>
- Mis‘ar b. Kidām,<sup>2746</sup>
- ‘Abd al-Jabbār b. ‘Abbās al-Hamdānī,<sup>2747</sup>
- Zufar b. al-Hudhayl,<sup>2748</sup>
- Iṣhāq b. Suwayd al-‘Udhri,<sup>2749</sup>
- Abū Bakr b. Nasr b. Ḥarb,<sup>2750</sup>
- Yūnus b. ‘Ubayd,<sup>2751</sup>
- Abū l-Mu‘tamir Sulaymān al-Taymī,<sup>2752</sup>
- ‘Amr b. ‘Ubayd,<sup>2753</sup>
- [Ḥumayd] al-Ṭawīl, client of the Khuzā‘a,<sup>2754</sup>

<sup>2742</sup> See the note to ed. Leiden, 2:411, above.

<sup>2743</sup> His name is given as al-Ḥasan b. ‘Amr al-Fuqaymī in Khalīfa b. Khayyāt, *Ta’rikh*, 420, and he is said to have died in 142/759–760 in Kufa; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 2:310.

<sup>2744</sup> Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Abī Laylā (b. 74/693, d. 148/765) was a Kufan judge and jurist; see Sezgin, GAS, 1:518, and the article by J. Schacht in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ibn Abī Laylā.

<sup>2745</sup> Al-Ḥasan b. ‘Umāra b. Muḍarrib, a client of the Bajila, (d. 153/770–771) was a Kufan who became a judge in Baghdad in the reign of al-Manṣūr; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 2:304–308.

<sup>2746</sup> Mis‘ar b. Kidām b. Ẓahir al-Hilālī was a Kufan traditionist who died between 153/770–771 and 155/771–772; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 10:113–115.

<sup>2747</sup> The MSS write “b. ‘Ayyāsh” here, but give the name correctly below. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 6:102–103, identifies him as Kufan and Shī‘ī, but gives no dates.

<sup>2748</sup> Abū l-Hudhayl Zufar b. al-Hudhayl b. Qays al-‘Anbarī (b. 110/728–729, d. 158/774–775) was a Basran judge and jurist, a student of Abū Ḥanīfa; see Sezgin, GAS, 1:419.

<sup>2749</sup> Sic MSS, but better attested as Iṣhāq b. Suwayd b. Hubayra *al-‘Adawī*, a Basran traditionist (d. of plague in 131/748–749) said to have been hostile to ‘Alī; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 1:236.

<sup>2750</sup> Sic MSS, but as the name is otherwise unattested, he is more likely to be Abū Bakr b. Bishr b. Ḥarb, the son of the Basran traditionist Bishr b. Ḥarb.

<sup>2751</sup> Yūnus b. ‘Ubayd b. Dīnār (d. 139/756–757) was a Basran traditionist, a student of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī; see Sezgin, GAS, 1:88.

<sup>2752</sup> Abū al-Mu‘tamir Sulaymān b. Ṭarkhān al-Taymī (b. 46/666–667, d. 143/760–761) was a Basran traditionist; see Sezgin, GAS, 1:285.

<sup>2753</sup> Abū ‘Uthmān ‘Amr b. ‘Ubayd b. Bāb (b. 80/699–700, d. 144/761–762) was a Basran scholar, originally a pupil of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, but later a member of the circle of Wāṣil b. Aṭṭā’, one of the founders of the Mu‘tazilī school; see Sezgin, GAS, 1:597.

<sup>2754</sup> Abū ‘Ubayda Ḥumayd b. Abī Ḥumayd al-Ṭawīl al-Khuzā‘ī (b. 68/687–688, d. 142/759 or 143) was a Basran traditionist; see Sezgin, GAS, 1:89.

- ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. ‘Amr al-Awzā‘ī,<sup>2755</sup>
- Sālim al-Aftas,
- ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Hanafī.

### The Days of Abū Ja‘far al-Manṣūr

He was ‘Abdallāh b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī. His mother was Sallāma al-Barbariyya.<sup>2756</sup> He was given the oath of allegiance on the day that Abū l-‘Abbās died, that is, on Sunday the 12th of Dhū l-Hijja, corresponding to the non-Arab month of Ḥazirān (June), in the year 136.

On that day the Sun was in Cancer, 1° 10'; the Moon in Gemini, 7° 45'; Saturn in Capricorn, 16° 50', retrograde; Jupiter in Aries, 27°; Mars in Scorpio, 19° 40'; Venus in Taurus, 15° 50'; Mercury | in Cancer, 11°; and the Ascending Node in Cancer, 1° 50'.

As Abū Ja‘far was on pilgrimage, Īsā b. ‘Alī accepted the oath of allegiance on his behalf from those of the Banū Hāshim and the commanders who were present at al-Anbār. Abū Ja‘far received word of this while he was on the Mecca road fifteen days after the death of Abū l-‘Abbās. Abū Muslim and the members of the Banū Hāshim and commanders who were with him then gave the oath of allegiance. It was Muḥammad b. al-Ḥuṣayn al-‘Abdī who brought him the news. Abū Ja‘far asked, “What place is this?” They replied, “A place known as Zakiyya.”<sup>2757</sup> He said, “It is an affair that will thrive (*yazkā*), God willing!” When

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<sup>2755</sup> On Abū ‘Amr ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. ‘Amr al-Awzā‘ī (b. Damascus, d. 157/774 Beirut), one of the main representatives of the oldest Syrian legal school, see the article by Steven C. Judd in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Awzā‘ī.

<sup>2756</sup> The word al-Barbariyya (the Berber woman) is undotted in both MSS; cf. al-Mas‘ūdi, *Mu‘rij*, 4:128 (§ 2370) (Pellat’s index lists the sources for her name). Khalīfa b. Khayyāt, *Ta’rīkh*, 412, identifies her as a concubine (*umm walad*), but gives no name; similarly, al-Zubayrī, *Nasab Quraysh*, 31, identifies her a concubine (*umm walad*), but gives no name; Ibn Ḥazm, *Ummahāt al-khulafā’*, 18, identifies her as a Berber woman, Salāma, from the tribe of Nafza or Ṣinhāja; al-Ṭabarī does not mention her. See the article by H. Kennedy in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Manṣūr, Abū Dja‘far.

<sup>2757</sup> The name of the first place has been rendered as *Zakiyya* here in accordance with the long note by Houtsma in his edition of the parallel to this passage: al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:89. M reads *Dakka* and the following verb as *yadhkā* (that will blaze up, or be intensely fragrant). Note that al-Ṭabarī implies that the swearing of the oath at al-Ṣufayya belongs to another tradition, one that gave the name of the place in a slightly different form, not that the oath was sworn twice.

he was given the oath of allegiance at al-Şufayya, he said: “It is an affair that will be clear (*yaşfū*) for us! Speed up your pace! Hurry! Make haste!”<sup>2758</sup>

Before his death, Abū l-‘Abbās had written to ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Alī concerning the summer campaign, ordering him to cross the pass.<sup>2759</sup> When Abū l-‘Abbās died, ‘Isā b. ‘Alī and those with him in al-Anbār<sup>2760</sup> were loath to write to ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Alī. They wrote instead to Ṣalih b. ‘Alī, who was in Egypt, informing him of what had befallen Abū l-‘Abbās and his designation of Abū Ja‘far as his heir. They told him that they had sworn allegiance to Abū Ja‘far and were unanimous in their support for him. ‘Isā ordered Ṣalih to swear the oath of allegiance and to proceed to Syria, where he was to administer the oath to ‘Abdallāh.

Word of this reached ‘Abdallāh. Others say that ‘Isā b. ‘Alī sent him word of the oath of allegiance to al-Manṣūr with Abū Ghassān Yazīd b. Ziyād, Abū l-‘Abbās’s chamberlain. The latter reached ‘Abdallāh after he had already crossed the pass into Byzantine territory. He therefore turned back and made his way to Dulük<sup>2761</sup> in the military district (*jund*) of Qinnasrīn. He brought together Ḥumayd b. Qaḥṭaba al-Tā’ī and a group of the commanders who were with him and said, “Do you not bear witness | that the Commander of the Faithful, Abū l-‘Abbās, said, ‘He who marches out against Marwān is my heir apparent?’” They bore witness that it was so and swore allegiance to him, as did most of the people of Syria. He wrote to ‘Isā b. ‘Alī and others, informing them that the oath of allegiance to him had been sworn by the commanders with him and the people of Syria on the strength of Abū l-‘Abbās’s promise to him, and he set off in the direction of Iraq. When he reached Ḥarrān, he met with Mūsā b. Ka‘b, its governor, and informed him of the testimony of those who called God to witness that Abū l-‘Abbās had designated him as his heir. When Mūsā responded by preparing the city’s defenses, he besieged him for forty days and then granted him a safe-conduct on condition that he abandon the city and leave it open to him. Then he continued toward Iraq.

Abū Ja‘far reached Kufa on the first day of Muḥarram.<sup>2762</sup> He stayed in al-Ḥīra, leading the people in the Friday prayer, then proceeded to al-Anbār, to Abū al-‘Abbās’s capital. There he gathered his forces and took control of Abū

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<sup>2758</sup> Reading with M, *a‘dū l-sayr*, for C and ed. Leiden *a‘dād al-sinīn* (for numbers of years).

<sup>2759</sup> That is, into Byzantine territory through the Taurus. The text does not specify which of the passes normally used for these campaigns was meant.

<sup>2760</sup> Reading with M, *bi-l-anbār*, for C and ed. Leiden, *min al-abnā’* (of the sons).

<sup>2761</sup> Dulük (ancient Doliche, modern Dülüköy in Turkey, near the Syrian border) was a fortress on the Muslim-Byzantine frontier; see the article by D. Sourdèl in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Dulük.

<sup>2762</sup> 1 Muḥarram 137 = June 27, 754.

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al-‘Abbās's treasures. Then he received word regarding ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Alī and that he was heading toward Iraq. He said to Abū Muslim, “No one but I or you can deal with ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Alī.” Loath to undertake the affair, Abū Muslim said, “Commander of the Faithful, the affair of ‘Abdallāh in Syria is minor and trivial, while the situation in Khurāsān is extremely dangerous.” Abū Muslim then went back to his residence, where he said to his secretary, “What have I to do with these two men?” Then he said: “The wise thing for me is to leave for Khurāsān and leave these two rams to go at it. Whichever one prevails will write to us, and we shall write back with our obedience and submission. He will think that we have done well and applied ourselves on his behalf.” His secretary said to him, “I beseech you by God that you not enable the people of Khurāsān to censure you and to think that you have reneged on a matter after committing yourself to it.” He replied: “Damn you! I have thought about all those to whom I have taken my sword in cold blood, as well as | those who have fallen in battle, and by my reckoning they number one hundred thousand people, no small number before God.”

His secretary did not desist until Abū Muslim obeyed Abū Ja‘far’s order to set out. He assembled a very large force and then set out for the Jazīra, where he engaged ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Alī in a series of battles. Now Ḥumayd b. Qaḥṭaba was a figure of great influence over ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Alī, but then he received word that ‘Abdallāh was planning to kill him, so he contrived to make his way to Abū Muslim. This weighed heavily on ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Alī, who feared that Ḥumayd’s fellow Khurāsānī commanders who were with him would do the same.

Al-Sindī b. Shāhak<sup>2763</sup> said: “I heard ‘Abd al-Ṣamad b. ‘Alī<sup>2764</sup> say: ‘I was with ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Alī when his chamberlain entered’”—‘Abd al-Ṣamad was on ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Alī’s side—“and said, “Abū Mujrim’s<sup>2765</sup> messenger is at the door.” “Let him in,” he said, and so a man with a hateful face and revolting appearance entered, covered in hair, insolent in manner, with massive boots and a padded overcoat. He gave a general greeting and then said, “The commander Abū Muslim asks, ‘Why are you fighting me?’ when you know that he will not kill you?””<sup>2766</sup>

<sup>2763</sup> Al-Sindī b. Shāhak, a mawlā of al-Manṣūr, was a major Khurāsānī commander.

<sup>2764</sup> He was ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Alī’s brother. For detailed discussion of the revolt, see Cobb, *White Banners*, 23–26, in addition to Lassner’s article in *EI*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Alī.

<sup>2765</sup> Abū Mujrim (Father of a Criminal) is an insulting deformation of Abū Muslim’s name.

<sup>2766</sup> Houtsma, in the Leiden edition, emended the witness of both MSS, *yaqṭuluka* (kill you) to *yugātiluka* (fight you). The emendation is unnecessary. As Houtsma notes, the conclusion of the conversation seems to have dropped out.

Abū Muslim engaged ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Alī in battle at Naṣībīn and scattered his forces. As ‘Abdallāh fled, Abū Muslim gave orders that no one should intercept him. He reached Basra where his brother, Sulaymān b. ‘Alī, was governor and remained there in hiding with him.

Abū Ja‘far sent messengers to audit the stores of goods and money that had fallen into Abū Muslim’s hands. Among them were Ishāq b. Muslim al-‘Uqaylī, Yaqtīn b. Mūsā, and Muḥammad b. ‘Amr al-Naṣībī al-Taghlībī. Abū Muslim, infuriated, said, “Am I to be trusted with blood but not with money?”—and he cursed Yaqtīn b. Mūsā. When Yaqtīn saw [the resentment that Abū Muslim was harboring against him, he said, “The Commander of the Faithful has sent me to you for no other reason than to congratulate you on the victory.”<sup>2767</sup> Abū Muslim also ridiculed Ishāq b. Muslim and Muḥammad b. ‘Amr and reproached both men. He attacked Abū Ja‘far verbally, even mentioning his mother, saying, “Woe betide the son of Sallāma!” The group returned to Abū Ja‘far and told him what had taken place, which only hardened his heart against Abū Muslim. He appointed Hishām b. ‘Amr al-‘Uqaylī to replace Abū Muslim.

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Abū Muslim departed for Khurāsān, his mind set against Abū Ja‘far. He passed al-Madā'in while Abū Ja‘far was camped at Rūmiyya, so that there were only two farsakhs between the two men, but he did not meet him and continued on his way until he passed Ḥulwān. Abū Ja‘far sent Ḫisā b. Mūsā and Jarīr b. ‘Abdallāh al-Bajalī with a group of supporters to follow him. They overtook him and conveyed to him the gravity of the situation. They said to him, “Things have not gone as far as you think.” Abū Muslim consulted Mālik b. al-Haytham, his closest advisor.<sup>2768</sup> “What do you think?” he asked. Ibn al-Haytham replied: “I think that you should go to Khurāsān, and from there you can seek the man’s approval by writing to him with your expressions of submission and obedience. If you do so, no blame will befall you; otherwise, it will be your last acquaintance with this world if he lays eyes on you.” But Abū Ja‘far’s messengers kept at him until they beguiled him into changing his mind, and so he set out for Iraq. When he had crossed the pass at Ḥulwān, he said to Mālik b. al-Haytham, “What is the prudent thing to do?” The latter replied, “You

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<sup>2767</sup> Landberg, in his review of the Leiden edition, suggests that al-Ya‘qūbī may intentionally have omitted the oath found in the parallel version in al-Mas‘ūdī, *Muṛūj*, 4:39 (§ 2389), where the sentence reads: “My wife be thrice divorced if the Commander of the Faithful have sent me to you for any reason other than to congratulate you on the victory and triumph.”

<sup>2768</sup> Arabic *khalifatahu*, which could also mean “his deputy.”

left prudence behind on the other side of the pass." Abū Muslim answered, "By God, I shall not be killed except in the land of the Rūm."<sup>2769</sup>

Abū Muslim reached Abū Ja'far while the latter was staying in pavilions in Rūmiyya. He said to him, "You almost left before I could inform<sup>2770</sup> you of what I need." Abū Muslim therefore remained there for several days, visiting Abū Ja'far regularly. Then one day when he came to him, Abū Ja'far had readied 'Uthmān b. Nahīk, who was the head of his personal guard, and a number of men including Shabīb b. Wāj and Abū Ḥanīfa. He issued an order to 'Uthmān, saying,  
2:441 "When I raise my voice and clap my hands, | get the slave!"<sup>2771</sup> Abū Muslim entered and was seated in a waiting area. He was told, "The Commander of the Faithful is busy." He sat for a time; then he was allowed to enter, but he was told, "Remove your sword!" "Why?" he asked. He was told, "Don't worry." They kept at him until he removed his sword; then he entered. There was nothing in the room but a cushion; so he sat down on it. Then he said, "Commander of the Faithful, I have been treated as no one else has been treated, for my sword has been taken from my shoulder."<sup>2772</sup> Abū Ja'far asked, "And who did this to you, may God shame him?" But when Abū Muslim began to speak, Abū Ja'far said to him: "You son of an uncircumcised woman! For all your pretensions, you are nothing! Are you not the one who wrote to me placing your name before mine? Are you not the one who wrote to me seeking the hand of my paternal aunt, Āmina bt. 'Alī, claiming that you are a descendent of Saliṭ b. 'Abdallāh?<sup>2773</sup> Are

<sup>2769</sup> Arabic *Rūm* normally means Romans, that is, Byzantines; hence, Abū Muslim takes the prophecy to mean that he cannot be killed in Iraq. Cf. the parallel in al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, 4:140 (§ 2391). What he did not take into account was the fact that one of the cluster of cities that formed the old Sāsānian capital of al-Madā'in was called Rūmiyya by the Arabs. It had been founded in 540 CE by Khusraw I, who settled it with captives from Antioch; hence the name Rūmiyya (City of the Romans, that is, Byzantines). See the article by M. Streck in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Madā'in.

<sup>2770</sup> Reading with M: *afḍiya*; C and ed. Leiden read *aḍḍiya* (fulfill).

<sup>2771</sup> Ed. Leiden adds the word, *fa-qtulū* (then kill) to complete the sense. One parallel in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 3:111, does have the word, but it is phrased differently and omits the word for slave. In fact, there is no need to assume that a word has fallen out: grammatically, the word in the accusative case (*al-'abda*) is an exclamation used to warn or, as here, to incite attack. One version of the narrative in al-Ṭabarī's history (3:14) points in this direction. It is worded: "When I clap my hands, see to your business (*fa-sha'nakum*)," using the same grammatical structure.

<sup>2772</sup> "Shoulder" is the editor's conjecture; the word is illegible in the MSS.

<sup>2773</sup> On the obscure figure of Saliṭ b. 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās and the stories that Abū Muslim was his son, see Daniel, *The Political and Social History of Khurasan under Abbasid Rule*, 101–102, and Lassner, *Islamic Revolution and Historical Memory*, 107–117.

you not the one who did this and that?" He continued, charging Abū Muslim with a number of things. When Abū Muslim saw what had come over him, he said, "Commander of the Faithful, my rank is too lowly for you to become so upset." But Abū Ja‘far’s voice rose; he clapped his hands, and the men came out and struck Abū Muslim with their swords. "Alas," he cried out, "is there no rescuer, no protector?"—while they kept striking him until they killed him. When he was dead, Abū Ja‘far said:

Drink from a cup you once gave others to drink,  
more bitter in your mouth than colocynth.  
You thought the debt would not come due,  
but you were wrong, by God, O Abū Mujrim.<sup>2774</sup>

His body was wrapped in a coarse cloth and left outside the pavilion. His men were told, "Gather together, for the Commander of the Faithful has ordered that dirhams be strewn among you." A large quantity of dirhams was scattered among them, but when they bent to gather them up, the head of Abū Muslim was cast among them. When they saw it, they dropped all they were holding, overwhelmed by shock. This occurred in Sha‘bān in the year 137.<sup>2775</sup>

A group of Abū Muslim’s men left for Khurāsān. | They reached Sunbādh,<sup>2776</sup> who was in Nīshāpūr. When the latter learned that Abū Muslim had been killed, he rose in rebellion, vowing to revenge his death, and Khurāsān fell into turmoil. Abū Ja‘far dispatched Jahwar b. Marrār, who engaged Sunbādh in battle, killing him and scattering his forces.

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Word reached Abū Ja‘far that ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Alī was staying with Sulaymān b. ‘Alī, who at this time was governor of Basra. He sent a message to Sulaymān, who denied that ‘Abdallāh was there, but then requested a guarantee of safe-conduct. Abū Ja‘far replied with a document drafted by Ibn al-Muqaffa<sup>2777</sup> that

<sup>2774</sup> The lines are quoted (in reverse order) in al-Tabarī, *Ta‘rīkh*, 3:115, with the comment: "The allusion is to the fact that in his time of authority and his battles Abū Muslim killed about 600,000 in cold blood." (Trans. Jane McAuliffe in *The History of al-Tabarī*, xxviii, 39.) The editors of al-Tabarī identified the poet as Abū ‘Atā’ al-Sindī, d. 158/774.

<sup>2775</sup> Sha‘bān 137 = January 20 – February 17, 755; al-Tabarī, *Ta‘rīkh*, 3:115, specifies the 24th day of the month, February 12, 755.

<sup>2776</sup> On Sunbādh, a Zoroastrian supporter of Abū Muslim, see the article by W. Madelung in *EI<sup>2</sup>*, s.v. Sunbādh, and Crone, *Nativist Prophets*, 31–45.

<sup>2777</sup> On the text of this safe-conduct (*amān*), preserved in al-Azdī, *Ta‘rīkh al-Mawṣil*, see the article by A. Marsham and C. F. Robinson, "The Safe-conduct for the Abbasid ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Alī (d. 764)." On Ibn al-Muqaffa‘, one of the first translators into Arabic of literary

contained the firmest of promises and vows that he would inflict no harm on him or employ deceit against him in any way. The safe-conduct read in part: "If I do or plot anything, the Muslims shall be released from their oath of allegiance to me and loosed from the oaths and compacts that I had them swear." When Abū Ja'far discovered this, he said, "Who wrote this?" He was told, "Ibn al-Muqaffā'." This was a reason for the fate<sup>2778</sup> of Ibn al-Muqaffā'.

Sulaymān b. 'Alī came from Basra, received the letter of safe-conduct, and traveled to Basra accompanied by [Īsā] b. 'Alī.<sup>2779</sup> 'Abdallāh b. 'Alī then came out of hiding to them, and they brought him to Abū Ja'far on Thursday, 12 nights remaining in Dhu l-Hijja in the year 137.<sup>2780</sup> Abū Ja'far was in al-Hīra in the residence of Īsā b. 'Alī. He had 'Abdallāh held in the custody of Īsā b. Mūsā, who at that time was an heir apparent. Abū Ja'far then asked him about 'Abdallāh. Īsā told him that he had died. He then summoned Īsā b. 'Alī, along with Ismā'il and 'Abd al-Şamad, the sons of 'Alī (b. 'Abdallāh). He had them and a group of the Banū Hāshim appear before him. He said to them: "I turned 'Abdallāh b. 'Alī over to Īsā b. Mūsā. I commanded him to watch over 'Abdallāh and | treat him with generosity and respect. Now that I inquire about him, Īsā tells me that he has died! I condemn his withholding from me and from you the news of his death." The men replied: "Commander of the Faithful, Īsā must have killed him. If 'Abdallāh had died a natural death, he would not have neglected to inform you and us of his death." So he brought them together with Īsā, and they demanded that he pay blood money for 'Abdallāh. Abū Ja'far said to Īsā, "Produce sound evidence of what you have asserted about 'Abdallāh or I will retaliate against you for his death." He had people on hand for this very purpose. When Īsā realized that he would have to set the matter straight, he said, "Give me until the evening." The decision therefore was postponed. He appeared that evening, and 'Abdallāh b. 'Alī came with him. He said, "I only said what I said out of a desire to ease the burden of guarding him, for fear that something would befall him and that something of this sort would be said concerning me. But here I surrender him safe and sound!" Abū Ja'far said, "Rather you wanted to know what we thought! If we had borne your news calmly, you would have done

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works of the Indian and Persian tradition and a significant figure in the development of Arabic literary prose, see the article by F. Gabrieli in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ibn al-Muqaffā'.

<sup>2778</sup> Reading with M, *li-manīyat*; ed. Leiden, based on the partially undotted ductus of C, reads *li-mītat* (for the manner of death). Ibn al-Muqaffā' was tortured to death.

<sup>2779</sup> The translation follows M, rejecting the emendations of ed. Leiden.

<sup>2780</sup> 17 or 18 Dhu l-Hijja 137 = June 3 or 4, 755. Note that al-Tabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 3:126, dates these events to 139.

the deed." Abū Ja'far therefore commanded that a room to be built for 'Abdallāh in the palace, saying, "He shall be where I can see him." Then he caused water to flow into the foundation of that room, so that it collapsed, killing 'Abdallāh.

Abū Ja'far sought to expand the Sacred Mosque (of Mecca), people having complained that it was too cramped. He wrote to Ziyād b. 'Ubaydallāh al-Hārithī, directing him to purchase the houses adjacent to the Mosque, so that he could double its size, but the people refused to sell. This was brought to the attention of Ja'far b. Muḥammad,<sup>2781</sup> who said, "Ask them whether they took up residence next to the House or whether the House took up residence next to them?" He sent this to Ziyād b. 'Ubaydallāh, who conveyed it to them. They replied, "We took up residence next to it." Ja'far b. Muḥammad said: "God's blessing be upon him,"<sup>2782</sup> for now the House will have its courtyard." Abū Ja'far wrote to Ziyād ordering him to demolish the houses adjacent to it. The houses were demolished | and the main part of the Dār al-Nadwa<sup>2783</sup> was incorporated into the Mosque until it was double its original size. The extension was on the side of the Dār al-Nadwa and on the side of the gate of the Banū Jumāh, not on the side of al-Ṣafā and the watercourse, and the Ka'ba was next to it. The work was begun in the year 138 and completed in the year 140. He built the mosque of al-Khayf in Minā and gave it the dimensions it has today, which it did not have before.

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Abū Ja'far performed the pilgrimage in the year 140 in order to see the additions to the Sacred Mosque. Word had reached him that Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. Ḥasan b. Ḥasan had began to foment trouble. On his arrival in Medina, Abū Ja'far sought him but did not find him; so he had 'Abdallāh b. Ḥasan b. Ḥasan and a group of his kinsmen arrested, put in irons, and carried off on camels bareback. He said to 'Abdallāh, "Lead me to your son or, by God, I will kill you." 'Abdallāh replied: "By God, I have been tested even more severely than God tested His friend Ibrāhīm!"<sup>2784</sup> My trial is greater than his. God, may He be glorified and exalted, ordered him to sacrifice his own son, and in the eyes of God, may He be glorified and exalted, it was an act of obedience; yet

<sup>2781</sup> That is, Ja'far al-Ṣādiq.

<sup>2782</sup> The phrase "God's blessing be upon him" has fallen out of C and ed. Leiden.

<sup>2783</sup> The Dār al-Nadwa (Council House) was a building north of the Ka'ba. In pre-Islamic times it served as a kind of town hall, where city dignitaries met to decide matters of common interest. See the article by Harry Munt in *EI*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. Dār al-Nadwa.

<sup>2784</sup> That is, the patriarch Abraham, called God's Friend (*Khalil Allāh*) on the basis of Qur'ān 4:125. Qur'ān 37:99–111 narrates the story of God's testing Abraham by commanding the sacrifice of his son, as in Genesis 22.

Ibrāhīm said, ‘This is the greatest trial.’<sup>2785</sup> But you want me to guide you to my son so that you can kill him, when his murder would be in God’s eyes a hateful act.”

Abū Ja‘far said, “Son of a stinking whore!”<sup>2786</sup> ‘Abdallāh replied: “That you would say this! Would that I knew which of the Fātīmas gave off a stench, O son of Sallāma. Was it Fātima bt. al-Ḥusayn, or Fātima the daughter of the Messenger of God, or perhaps my great-grandmother, Fātima bt. Asad b. Hāshim, my father’s grandmother, or perhaps Fātima bt. ‘Amr b. ‘Āidh b. ‘Imrān b. Makhzūm, my grandmother’s grandmother?” Abū Ja‘far replied, “None of these,” and had him taken away.

2:445 Abū Ja‘far returned on the road to Syria and arrived in Jerusalem. Then he made his way to the Jazīra, encamping outside of al-Raqqa, | where Manṣūr b. Ja‘wana al-Kilābī had risen in revolt and been captured. Abū Ja‘far had him brought out and beheaded. Then he proceeded to al-Ḥira, where he imprisoned ‘Abdallāh b. Ḥasan and his kinsmen. They remained in prison until they died. Some have said that they were found nailed to the walls.

Abū ‘Amr ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. al-Sakan related to me on the authority of a man from ‘Abdallāh’s family: When he learned of the hardship that his father was suffering in prison, Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh b. Ḥasan b. Ḥasan wrote to him asking permission to come out of hiding so that he might place his hand in theirs. ‘Abdallāh sent word to him: “Your coming out of hiding, my son, will kill you and not give me life. Stay where you are until God grants relief from suffering.”

Abū Ja‘far resumed construction of al-Rāfiqa, which had been started in the days of Abū l-‘Abbās (al-Saffah). He said, “As for me, I will not reside there.” He was asked, “How can that be, Commander of the Faithful?” He said: “My father went to Hishām while the latter was at al-Ruṣāfa, but Hishām was rude to him and offended him. Then he left, accompanied by me and my brother. When he arrived here, he said to me and my brother, ‘One of you will indeed build a city in this place.’ I asked him, ‘And then what?’ He said, ‘He will not reside there, but his son will.’ I know that I will not reside there, but my son Muḥammad will”—he meant al-Mahdī.

Abū Ja‘far appointed ‘Abd al-Jabbār b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān al-Azdī as governor of Khurāsān. The latter put his brother, ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān, in charge of the security forces (*shurṭa*) and killed al-Mughīra<sup>2787</sup> b. Sulaymān and Mujāshi‘

<sup>2785</sup> Cf. Qur’ān 37:106.

<sup>2786</sup> Arabic *lakhnā*, which means both “stinking” and “an uncircumcised woman,” normally an abusive reference to a non-Arab or slave mother.

<sup>2787</sup> The parallel in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:128, reads Abū l-Mughīra.

b. Ḥurayth; targeting the partisans (*shī‘a*) of the Banū Hāshim, he killed a great number of them. He began to pursue them and make examples of them, until Abū Ja‘far wrote to him, swearing that he would kill him. He was removed from office in the year 141. Abū Ja‘far sent al-Mahdī against him. | Having arrived in al-Rayy, al-Mahdī appointed Asīd b. ‘Abdallāh al-Khuzā‘ī over Khurāsān and dispatched forces under his command. Engaging ‘Abd al-Jabbār at Marw, he routed his army. ‘Abd al-Jabbār fled, but Asīd pursued and captured him. He sent him to Abū Ja‘far, who met him at Qaṣr Ibn Hubayra about a day’s journey from Baghdad. When they met, ‘Abd al-Jabbār said to him, “Commander of the Faithful, give me an honorable death!” He replied, “You have left that behind you, you son of a stinking whore.” He had him brought forward and beheaded, and his corpse was gibbeted. It remained on the gibbet for some days before his brother, ‘Ubaydallāh b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān, came by night, took it down, and buried it. When word of this reached Abū Ja‘far, he said, “Leave him to the fires of Hell!”

Abū Ja‘far appointed Yazīd b. Usayd<sup>2788</sup> al-Sulamī over Armenia, and Yazīd b. Ḥātim al-Muhallabī over Azerbaijan. He<sup>2789</sup> transferred the Yemenīs from Basra to Azerbaijan—he was the first to transfer them. He settled al-Rawwād b. al-Muthannā al-Azdī in (the area from) Tabrīz as far as al-Badhdh, Murr b. ‘Alī al-Ṭā‘ī in Narīz, and Ḥayyān<sup>2790</sup> al-Hamdānī in al-Mayānij. He dispersed the tribes of Yemen, and so there was no one in Azerbaijan from Nizār,<sup>2791</sup> apart from al-Ṣaqr<sup>2792</sup> b. al-Layth al-‘Utbī and his paternal cousin, al-Ba‘īth b. Ḥalbas.

The Khazars grew active in the region of Armenia and fell upon Yazīd b. Usayd al-Sulamī. He wrote to Abū Ja‘far to inform him that Rās Ṭarkhān,<sup>2793</sup>

<sup>2788</sup> As mentioned above, Usayd is the most common vocalization of the name, but it is sometimes vocalized as Asīd.

<sup>2789</sup> The antecedent of the pronoun is ambiguous.

<sup>2790</sup> The name, written undotted, appears only in M; C and ed. Leiden show a lacuna. The reading is conjectural.

<sup>2791</sup> That is, the northern Arab tribes, named after their common ancestor Nizār b. Ma‘add b. ‘Adnān.

<sup>2792</sup> The reading is uncertain. Ed. Leiden reads al-Ṣuffar. However, a person named al-Ṣaqr b. al-Ba‘īth b. Ḥalbas is attested in al-Tabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:1387 (anno 235). He was the brother of Muḥammad b. al-Ba‘īth b. Ḥalbas, who revolted in Azerbaijan in 234/848–849. Al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 330, gives an account of the family’s history in Azerbaijan.

<sup>2793</sup> The name of the Khazar commander is given in this form in the mss. P. B. Golden sees a possible connection of the component Rās to the Arsiyya, whom al-Mas‘ūdī (*Muṭūj*, 1:213 [§ 450]) mentions as forming the bodyguard of the Khazar king, and suggests that the correct reading may be Ās. See the article by W. Barthold and P. B. Golden in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Khazar.

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the king of the Khazars, had marched toward him with a huge force and that his second in command<sup>2794</sup> had been defeated. Abū Ja‘far sent Jibrīl b. Yahyā al-Bajalī to him at the head of twenty thousand men from Syria, the Jazīra, and Mosul. He fought the Khazars, but a number of Muslims were killed, and | Jibrīl and Yazīd b. Usayd, defeated, retreated to Khirs. When word reached Abū Ja‘far of what had befallen the Muslims,<sup>2795</sup> the success of the Khazars, and their entry into the lands of Islam, he released seven thousand imprisoned men and sent word to gather large forces of men from each province, and he sent them off, along with laborers and masons. He built the towns of Kamkh, al-Muhammadiyya,<sup>2796</sup> Bāb Wāq,<sup>2797</sup> and a number of other towns that he intended as bulwarks for the Muslims, and he settled the fighters in the towns. They repelled the enemy; the enemy fighters fought them, but the Muslims gained strength because of those towns, and so he lived in tranquillity.<sup>2798</sup>

Then the Ṣanāriyya<sup>2799</sup> grew active in Armenia. Abū Ja‘far sent al-Hasan b. Qaḥṭaba to govern Armenia. He engaged them, but he had no strength against them. He therefore wrote to Abū Ja‘far about them and their great number, and Abū Ja‘far sent Āmir b. Ismā‘il al-Ḥārithī to him with a force of twenty thousand men. Engaging the Ṣanāriyya, he fought them fiercely for several days, until God granted victory over them. Of their forces, in one day he killed sixteen thousand people before returning to Tiflis. He put to death all of his prisoners and sent out men to pursue the Ṣanāriyya wherever they were. Abū Ja‘far then appointed his client (*mawlā*) Wādīḥ over Armenia. He remained as governor there and over Azerbaijan for the duration of Abū Ja‘far’s caliphate.

The people of Ṭabaristān rose up in open disobedience and rebellion and marched out in great numbers. Al-Mahdī sent Khāzim b. Khuzayma al-Tamīmī<sup>2800</sup> and Rawḥ b. Ḥātim al-Muhallabī against them, and they defeated their armies. Ṭabaristān was conquered in the year 142.

<sup>2794</sup> Arabic, his *khalifa*, literally “deputy.”

<sup>2795</sup> Following M; C and ed. Leiden omit “the Muslims.”

<sup>2796</sup> The mss read al-Ḥamdiyya, otherwise unattested, and therefore emended by the Leiden editor on the basis of al-Balādhurī, *Futūh*, 190 (the section on the frontier with the Khazars). However, since al-Balādhurī dates the building of this stronghold near al-Ḥadath to the reign of al-Mahdī, the emendation is not completely certain.

<sup>2797</sup> The toponym is otherwise unknown; the text may be corrupt.

<sup>2798</sup> That is, the governor, Yazid b. Usayd al-Sulamī.

<sup>2799</sup> The Ṣanāriyya (Georgian Ts’anar, Armenian Tsanark’) were a Christian group in the central Caucasus; see Minorsky, *Hudūd al-‘ālam*, 400–402.

<sup>2800</sup> The mss write Khuzayma b. Khāzim; corrected by the Leiden editor in the *Addenda et emendanda* to Volume I.

Abū Ja'far left for Basra in this year intending to perform the pilgrimage. On reaching the Great Bridge, he received word that the people of Yemen had risen in rebellion and that the governor of Yemen, 'Abdallāh b. al-Rabī', had fled, too weak to resist his attackers. | He also learned that the governor of Sind, 'Uyayna b. Mūsā b. Ka'b al-Tamīmī, was in open rebellion. Abū Ja'far sent Ma'n b. Zā'ida al-Shaybānī to Yemen and 'Umar b. Ḥafṣ b. 'Uthmān b. Abī Ṣufra to al-Sind. Abū Ja'far left Basra without performing the pilgrimage.

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Ma'n b. Zā'ida arrived in Yemen and carried out enormous slaughter. He remained there for nine years.

When Mūsā b. Ka'b al-Tamīmī departed from the region of al-Sind, he left his son, 'Uyayna b. Mūsā, as his deputy. Elements of the Rabī'a and Yemen who were with him disobeyed him, and when he killed most of them, they rebelled.

Abū Ja'far dispatched 'Umar b. Ḥafṣ Hazārmard to al-Sind, but 'Uyayna, unwilling to hand over authority, prevented his entry and remained at al-Daybul, with 'Uqba b. Muslim at his side. 'Umar b. Ḥafṣ fought him. After 'Uyayna's men asked 'Umar for a guarantee of safe-conduct, 'Uyayna himself sought a settlement, which 'Umar b. Ḥafṣ granted him, allowing him to leave under guard, and he sent him to al-Manṣūr. 'Umar b. Ḥafṣ remained in al-Manṣūra, and 'Uyayna departed with his guards; however, along the way 'Uyayna escaped from the guards and headed toward Sijistān. He was nearing al-Rukhkhaj when a group of Yemenī tribesmen struck him down and killed him. They brought his head to al-Manṣūr.

'Umar b. Ḥafṣ remained in al-Sind for two years before Abū Ja'far dismissed him and appointed Hishām b. 'Amr al-Tagħlibī. Hishām made his way to al-Manṣūra and took up residence there. He dispatched an army toward al-Hind, and they took booty and captured slaves. Hishām was told, "Al-Manṣūra cannot contain you, but al-Multān is a large country and parts of it are uninhabited." So he went there, leaving his brother, Bistām b. 'Amr, as his deputy over al-Manṣūra. When he neared al-Multān, its ruler came out | against him with a force to repel him. The two met and a fierce battle took place between them in which the ruler of al-Multān was routed. Hishām entered the city victorious and took many prisoners. He then made ships and navigated them on the river of al-Sind to al-Qandahār.<sup>2801</sup> He conquered it, took prisoners, demolished its temple,<sup>2802</sup> and built a mosque in its place. He then came to al-Manṣūr, bearing

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<sup>2801</sup> This almost certainly does not refer to the present city of Qandahār in Afghanistan, but to the region of Gandhāra on the Upper Indus; the two are often confused by Arabic geographers. See Barthold, *An Historical Geography of Iran*, 74.

<sup>2802</sup> Arabic *al-budd*. The word derives from an Arabic form of the name Buddha, and

with him things that no one before him had ever brought from al-Sind. He was in Iraq for only a short time before he died. Al-Manṣūr then appointed Ma'bad b. al-Khalīl al-Tamīmī, who became widely praised in the province.<sup>2803</sup>

Abū Ja'far came to Baghdad in the year 144.<sup>2804</sup> He said, "I have never seen a site more suitable than this for building a city, located as it is between the Tigris and the Euphrates, with access by water to Basra, al-Ubulla, Fārs and what adjoins them, and to Mosul, the Jazīra, Syria, Egypt, the Maghrib, and the routes to al-Jabal and Khurāsān."<sup>2805</sup> He laid out his city, known as Madīnat Abī Ja'far,<sup>2806</sup> on the west side of the Tigris. He gave it four gates: one, which looks across the Tigris, he named the Khurāsān Gate; one, which looks over the Ṣarāt Canal that branches from the Euphrates and connects to the Tigris, he named the Basra Gate; one he named the Kufa Gate; and one he named the Syria Gate.<sup>2807</sup> Above each of these gates were reception halls and gilded domes to which one could ascend on horseback. He made the width of the wall at its base seventy<sup>2808</sup> cubits (*dhirā'*) and enclosed the rest of Baghdad with a wall. He exerted every effort in the city's construction. He brought in engineers, builders, and laborers from every region. He distributed allotments of land within the city to his clients and commanders, so that the streets of the city are named after them, and he pressed them to build. To others he distributed allotments by the city gates, | and he allotted the suburbs of the city to the army. He gave the members of his household allotments in the outer suburbs: he gave allotments to his son al-Mahdī, to various members of his household, and to his clients and commanders.

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Al-Mahdī set out from Khurāsān, returning to Iraq in this year, that is, the year 144. Abū Ja'far came out to welcome him at Nihāwānd. Having arrived, he went to Kufa, and then stayed at al-Hīra and at the city that al-Manṣūr had built and had named al-Hāshimiyya. Al-Mahdī stayed there for a few days. Then he consummated his marriage to Rayṭā bint Abī l-'Abbās at al-Hīra.

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when used carefully refers to Buddhist temples or stupas, though it is sometimes used imprecisely to include Hindu temples. In fact, the area of Gandhāra had been part of an ancient Buddhist kingdom.

<sup>2803</sup> According to al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 3:380, he was appointed in 157/773–774.

<sup>2804</sup> 144 A.H. = April 11, 761 – March 31, 762.

<sup>2805</sup> Cf. the version of al-Manṣūr's words in al-Ya'qūbī's *Geography*, ed. Leiden, 237.

<sup>2806</sup> That is, Abū Ja'far's City.

<sup>2807</sup> Arabic *Bāb al-Shām* could also mean the Damascus Gate.

<sup>2808</sup> Thus clearly in the MSS, but the corresponding passage in the *Geography*, 239, reads "ninety." The two words are easily confused in Arabic script.

Word reached Abū Ja‘far that Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh b. Ḥasan b. Ḥasan was fomenting unrest in Medina and that people of the provinces were corresponding with him. Abū Ja‘far set out to perform the pilgrimage; on his return he did not enter Medina, but went to al-Rabadha. There he met with a group of ‘Alids, among them Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Amr b. ‘Uthmān, the half-brother of ‘Abdallāh b. Ḥasan on his mother’s side. He asked them about Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh b. Ḥasan b. Ḥasan. They replied, “We know nothing of his whereabouts, nor do we have any news of him.” He then said to Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Amr b. ‘Uthmān: “I have assigned you allotments of land, given you gifts, and done much more besides. I have not called you to account for the misdeeds of your family. Yet now you conceal<sup>2809</sup> my enemy and withhold from me all news of him!” He had him severely beaten and led around al-Rabadha on a donkey, and then he had the entire group led off on unsaddled pack camels.

Abū Ja‘far completed his pilgrimage and returned to Baghdad. He took up residence in his city, which was known as the Gate of Gold, in the year 145.<sup>2810</sup> He moved the markets, which had been inside the city, to al-Karkh. Abū Ja‘far had settled in for no more than a few days when he received word of the revolt of Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh b. Ḥasan and his show of authority. He returned | to Kufa, remaining for several days at Qaṣr Ibn Hubayra between Baghdad and Kufa. He appointed Riyāḥ b. ‘Uthmān b. Ḥayyān al-Murrī over Medina.<sup>2811</sup> He said, “I have found no one to deal with them but you, and I know of no one to deal with them but you.” When Riyāḥ reached Medina, he mounted the pulpit and delivered a famous sermon of his in which he said:

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People of Medina! I am the serpent, son of the serpent, the son of ‘Uthmān b. Ḥayyān, and the paternal cousin of Muslim b. ‘Uqba,<sup>2812</sup> who destroyed the bulk of your people and annihilated your men.<sup>2813</sup> By God, I will leave it a wasteland in which not even a dog barks.

<sup>2809</sup> Reading with M *tashtamīlu ‘alā*; ed. Leiden has *tastamīlu ‘alayya* (you induce to turn against me).

<sup>2810</sup> 145 A.H. = April 1, 762 – March 20, 763.

<sup>2811</sup> Riyāḥ b. ‘Uthmān b. Ḥayyān al-Murrī had served in Damascus as deputy to the governor of Syria. His appointment to replace Muḥammad b. Khālid b. ‘Abdallāh al-Qasrī, is dated by al-Ṭabarī to 144/761–762. See al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:143, 161–163.

<sup>2812</sup> *Qutayba* in both MSS, but the Leiden editor’s emendation is certainly correct.

<sup>2813</sup> On Muslim b. ‘Uqba al-Murrī, who led the Syrian army against the Medinans at the battle of al-Harrā in 63/683, see above, ed. Leiden, 2:298–299.

A group of Medinans attacked him; they spoke to him, saying: “Son of the one who was flogged for two *hadd* offenses!<sup>2814</sup> By God, you shall desist from us, or we will make you desist from us ourselves.” Riyāḥ therefore wrote to Abū Ja‘far describing the refractoriness of the people of Medina. Abū Ja‘far dispatched a messenger to Riyāḥ, bearing a letter that he had written to the people of Medina, with orders for him to read the letter publicly. The letter said:

People of Medina, your governor has written to me describing your duplicity, your contrariness, your poor judgment, and your disinclination to fulfill the oath of allegiance to the Commander of the Faithful. The Commander of the Faithful swears by God that if you do not desist, he will replace your security with terror, cut you off from land and sea, and send against you hard-hearted men with whom you have no blood-ties, who will take charge<sup>2815</sup> of the very courtyards of your houses and do as they are commanded. Peace.

Riyāḥ ascended the pulpit and read the letter. When he reached the words, “describing your duplicity,” they shouted from every side, “You lie, you son of the one flogged for two *hadd* offenses!”—and they pelted him with pebbles. He hurried into the *maqṣūra*,<sup>2816</sup> locking it behind him. Then he made his way into the Dār Marwān.<sup>2817</sup> Ayyūb b. Salama b. ‘Abdallāh b. al-Walīd al-Makhzūmī entered and said: “May God make the governor prosper! It is only the rabble that are doing this. | Cut off their hands and scourge their backs!” Some of the Banū Hāshim who were present said to him: “We see it otherwise. Send for the notables and others of the people of Medina, and read al-Manṣūr’s letter to them.” So he gathered them together and read al-Manṣūr’s letter to them. Ḥafṣ b. ‘Umar b. ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Awf al-Zuhri and Abū ‘Ubayda b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. al-Azhar jumped up, one on each side, and said to Riyāḥ: “By God, you lie! Never, when you commanded us, did we disobey you, and never, when you summoned us, did we refuse you.” Then the two men said to the envoy, “Will

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<sup>2814</sup> For the dismissal of the governor of Medina, ‘Uthmān b. Ḥayyān, by the Umayyad caliph Sulaymān, and the punishment of ‘Uthmān for two *hadd* offenses (offenses for which the Qur’ān assigns a fixed penalty)—wine drinking and slander—see above, ed. Leiden, 2:353.

<sup>2815</sup> Reading with the apparent but almost illegible reading in M, *yatawallawna*; in C the word was only partially copied, and ed. Leiden leaves a lacuna.

<sup>2816</sup> The enclosure for the ruler built near the *mihrāb* of the mosque.

<sup>2817</sup> The governor’s residence, named after the Umayyad caliph Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, who served twice as governor of Medina.

you convey a message to the Commander of the Faithful from us?" He replied, "I came only for that purpose." They said: "Then say to him: As for your saying that you would give Medina and its people terror instead of security, God, may He be glorified and exalted, has promised us otherwise; for God, may He be glorified and exalted, has said: *He will give them in exchange, after their fear, security: "They shall serve Me, not associating with Me anything."*"<sup>2818</sup> And we do worship Him, not associating with Him anything."

Muhammad b. 'Abdallāh b. Ḥasan b. Ḥasan came out of hiding in Medina on the first day of Rajab in the year 145,<sup>2819</sup> and a great many people joined him. Letters and delegations from the people of the provinces came to him. He seized Riyāḥ b. 'Uthmān al-Murrī, Abū Ja'far's governor, put him in irons, and imprisoned him. Ibrāhīm b. 'Abdallāh b. Ḥasan b. Ḥasan set off for Basra, where a group (of supporters) had come together, and he stayed in hiding, writing letters to the people and calling on them to give him their obedience. When word reached Abū Ja'far, he wanted to leave for Medina, but then he grew fearful of leaving Iraq, given what he had learned about Ibrāhīm. So he dispatched 'Isā b. Mūsā al-Hāshimī and with him Ḥumayd b. Qaḥṭaba al-Ṭā'i with a formidable army. When 'Isā arrived in Medina, Muḥammad, along with his men, came out against him and fought them during the month of Ramadān. Muḥammad's supporters proceeded to the prison, | where Riyāḥ b. 'Uthmān was executed.

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Asmā', the daughter of 'Abdallāh b. 'Ubaydallāh b. al-'Abbās, was in Medina, and she was hostile to Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh. She attached a black veil to a pole and sent it with one of her clients, and he set it atop the minaret of the mosque.<sup>2820</sup> She sent a second client, named Mujīb al-'Āmirī,<sup>2821</sup> to Muḥammad's camp, where he shouted: "Defeat! Defeat! The Black Bannered-ones"<sup>2822</sup> have entered Medina." When people saw the black flag, they fled in retreat. Muḥammad kept fighting, however, until he was killed. After Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. Ḥasan was killed, 'Isā b. Mūsā sent Kathīr b. al-Ḥusayn al-'Abdi to Medina. Kathīr entered the city, pursued Muḥammad's men, and killed them. He then departed for Iraq.

Ibrāhīm b. 'Abdallāh had set out for Kufa, not doubting that the people of Kufa would rise up against Abū Ja'far with him; however, when he arrived in

<sup>2818</sup> Qur'ān 24:55.

<sup>2819</sup> September 24, 762.

<sup>2820</sup> According to al-Tabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 3:244, it was the Prophet's mosque.

<sup>2821</sup> The reading of the otherwise unattested name is uncertain; the translation follows the Leiden editor's conjecture. M has *al-'Āmirī* followed by the letters *m-h-n-b*.

<sup>2822</sup> That is, the 'Abbāsids.

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Kufa, he found not a single supporter. News of him reached Abū Ja‘far, who placed spies and guardsmen in every location. Ibrāhīm sought to leave, but could not. Realizing his mistake, he devised a trick. There was a man with Ibrāhīm named Sufyān b. Yazīd al-‘Ammī.<sup>2823</sup> He went to Abū Ja‘far and said to him, “Commander of the Faithful, grant me safe-conduct and I will point out Ibrāhīm to you after I guide him to you.” He replied, “I grant you safe-conduct; where is he?” He said: “In Basra. Send with me a man you trust, give me post horses to ride, and write to the governor of Basra, so that after I identify Ibrāhīm to him, he can arrest him.” Abū Ja‘far sent with him Abū Suwayd—he was in charge of the Abū Suwayd arcade at the Damascus Gate in Baghdad.<sup>2824</sup> Sufyān set out accompanied by a young man wearing a woolen coat,<sup>2825</sup> with a parcel of food around his neck for the journey; Abū Suwayd and the young man rode post horses with him. When they reached | Basra, Sufyān said to Abū Suwayd, “Wait for me while I gather news of the man.” He left and did not return. The young man wearing the woolen coat was Ibrāhīm b. ‘Abdallāh b. Ḥasan b. Ḥasan. After waiting for a time, Abū Suwayd went to Sufyān b. Mu‘āwiya b. Yazīd b. al-Muhallab, the governor of the area, who said to him, “Where is the man?” “I do not know,” he replied. He<sup>2826</sup> then wrote to Abū Ja‘far, who realized that it must have been Ibrāhīm and that it had been a trick.

Ibrāhīm b. ‘Abdallāh b. Ḥasan b. Ḥasan b. ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib then rebelled in Basra, having received the oath of allegiance from its people. His rebellion took place at the beginning of Ramadān.<sup>2827</sup> He went to the residence of the governor, who was Sufyān b. Mu‘āwiya al-Muhallabī. Sufyān fortified himself inside the residence, then asked for a guarantee of safe-conduct, which Ibrāhīm granted him. Sufyān b. Mu‘āwiya came out and surrendered the town. Ibrāhīm seized the treasury and other buildings. Now Ja‘far and Muḥammad, the sons of Sulaymān b. ‘Alī, were in the area. They left for Maysān, where they stayed protected by a fortified trench. Ibrāhīm b. ‘Abdallāh sent al-Mughīra b. al-Faz'<sup>2828</sup> al-Sa‘dī to al-Ahwāz; al-Mughīra ousted its governor, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥuṣayn, and seized control of the area. Ibrāhīm sent Ya‘qūb b. al-Faḍl b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Abbās b. Rabī‘a b. al-Ḥārith b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib to Fārs, which he

<sup>2823</sup> There is some question as to his real name. See al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:285 (trans. McAuliffe, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, XXVIII, 255).

<sup>2824</sup> See Lassner, *The Topography of Baghdad*, 66.

<sup>2825</sup> Arabic *jubba*: a long outer garment with wide sleeves.

<sup>2826</sup> The antecedent of the pronoun is unclear.

<sup>2827</sup> Ramadān 145 began on November 23, 762.

<sup>2828</sup> The name is undotted in the MSS and the last letter is r (or z); the Leiden editor has corrected it on the basis of al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:290.

entered, ousting Ismā'il b. ‘Alī from it. He sent Hārūn b. Sa‘d al-‘Ijlī to Wāsiṭ, and he wrested control over its environs. He dispatched Burd b. Labīd al-Yashkūrī to Kaskar, where he established control.

Ibrāhīm left Basra after delegating authority over the city to Numayla b. Murra al-As‘adī. He had drawn up his register; his forces numbered sixty thousand. He left Basra at the beginning of Dhū l-Qa‘da and took the road to Kaskar seeking to engage al-Manṣūr. Abū Ja‘far had written | to ‘Isā b. Mūsā ordering him to come quickly. When ‘Isā arrived, he said to him: “Abū Mūsā,<sup>2829</sup> you are more deserving of victory than Ja‘far and Muḥammad, the sons of Sulaymān. Make haste, so that God may seal the victory at your hands.” ‘Isā set out with eighteen thousand troops and followers of Abū Ja‘far. He wrote to Ja‘far and Muḥammad, the sons of Sulaymān b. ‘Alī, to join him.

Ibrāhīm marched to a village called Bākhamrā.<sup>2830</sup> ‘Isā b. Mūsā arrived in a village called ...<sup>2831</sup> When Ḥumayd b. Qaḥṭaba al-Ṭā’ī advanced into battle position, the fighting quickly escalated and, as it grew desperate, it appeared that things were turning against ‘Isā b. Mūsā, so that the men did not<sup>2832</sup> doubt that Ibrāhīm would prevail and enjoy victory. Then Salm b. Quṭayba al-Bāhili charged Ibrāhīm’s men from one side with horsemen. Fearing a trap, they retreated; Ibrāhīm was left with only four hundred of the Zaydiyya<sup>2833</sup> amid fierce fighting.

Ibrāhīm had rallied support in the name of his brother, Muḥammad, but after Muḥammad was killed, he began to do so in his own name.

A man from the Qaḥṭāniyya<sup>2834</sup> recounted to me: My father<sup>2835</sup> reported to me, saying: “I saw Ibrāhīm, on the day that ‘Isā fought him, astride a dark brown she-mule. Sudayf b. Maymūn seized the crupper of his mule saying:

Seize it,<sup>2836</sup> Abū Ishāq, and may you enjoy it  
Throughout a laudable career and a long life.”

<sup>2829</sup> Addressing ‘Isā b. Mūsā by his *kunya*.

<sup>2830</sup> Identified in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:313, as a village about 16 farsakhs from Kufa.

<sup>2831</sup> The five-letter place name is completely undotted and too ambiguous to be read.

<sup>2832</sup> Reading with M, *mā shakka l-nās*; the negative (*mā*) is absent from C and ed. Leiden.

<sup>2833</sup> The Zaydiyya were partisans of Zayd b. ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn, who revolted in Kufa in 122/740. See the article by W. Madelung in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Zaydiyya.

<sup>2834</sup> That is, from one of the Arab tribes tracing their descent to Qaḥṭān, the progenitor of the southern or Yemenī tribes.

<sup>2835</sup> Reading with M, *abī*; ed. Leiden indicates a lacuna.

<sup>2836</sup> That is, presumably, the caliphate.

Ibrāhīm triumphed decisively; he defeated the army time after time and advanced to the vicinity of Kufa. Finally, Abū Ja‘far called for his swiftest horses, so that he could make his way to Baghdad. Such was Ibrāhīm’s advantage that he scarcely doubted that he would enter Kufa.

2:456 Abū Ja‘far scarcely slept during those nights. His two wives<sup>2837</sup> | were brought to him: Fātīma bt. Muḥammad al-Ṭalḥiyya<sup>2838</sup> and Amat al-Karīm<sup>2839</sup> bt. ‘Abdallāh of the descendants of Khālid b. Asīd. He sent them back to Baghdad without even lifting their veils.

Even when his supporters were routed, Ibrāhīm continued to fight fiercely with 400 of his men [until he was killed].<sup>2840</sup> His head was taken and sent to Abū Ja‘far, who was in Kufa, and placed before him. He gave the people leave, and as they entered they began denouncing Ibrāhīm, his brother, and his kinsmen. Then Ja‘far b. Ḥanẓala al-Bahrānī entered. He said, “May God multiply your recompense, Commander of the Faithful, for the loss of your paternal cousin, and may He forgive him for failing to acknowledge your rightful claim.” Abū Ja‘far was so pleased by this that he said, “Abū Khālid, you are most welcome; come, make yourself comfortable.” Realizing that his words had pleased Abū Ja‘far, the people now spoke in much the same fashion.<sup>2841</sup>

Al-Ḥasan b. Zayd<sup>2842</sup> arrived and was shown the head. Looking at it, he paled and his face fell. He said: “By God, Commander of the Faithful, you killed him when he was fasting and praying. I wish you had not burdened yourself with the sin (of his murder).” One of Abū Ja‘far’s men said, “It seems that you blame the Commander of the Faithful for killing him!” He replied, “It seems that you would have me deny that Ibrāhīm has joined God.” Abū Ja‘far said, “By God, I was just waiting for your companion to come through that door, so that I could call you in, have you beheaded, and depart through the other door.” He replied, “Or I would have done it before you!”

<sup>2837</sup> Reading with M, *imra’atāhu*; ed. Leiden, *imra’atāni* (two women).

<sup>2838</sup> The MSS read Fātīma bt. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ṭalḥiyya; the Leiden editor emended on the basis of the parallel in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:306, where her name is given as Fātīma bt. Muḥammad b. Īsā b. Ṭalḥa b. ‘Ubaydallāh.

<sup>2839</sup> Following the original reading in M and C; the Leiden editor emended to Umm al-Karīm on the basis of the original reading of the Leiden edition of al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:306, but the reading was later corrected in the *Addenda* to Amat al-Karīm.

<sup>2840</sup> Added in the margin of C (and included in ed. Leiden); the words are absent in M.

<sup>2841</sup> Cf. the parallel in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:318 (trans. McAuliffe, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, XXVIII, 291–292).

<sup>2842</sup> Al-Ḥasan b. Zayd b. Ḥasan b. ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭalib, was a Ḥasanid who reconciled himself to ‘Abbāsid rule and lived at court. He was appointed governor of Medina in 150/767, but subsequently fell from favor. See the article by Fr. Buhl in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Ḥasan b. Zayd.

Three months after the killing of Ibrāhīm b. ‘Abdallāh b. Ḥasan b. Ḥasan, Abū Ja‘far left to take up permanent residence in the city of Baghdad. | This took place in the month of Rabi‘ I in the year 146, which corresponds to Tammūz of the months of the non-Arabs.<sup>2843</sup> He dispatched al-Mahdī as governor of Khurāsān, and with him the highest-ranking military men and companions. The Khurāsānī commanders met with Abū Ja‘far; recounting to him the deeds of al-Mahdī that bespoke his fine character and otherwise lavishing praise upon him, they asked that Abū Ja‘far make al-Mahdi his heir apparent. Abū Ja‘far wrote to ʻIsā b. Mūsā, who was in Kufa, telling him where the hearts of the people of Khurāsān and others lay in the matter. ʻIsā b. Mūsā had always claimed that he was Abū Ja‘far’s heir apparent. Therefore, when Abū Ja‘far’s letter arrived with word that the commanders and people of Khurāsān had agreed on making al-Mahdī heir apparent and were advising Abū Ja‘far to do so immediately, ʻIsā wrote back to impress on him the gravity of the matter, to remind him of what comes from renegeing on promises and violating oaths, and to say that he feared that the people might do the same with regard to their allegiance to Abū Ja‘far and his son. Much correspondence passed between them.

When ʻIsā came to Baghdad, the army attacked him day after day, and when the troops finally reached his residence, he came to fear for his life. Seeing this, he yielded, acquiesced, and gave his oath to al-Mansūr to allow his son, al-Mahdī, to be named as heir. This was in the year 147.<sup>2844</sup> Now there was no longer anyone who did not pledge allegiance. Abū Ja‘far appointed ʻIsā heir apparent after al-Mahdī, who was then in Khurāsān. His father’s letters arrived regarding the oath of allegiance to him. The commanders and Khurāsānīs who were with him all swore the oath of allegiance, except for the district of Bādhghīs, where Ustādhsīs<sup>2845</sup> had declared prophethood and was being supported by many people. Al-Mahdī sent Khāzim b. Khuzayma al-Tamīmī against him. The latter fought him, dispersed his following, | captured him, and brought him to Abū Ja‘far in Baghdad, who had him executed.

In this year, there was a meteor shower.

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<sup>2843</sup> Tammūz is the Julian month of July, although in fact Rabi‘ I, 146, corresponds to May 19 – June 17, 763.

<sup>2844</sup> 147 A.H. = March 10, 764 – February 26, 765.

<sup>2845</sup> The name is corrupt in both MSS, and the reading relies on secondary sources. See the article by Madelung in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ustādhsīs; and Crone, *Nativist Prophets*, 151–157.

### The Death of Abū ‘Abdallāh Ja‘far b. Muḥammad and His Praiseworthy Ways (*Ādāb*)

Abū ‘Abdallāh Ja‘far b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib,<sup>2846</sup> whose mother was Umm Farwa bt. al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr, died in Medina, in the year 148,<sup>2847</sup> at the age of 66. He was the most virtuous of men and the most learned in God’s religion. When the scholars who heard (traditions) from him transmitted them on his authority, they would say, “The Learned One (*al-Ālim*) informed us.”

Sufyān<sup>2848</sup> said: “I heard Ja‘far say: ‘To pause whenever in doubt is better than to rush headlong into perdition; to omit a tradition (*hadīth*) that we have not transmitted is better than your narrating a tradition which we have not recorded. Upon every rightful claim there lies truth, and upon every correct judgment there falls light. Hold to whatever agrees with God’s Book, and leave whatever contradicts it.’”

Ja‘far said: “Three persons deserve mercy: the rich man who has become poor, the powerful man who has been humbled, and the scholar who has become a laughing-stock to the ignorant.”

He said: “Him whom God turns from the ignominy of sins to the glory of piety, God will enrich without wealth and make mighty without kinsmen. He who fears God, God will make all things fear him; and he who does not fear God, God will make him fear all things. He who is content with a simple sustenance from God, God will be content with simple deeds from him. He who does not shy from seeking that which is lawful, his burden will be lightened, and his family blessed. He who renounces the things of this world, God will plant wisdom in his heart and loose his tongue<sup>2849</sup> from the affairs of this world, its malady and its remedy, and allow him to emerge from it unscathed.”

<sup>2846</sup> Often known simply as Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq (the Truthful), the sixth Imam according to the reckoning of the Twelver Shi‘a; for biography and bibliography, see the article by M. G. S. Hodgson in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Dja‘far al-Ṣādik*.

<sup>2847</sup> The biography in Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-a‘yān*, 1:327–328, places his death in the month of Shawwāl, 148 (November 20 – December 18, 765).

<sup>2848</sup> Perhaps to be identified as the famous Kufan jurist, traditionist, and Qur‘ān interpreter Abū ‘Abdallāh Sufyān b. Sa‘id b. Masrūq al-Thawrī, d. 161/778. See the article by H. P. Raddatz in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Sufyān al-Thawrī*.

<sup>2849</sup> Arabic *wa-atlaqa lisānahu min umr al-dunyā*. The meaning of the idiom in this context is uncertain; it normally means “allow one’s tongue to speak freely,” often critically, of something. The translation, “loose his tongue with regard to ...” is also possible. See Dozy, *Supplément*, 2:56b.

He is reported to have said: “When the verse, *Stretch not thine eyes | to that We have given pairs of them to enjoy; and do not sorrow for them, and lower thy wing unto the believers, and say, ‘Surely, I am the manifest warner,’*<sup>2850</sup> was revealed to the Messenger of God, he said: ‘He who does not console himself as did the Messenger of God, his soul will be torn with regrets for the world. He whose eye is fixed on what people possess, his anxiety will persist, and his rage will endure unrelieved. He who cannot perceive God’s grace to him except in food and drink, his life has been shortened and his punishment has drawn near.’”

He said: “Whenever God bestows a blessing on His servant and the latter acknowledges it in his heart and gives thanks for it with his tongue, that servant will be given better than what he has received.”

He said: “One of the things that God, may He be glorified and exalted, said secretly to Moses was: ‘O Moses, do not forget Me at any moment, and do not rejoice in much wealth; for forgetfulness of Me deadens the heart, and with increase of wealth comes increase of sin. O Moses, every age brings calamity after calamity, abundance after abundance, and kingdom after kingdom, but My kingdom remains without end. Nothing is hidden from Me in earth or in heaven—how could what took its inception from Me be hidden from Me? How can your ambition be anything but to attain to what is with Me, when you must needs return to Me?’”

He said: “There are two traits such that he who possesses them will enter Heaven.” Asked what they were, he replied: “Enduring what you dislike if God loves it, and abandoning what you like if God dislikes it.” Asked who can endure that, he replied, “He who flees to Paradise from the fires of Hell.”

He said: “Doing good wards off an evil death, charity quenches the Lord’s wrath, tying the bonds of kinship lengthens life and drives away poverty, and the saying, ‘There is no strength nor might save in God,’ is among the treasures of Heaven.”

He said: “No one has ever entreated a kindness from me or sought to ingratiate himself in a way dearer to me or closer to my heart than by requesting that I follow a favor I have done previously for him with another like it in order to enhance and preserve it; for refusing later favors puts an end to gratitude for former ones; neither | have I permitted myself to refuse any urgent request.”

He said: “God revealed to Moses the son of ‘Imrān: ‘Putting your hand in the mouth of the dragon up to the elbow is better for you than making a request of someone who is in no position to fulfil it.’”

<sup>2850</sup> *Qurān* 15:88; only the first part of the verse is written in the text (up to *enjoy*), followed by the word *al-āya* (that is, fill in the rest of the verse).

He said: “Do not mix with five sorts of people: the fool, for though he seeks to benefit you, he will only bring you harm; the liar, for his words are like a mirage that makes what is far seem near to you and makes what is near seem far from you; the profligate, for he would sell you to buy his food or drink; the miser, for he will forsake you when you need him most; and the coward, for he will hand you over and hand over even his own parents.”<sup>2851</sup>

He said: “The believers are amicable to each other and conciliatory to each other, and their refuge is available.”<sup>2852</sup>

He said: “He who has grown angry with you three times but has said no evil of you, take him as a friend. He who seeks the affection of his brother should not quarrel with him or contend with him, and should never make him a promise and fail to keep it.”

Ja‘far b. Muḥammad had the following sons: Ismā‘il, ‘Abdallāh, Muḥammad, Mūsā, ‘Alī, and al-‘Abbās.

Ismā‘il b. ‘Alī b. ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Abbās said: “One day, I entered the presence of Abū Ja‘far al-Manṣūr, and his beard was wet with tears. He said to me, ‘Don’t you know what has befallen your family?’ I said, ‘What is it, Commander of the Faithful?’ He said, ‘Their master, teacher, and finest example has died.’ ‘And who is it, Commander of the Faithful?’ I asked. He replied, ‘Ja‘far b. Muḥammad.’ I said, ‘May God make great the reward of the Commander of the Faithful and preserve him for us.’ He said to me: ‘Ja‘far was among those of whom God said: *Then We bequeathed the Book on those of Our servants We chose.*<sup>2853</sup> He was one of those chosen by God and unsurpassed in good works.’”

Ismā‘il b. ‘Alī was one of the best and most distinguished of the Banū Hāshim. Abū Ja‘far al-Manṣūr appointed him over Fārs, where Muhalhil the Khārijite<sup>2854</sup> 2:461 had rebelled. | Ismā‘il led a force against him, killing him, routing his army, and capturing 400 of his men. His brother, ‘Abd al-Ṣamad, who was with him, said: “May God make the governor prosper! Behead them!” But Ismā‘il b. ‘Alī replied: “The first to teach how one fights people of the *qibla*<sup>2855</sup> was ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭalib. He never killed a prisoner, pursued a person in flight, or finished off a wounded man.”

Şāliḥ b. ‘Alī b. ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Abbās governed Qinnasrīn and al-‘Awāsim on behalf of Abū Ja‘far. Word reached Abū Ja‘far of the large number of his fighters

<sup>2851</sup> Reading with M, *wa-yusallimu wālidayhi*; ed. Leiden, *wa-yatasallamu l-diya*, “and receive the blood money.”

<sup>2852</sup> Meaning that they offer one another refuge.

<sup>2853</sup> Qur’ān 35:32.

<sup>2854</sup> Arabic *al-Ḥarūrī*.

<sup>2855</sup> That is, fellow Muslims (those who face the same direction or *qibla* in prayer).

and clients, and he became fearful. So he wrote to Șāliḥ b. ‘Alī, summoning him, but Șāliḥ wrote back that he was gravely ill. Abū Ja‘far refused to believe it, although Șāliḥ in fact was suffering from consumption. He traveled to Baghdad; and when Abū Ja‘far saw him, he turned him away, showing him neither favor nor kindness. Șāliḥ said, “The Commander of the Faithful has despaired of me and so has done this to me, but God can quicken bones when they are decayed.”<sup>2856</sup> He died after reaching Ānāt, one of the villages of the Euphrates. He was the same age as Abū Ja‘far.

Abū Ja‘far appointed members of his household to governorships of the provinces. He appointed Ismā‘il b. ‘Alī over Fārs, Sulaymān b. ‘Alī over Basra, ʻIsā b. Mūsā over Kufa, Șāliḥ b. ‘Alī over Qinnasrīn and al-‘Awāṣim, al-‘Abbās b. Muḥammad over the Jazīra, ‘Abdallāh b. Șāliḥ over Ḥimṣ, al-Faḍl b. Șāliḥ over Damascus, Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm over Jordan, ‘Abd al-Wahhāb b. Ibrāhīm over Palestine, al-Sarī b. ‘Abdallāh b. Tammām b. al-‘Abbās b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib over Mecca, Ja‘far b. Sulaymān over Medina, and Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad over Mosul. Then he dismissed Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad, replacing him with his son Ja‘far, and sent Hishām b. ‘Amr with him.

His Arab officials were Yazid b. Hātim al-Muhallabī, Muḥammad b. al-Ash‘ath al-Khuzaī, Ziyād b. ‘Abdallāh al-Hārithī, | Ma‘n b. Zā’ida al-Shaybānī, Khāzim b. Khuzayma al-Tamīmī, ‘Uqba b. Salm al-Hunāī, Yazid b. Usayd al-Sulamī, Rawḥ b. Hātim al-Muhallabī, al-Musayyab b. Zuhayr al-Ḍabbī, ‘Umar b. Ḥafṣ al-Muhallabī, al-Ḥasan b. Qaḥṭaba al-Ṭā’ī, Salm<sup>2857</sup> b. Qutayba al-Bāhilī, Ja‘far b. Ḥanẓala al-Bahrānī, al-Rabi‘ b. Ziyād al-Hārithī, and Hishām b. ‘Amr al-Taghlībī. He used to rotate these men around his administrative posts because of his trust in them and his reliance on them. The officials chosen from among his clients were ‘Umāra b. Ḥamza, Marzūq Abū l-Khaṣīb,<sup>2858</sup> Wādiḥ, Ma-nāra,<sup>2859</sup> al-‘Alā’, Razīn, Ghazwān,<sup>2860</sup> ‘Atīyya, Șā‘id, Marthad,<sup>2861</sup> Asad, and al-Rabi‘.

In the year 151,<sup>2862</sup> al-Manṣūr wrote to summon Ma‘n b. Zā’ida al-Shaybānī, who was then governor of Yemen. Ma‘n appointed his son Zā’ida to govern Yemen in his stead and went to Abū Ja‘far. Ma‘n had grown old, and so Abū Ja‘far

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<sup>2856</sup> Cf. Qur’ān 36:78.

<sup>2857</sup> MSS, *Sālim*, corrected by the Leiden editor.

<sup>2858</sup> Both MSS appear to have “*al-H/Khaṭīb*.”

<sup>2859</sup> The MSS appear to read Sāra, corrected by the Leiden editor on the basis of Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 6:22.

<sup>2860</sup> Both MSS have ‘Uzwāyn; corrected by the Leiden editor.

<sup>2861</sup> The reading is uncertain.

<sup>2862</sup> 151 A.H. = January 26, 768 – January 13, 769.

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said to him, "You have aged, Ma'n!" He replied, "In your service, Commander of the Faithful!" He said, "But you still show endurance." He replied, "Against your enemies!" He said: "And you still have something left." He replied, "It is yours!" So he dispatched him to Khurāsān, where al-Mahdī was. Al-Mahdī returned, while Ma'n stayed to fight the Khārijites who were there. He killed a great number of them and annihilated them. When they saw that they had no strength to fight him, they used trickery. He was having a villa built for himself at Bust; so some of them entered it disguised as builders, concealing their swords in bundles of reeds. They waited a few days; then, having gained access to the interior of the house, they unsheathed the swords, attacked him—he was in a cloak<sup>2863</sup>—and killed him. | His nephew, Yazīd b. Mazyad, devoted all his efforts to the matter and killed so many Khārijites that their blood flowed like a river; then he departed for Baghdad, but the Khārijites followed him. He would ride amid a large entourage of his uncle's clients and his fellow tribesmen, so that they were unable to catch him unawares. Finally, they attacked him when he was on the bridge in Baghdad, but he dismounted and killed a great number of them. They struck him several blows with their swords. It was a momentous battle with a great number of Khārijites and of people (on our side) killed. No one could recall when the Khārijites had entered Baghdad openly and killed anyone before that day. Zā'ida b. Ma'n b. Zā'ida remained as his father's deputy in Yemen until his father was killed, whereupon al-Mansūr replaced him with al-Ḥajjāj b. Manṣūr. Then he dismissed the latter and appointed Yazīd b. Manṣūr in his stead.

The people of al-Yamāma and al-Baḥrayn rebelled in the year 152,<sup>2864</sup> killing Abū l-Sāj, Abū Ja'far's governor over them. Abū Ja'far dispatched ʻUqba b. Salm al-Hunā'ī against them. In retaliation for what Ma'n had done in Yemen, he killed those of the Rabī'a who were there.<sup>2865</sup> He said, "Even if Ma'n were on a swift horse, and I on a lame donkey, I would still have outraced him to Hell." He took prisoners of Arabs and clients.

2863 This is the literal meaning of the Arabic (*wa-huwa fī ridā'*). The significance of the detail is unclear. Perhaps it is to be connected with the detail mentioned in al-Balādhuri, *Futūh*, 402, that the assassins assaulted him while he was having blood drawn by cupping, which would explain why he was wearing only a cloak.

2864 152 A.H. = January 14, 769 – January 3, 770.

2865 The tribal rivalry derives from the fact that Ma'n's tribe, Shaybān, a part of Bakr b. Wā'il, belonged to the Rabī'a tribes, part of the northern grouping of Arab tribes. ʻUqba b. Salm belonged to the Hunā'a, which was part of the Azd 'Umān, who belonged to the southern grouping of Arab tribes (Yemen).

A messenger reached ‘Uqba bearing good news from al-Manṣūr. ‘Uqba said to him, “I have no money to give you, but I will give you something worth 500,000 dirhams.” “What is it?” asked the messenger. ‘Uqba said: “I will give you fifty men of the Rabī‘a. You will set off with them, and, when you reach Basra, you will act as if you intend to behead them and to crucify them at the doors of the enemies of the Commander of the Faithful. Anyone you point to will ransom himself from you for 10,000 dirhams.” He replied, “I accept.” | ‘Uqba handed the men over to the messenger, and the latter took them to Basra. He stood them in the Mirbad<sup>2866</sup> and made as if he meant to behead them and crucify them. People gathered and rioting almost ensued. Sawwār b. ‘Abdallāh, who was the chief judge of Basra at the time, sent for the messenger, who was brought to him. He issued orders for the men to be placed in prison, and said, “Do nothing to them until I send you orders.” He wrote to al-Manṣūr about the men, stressing the gravity of the situation surrounding them. The caliph wrote back that he was pardoning the men and commended him warmly.

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When Ilyās b. Ḥabīb al-Fihri, the governor of Ifrīqiya, was killed, Abū Ja‘far appointed Ḥabīb b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Ḥabīb, Ilyās’s nephew. He held office for a time before a man named ‘Āsim b. Jamīl al-Ibāḍī rebelled and killed Ibn Ḥabīb. The Ibāḍīya spread across Ifrīqiya and appointed as their leader Abū l-Khaṭṭāb ‘Abd al-A‘lā b. al-Samḥ al-Ma‘āfirī. He became a formidable presence, exerting authority over the whole region. Abū Ja‘far appointed Muḥammad b. al-Ash‘ath al-Khuza‘ī, who then arrived in Tripoli. Abū l-Khaṭṭāb marched against him from al-Qayrawān, but Muḥammad b. al-Ash‘ath fought him, killed him, and sent his head to Abū Ja‘far.

Muḥammad b. al-Ash‘ath then proceeded to al-Qayrawān. He was there for only a short while before Hāshim b. Ishtākhanj<sup>2867</sup> al-Khurāsānī rose against him, backed by those of the regular army (*jund*) and the people of Khurāsān who were in the province. They drove Ibn al-Ash‘ath from the province and chose a man named Īsā b. Mūsā al-Khurāsānī to lead them. Ibn al-Ash‘ath left for Iraq.

Abū Ja‘far wrote to appoint al-Aghlab b. Sālim al-Tamīmī governor of the province. The people of Ifrīqiya rebelled, removing al-Aghlab b. Sālim and installing al-Ḥasan b. Ḥarb. When word of this reached Abū Ja‘far, he was loath to leave the province in turmoil, and therefore wrote appointing al-Ḥasan

<sup>2866</sup> Al-Mirbad was a market outside the western gate of Basra. See the article by Ch. Pellat in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Mirbad.

<sup>2867</sup> The name is undotted in both MSS; ed. Leiden follows the reading in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:369. Al-Ya‘qūbī, *Geography*, 293–294, refers to Ishtākhanj as a dependency of Samarqand.

b. Ḥarb governor of the province. Once order returned to the province, he appointed ‘Umar b. Ḥafṣ | al-Muhallabī Hazārmard. Shortly after the latter arrived in the province, Ya‘qūb b. Tamīm al-Kindī, known as Abū Ḥātim, rose up against him, joined by the people of the province. Ya‘qūb besieged him in al-Qayrawān, and he remained besieged until he was killed in the year 153.<sup>2868</sup> Abū Ḥātim Ya‘qūb b. Tamīm al-Ibādī took control of the province.

Abū Ja‘far appointed Yazīd b. Ḥātim al-Muhallabī over the Maghrib in the year 154.<sup>2869</sup> Abū Ja‘far accompanied al-Muhallabī as far as Jerusalem and commanded him to set off. Abū Ja‘far returned, settling<sup>2870</sup> in the Syrian provinces and the Jazīra. Yazīd b. Ḥātim arrived in Egypt, where he remained for a short while before going on to Ifrīqiya. He arrived in Tripoli with a large force. Abū Ḥātim al-Ibādī marched toward him, and the two met at Tripoli. Yazīd engaged him, and the fighting lasted for days, until Abū Ḥātim and a great number of his followers were killed.

Yazīd b. Ḥātim reached al-Qayrawān in the year 155<sup>2871</sup> and proclaimed a safe-conduct to the populace as a whole. He remained in the province through the caliphates of Abū Ja‘far, al-Mahdī, Mūsā (al-Hādī), and part of the caliphate of al-Rashīd.

When the people of al-Ṭālaqān grew restive, Abū Ja‘far dispatched ‘Umar b. al-‘Alā’ against them. He seized al-Ṭālaqān, Dunbāwand, and Daylamān, taking many captives from the Daylāmīs. He then marched into Ṭabaristān, where he remained for the duration of al-Manṣūr’s caliphate.

Al-Manṣūr sent al-Layth, a client (*mawlā*) of the Commander of the Faithful, to Farghāna, whose king at the time was F-y-r-ān son of Af-rā-k-f-n.<sup>2872</sup> The latter’s residence was in a city called Kāshghar. Al-Layth fought them fiercely, until the king of Farghāna sought a negotiated settlement, which he granted them in exchange for the payment of a large tribute. As his envoy, the king of Farghāna sent one of his companions, a man named Bānījūr.<sup>2873</sup> It was proposed to him that he convert to Islam, | but he refused. He remained in prison until the days of al-Mahdī. He said, “I will not betray the king who sent me.”

<sup>2868</sup> 153 A.H. = January 4, 770 – December 23, 770.

<sup>2869</sup> 154 A.H. = December 24, 770 – December 12, 771.

<sup>2870</sup> Reading with M, *fa-staqarra*; ed. Leiden, *fa-stanfara* (he summoned [namely, to war]).

<sup>2871</sup> 155 A.H. = December 13, 771 – December 1, 772.

<sup>2872</sup> The letters are undotted in both MSS, and the name cannot be verified from other sources.

<sup>2873</sup> A variety of readings have been proposed for the name, which is written without dots in the MSS. Ed. Leiden has Bātījūr, but Bānījūr is more likely; see the article by C. E. Bosworth in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Bānidjūrids.

Abū Ja‘far built up the city of al-Maşṣīşa. It had been a small fort said to have been constructed by ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān. Because the Byzantines were constantly launching night attacks on the people there and plundering the place, Abū Ja‘far built the wall around it and put in the trench. He settled fighters there and had prisoners transported to the site. The men who oversaw the construction were al-‘Abbās b. Muḥammad and Ṣalīḥ b. ‘Alī.

Abū Ja‘far seized so much of people’s wealth that he left no one with a surplus. The amount of what he took from them was eight hundred million dirhams. He used to say to the members of his household: “I am not so ignorant of the proper place [for my love] as to take from you,<sup>2874</sup> for among you there are only uncles, brothers, cousins and nephews. Therefore I guard you with my eyes and worry about you in person. By God, by God, your souls are in peril, so see to them; and so too is your wealth, so guard it closely! Beware of squandering, for you could soon turn from being the offspring of my sons to being people recognized by no man and of whom people ask, ‘Who are you?’”

He used to say: “The kings are three: Mu‘āwiya, whose mainstay was his Ziyād; ‘Abd al-Malik, whose mainstay was his Ḥajjāj; and I, who have no mainstay.”

He used to say: “He who has little wealth will have few men, and he who has few men will be overpowered by his enemy. He whose enemy overpowers him will see his kingdom wane, and he whose kingdom wanes will have his inner sanctum plundered.”

He said one day to his companions: “This kingdom came to me when I was already tested by experience: I had known good fortune and ill, had rubbed shoulders with passers-by in the markets, had celebrated | festivals with them, and had offered them condolences at funerals.<sup>2875</sup> By God, although I do not want to exploit them,<sup>2876</sup> I do wish to know what they have been up to since I have concealed myself from them behind these walls and been distracted

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<sup>2874</sup> The translation follows M, with an emendation suggested by Everett Rowson: *innī lā ajhalu mawdī’ [hubbī] hattā ākhudha minkum*. The words *hubbī* and *hattā* have the same ductus in Arabic script, and the copyist has omitted the first of them by haplography. Ed. Leiden reads, *innī la-ajhalu mawdī’i hattā ahdhara minkum* (I am so ignorant of my position that I am on guard against you.)

<sup>2875</sup> Reading with M *wa-‘azaytuhum fi l-ma‘āzī*. However, this requires emending the last word, which is clearly written as *magħażi* (military expeditions). Ed. Leiden reads *wa-ghażaytuhum fi l-maghāzī*, (and I raided with them on expeditions). Perhaps one should read *wa-‘azaytuhum fi l-maghāzī* (and I offered them condolences after battles).

<sup>2876</sup> Or possibly: “do not want to become better acquainted with them.”

from them in attending to their concerns. By God, I do not reproach myself for sending out spies so that news of them reaches me even when they are in their homes."

One of our elders recounted to me:<sup>2877</sup> One day Abū Ja‘far was delivering a sermon and mentioning God; whereupon a man rose before him and said, "I would remind you, Commander of the Faithful, of Whom<sup>2878</sup> it is you speak." Abū Ja‘far replied: "Listen! Listen to one who has received from God and has reminded of Him!<sup>2879</sup> God forbid that my pride should lead me into sin,<sup>2880</sup> for then I should have gone astray and not be among the rightly guided.<sup>2881</sup> By God, it is not God that you had in mind in this; you only wanted it to be said, 'He stood up, he spoke, he was punished, but he stood firm.' How easily I could turn against one who spoke such words, were I so inclined. So mind your business, woe to you, for I have forgiven! And beware—you and all you people—of doing the like! For admonition<sup>2882</sup> has been granted to us, and from us it issues forth; therefore, acknowledge the authority of those worthy of it, that they may exercise it as they received it." He then returned to where he had left off in his sermon.

Abū Ja‘far performed the pilgrimage five times during his caliphate: in the years 140, 144, 147, 152, and 158. In the latter year he did not complete the pilgrimage, but died on the first of the ten days, and so Ibrāhīm b. Yahyā b. Muhammad b. ‘Alī led the pilgrimage.

On his death bed, Abū Ja‘far said to his clients: "Once, before this authority<sup>2883</sup> came to us, I dreamt a dream. It was as if we were at the Sacred Mosque, when suddenly the Prophet came out of the House,<sup>2884</sup> holding | a banner, and said, 'Where is ‘Abdallāh?' My brother, my uncle and I all rose, but my brother"—he meant Abū l-‘Abbās—"got ahead of us and took the banner. He carried it a few steps that I counted and numbered; then he fell, and the banner

<sup>2877</sup> The following incident of the caliph's being interrupted in a sermon is also recorded in al-Tabārī, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:427. The text in M is difficult, and C, which reproduces M, has been corrected in the margin; ed. Leiden follows most of these corrections and is the basis for the following translation, except as otherwise noted.

<sup>2878</sup> As emended by ed. Leiden; M: "of *what* it is you speak."

<sup>2879</sup> Or, "and has reminded you of it."

<sup>2880</sup> Cf. Qur’ān 2:206.

<sup>2881</sup> Cf. Qur’ān 6:56.

<sup>2882</sup> Thus M (*al-maw’iza*); ed. Leiden, *al-hikma* (wisdom).

<sup>2883</sup> Arabic *amr* (matter, affair), referring to the caliphate.

<sup>2884</sup> That is, the Kaaba.

fell from his hand. The Messenger of God took it, returned to his place, and said again, ‘Where is ‘Abdallāh?’ My uncle and I rose. I pushed my uncle aside, knocking him down, and pressed forward to take the banner. Having the banner in hand, I carried it several steps that I counted and numbered; then I fell, and the banner fell from my hand. Those steps being now completed, I shall die today.’

He died on the third day of Dhū l-Hijja in the year 158,<sup>2885</sup> at the age of 68, and was buried at Bi’r Maymūn. His son Ṣalīḥ led the funeral prayers. His reign lasted 22 years.

He left six sons: Muḥammad al-Mahdī, whose mother was Umm Mūsā bt. Manṣūr al-Ḥimyariyya; Ṣalīḥ and Ya’qūb, whose mother was al-Ṭalḥiyya ...<sup>2886</sup> His son Ja‘far the Elder died during his lifetime. His mother was Umm Mūsā bint Manṣūr al-Ḥimyariyya.

The person with the greatest influence over him was Abū Ayyūb al-Khūzī. Abū Ayyūb had been a secretary to Sulaymān b. Ḥabib al-Muhallabī, under whom Abū Ja‘far had held office during the days of the Umayyads. Sulaymān once became angry with Abū Ja‘far and ordered that he should be beaten and imprisoned, but Abū Ayyūb rescued him. Abū Ja‘far, remembering this about him, appointed him wazīr. Then, displeased with him, he killed him and confiscated his wealth. He killed him in the year 154, and no one was known to wield great influence over him afterward.

Among his night companions were Hishām b. ‘Amr al-Tagħlibī, ‘Abdallāh b. al-Rabi‘ al-Ḥārithī, Ishāq b. Muslim al-‘Uqaylī, and al-Ḥārith b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān al-Ḥarashī.

He was the first to appoint judges to the major cities (*amṣār*) directly; formerly they were appointed by local officials.<sup>2887</sup> His judges were ‘Uthmān b.

<sup>2885</sup> October 4, 775.

<sup>2886</sup> Names have dropped out of the text, although the MSS have no indication of a lacuna. Not only are only four sons mentioned, but one, Ja‘far the Younger, is said to have predeceased his father, which implies that he should not be included among the six whom Abū Ja‘far left (*khallafa*). Al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:443, lists eight sons, of whom two died during their father’s lifetime: Muḥammad al-Mahdī, Ja‘far the Elder (predeceased his father), Sulaymān, Isā, Ya’qūb, Ja‘far the Younger, Ṣalīḥ al-Miskīn, and al-Qāsim (predeceased his father). In addition to identifying their mothers, al-Ṭabarī explains that the name of al-Ṭalḥiyya was Fāṭima bt. Muḥammad, and she was called al-Ṭalḥiyya because she was a descendant of Ṭalḥa b. ‘Ubaydallāh (the companion of the Prophet who was killed at the Battle of the Camel in 36/656).

<sup>2887</sup> Arabic *aṣḥāb al-ma‘āwin* (pl. of *sāḥib al-ma‘ūna*). Originally, the term referred to the official responsible for disbursing *ma‘āwin*, allocations distinct from military stipends and ration allowances, but the term seems to have broadened to include various other

2:469 ‘Umar al-Tamīmī and Yahyā b. Sa‘īd al-Anṣārī, | followed by ‘Abdallāh b. Ṣafwān al-Jumāḥī.<sup>2888</sup> The judge of Kufa was Sharīk b. ‘Abdallāh al-Nakha‘ī; and of Basra, ‘Umar b. ‘Āmir al-Sulamī, followed by Sawwār b. ‘Abdallāh al-‘Anbarī. The judge of Egypt was ‘Abdallāh b. Lahī‘a al-Ḥadramī.<sup>2889</sup> ‘Abd al-Jabbār b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān al-Azdī was in charge of his security forces (*shuraṭ*), until he removed him and appointed him to Khurāsān. In his stead he appointed his brother, [‘Umar] b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān, whom he later removed, when his brother<sup>2890</sup> rebelled and was assassinated. He then appointed Mūsā b. Ka‘b al-Tamīmī, followed by al-Musayyab b. Zuhayr al-Ḍabbī, who at first was Mūsā b. Ka‘b’s deputy, but then Mūsā died. Ka‘b b. Mālik headed Abū Ja‘far’s personal guard (*haras*), followed by ‘Uthmān b. Nahik, whom he replaced with Abū l-‘Abbās al-Ṭūsī. Abū Ja‘far’s chamberlain (*hājib*) was ‘Isā b. Rawḍa, his client; then al-Rabī‘, also his client, became his chamberlain, gaining authority over most of his affairs.

Those who led the pilgrimage during his days:

- in the year 136, Ismā‘il b. ‘Alī; or according to others, Abū Ja‘far, with Abū Muslim as his traveling-companion;<sup>2891</sup>
- in the year 137, [Ismā‘il b. ‘Alī;
- in the year 138, Faḍl b. Ṣalīḥ b. ‘Alī;
- in the year 139,]<sup>2892</sup> which was the Year of Abundance,<sup>2893</sup> al-‘Abbās b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī;

functions of civil administration. The exact sense here is unclear. See the article by P. Crone in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ma‘ūna.

2888 The text does not mention where these men were judges. ‘Uthmān b. ‘Umar al-Tamīmī is said to have been a judge in Medina under the Umayyads, and to have died in 209 (Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta’rīkh*, 371, 408, 473). Yahyā b. Sa‘īd al-Anṣārī served as judge in Medina under the Umayyads and died there in 143/760–761 (*ibid.*, 367, 419, 420). ‘Abdallāh b. Ṣafwān al-Jumāḥī is something of a mystery; the well-known figure by that name died fighting for Ibn al-Zubayr in 73/692, so this ‘Abdallāh b. Ṣafwān must be someone else. The most probable inference is that this first group of judges refers to Medina, although it is possible that Abū Ja‘far brought them to serve in Baghdad.

2889 For the life of this judge and traditionist, see the article by F. Rosenthal in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ibn Lahī‘a.

2890 That is, ‘Abd al-Jabbār.

2891 Reading with M, *zamīlahu*. The copyist of C omitted the first letter, leaving a meaningless word, which the Leiden editor emended to *ma‘ahu* (with him).

2892 The Leiden editor added the bracketed material on the basis of the parallel sources. Cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:121, 124, 127.

2893 Arabic ‘ām al-*khiṣb*; cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:125.

- in the year 140, Abū Ja‘far al-Manṣūr;
- in the year 141, Ṣalīḥ b. ‘Alī, who was governor of Damascus, Ḥimṣ and Qinnasrīn;
- in the year 142; Ismā‘il b. ‘Alī;
- in the year 143, Ḥasan b. Mūsā b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī;
- in the year 144, Abū Ja‘far al-Manṣūr;
- in the year 145, al-Sarī b. ‘Abdallāh b. al-Ḥārith b. al-‘Abbās b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib;
- in the year 146, ‘Abd al-Wahhāb b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī;
- in the year 147, Abū Ja‘far al-Manṣūr;
- in the year 148, his son Ja‘far;
- in the year 149, Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. ‘Alī;
- in the year 150, ‘Abd al-Ṣamad b. ‘Alī;
- in the year 151, Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm;
- in the year 152, Abū Ja‘far al-Manṣūr; | 2:470
- in the year 153, al-Mahdī, who was his father’s heir apparent;
- in the year 154, Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm;
- in the year 155, ‘Abd al-Ṣamad b. ‘Alī;
- in the year 156, al-‘Abbās b. Muḥammad;
- in the year 157, Ibrāhīm b. Yahyā b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī;
- in the year 158, Abū Ja‘far intended to perform the pilgrimage but died, and it was led by Ibrāhīm.

The leaders of the campaigns during his days:

- in the year 138, Ṣalīḥ b. ‘Alī, who was governor of Syria, and al-‘Abbās b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī, who was governor of Khurāsān. Byzantine territory had not been attacked since al-Ghamr b. Yazīd had done so in the year 125. Ṣalīḥ b. ‘Alī remained as governor over Syria and the frontier provinces (*thughūr*), sending commanders on campaigns into Byzantine territory on his behalf. They were led by his son, al-Faḍl b. Ṣalīḥ, and others.
- in the year 142, al-‘Abbās b. Muḥammad;
- in the year 143, al-‘Abbās again;
- in the year 145, Ḥumayd b. Qaḥṭaba;
- in the year 146, Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm;
- in the year 147, al-Sarī b. ‘Abdallāh b. al-Ḥārith;
- in the year 148, al-Faḍl b. Ṣalīḥ;
- in the year 149, Yazīd b. Usayd;
- in the year 155, Yazīd b. Usayd;
- in the year 157, Zufar b. ‘Aṣim al-Hilālī.

The religious scholars (*fuqahā'*) during his time:

- Yaḥyā b. Sa‘īd al-Anṣārī,
  - Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān,<sup>2894</sup>
  - Ibn Abī Ṭuwāla,
  - Hishām b. ‘Urwa b. al-Zubayr,
  - Muḥammad b. ‘Umar b. ‘Alqama,
  - Mūsā b. ‘Ubayda,
  - Ibn Abī Sha‘sa‘a,
  - Rabī‘at al-Ra‘y, that is, Ibn [Abī ‘Abd al-Raḥmān,
  - Muḥammad b.]<sup>2895</sup> ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Dhi'b,<sup>2896</sup>
  - ‘Uthmān b. al-Aswad,
  - Ḥanẓala b. Abī Sufyān,<sup>2897</sup>
  - ‘Abd al-Malik b. Jurayj,
  - ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Abī l-Rawwād,<sup>2898</sup>
  - Ibrāhīm b. Yazīd,<sup>2899</sup>
  - Muḥammad b. Ziyād al-Asadī,<sup>2900</sup>
- 2:471 – Abū Sār al-Yasārī, | whose name was Dirār b. Murra,<sup>2901</sup>
- Sulaymān b. Mihrān al-Kāhilī,<sup>2902</sup>

<sup>2894</sup> He is identified in ed. Leiden, *Index*, as Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Qāḍī (as distinct from Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Dhi'b and Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Laylā), but it has not been possible to identify him more exactly.

<sup>2895</sup> Added in ed. Leiden on the basis of Ibn Qutayba.

<sup>2896</sup> Known as Ibn Abī Dhi'b (full name, Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Mughīra b. al-Ḥārith b. Abī Dhi'b), he served as judge of Kufa and died in 159/776. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 9:303–307; Sezgin, *GAS*, 1:204. Here and at ed. Leiden, 2:479, the MSS write his name as Ibn Abī Dhu’ayb, the diminutive form of the name Dhi'b.

<sup>2897</sup> Ḥanẓala b. Abī Sufyān al-Jumālī was a Medinan scholar who died in 151/768; see Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta’rīkh*, 425; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 3:60–61.

<sup>2898</sup> ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Abī l-Rawwād (d. 159/775–776; the name is also given as Abī Rawwād, without the article) was a Meccan traditionist, a mawlā of al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufra; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 6:338–339.

<sup>2899</sup> Apparently the same as Ibrāhīm b. Yazīd al-Khūzī, whose death in 150/767–768 is noted by Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta’rīkh*, 425; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 1:179–180, identifies him as a mawlā of ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Aziz, and dates his death to 151/768–769.

<sup>2900</sup> The reading of the last word is uncertain; the person cannot be otherwise identified.

<sup>2901</sup> See the note to ed. Leiden, 2:436, above. The reading of M appears to be “Abū Sayyār al-Yasārī, whose name was Hazār b. Murra,” but such a person is unknown.

<sup>2902</sup> Known as al-A’mash, Sulaymān b. Mihrān (d. 147 or 148/764–765) was an important Kufan traditionist. See the article by G. H. A. Juynboll in *EI*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. al-A’mash.

- al-Ḥasan b. ‘Abdallāh al-Nakha‘ī,<sup>2903</sup>
- Abū Ḥayyān Yahyā b. Sa‘īd al-Taymī,<sup>2904</sup>
- Mujālid b. Sa‘īd,
- Muḥammad b. al-Sā‘ib al-Kalbī,<sup>2905</sup>
- al-Ajlaḥ b. ‘Abdallāh al-Kindī,<sup>2906</sup>
- al-Barā<sup>2907</sup> b. Abī Zā’ida al-Hamdānī,
- Yūnus b. Abī Ishāq al-Sabī‘ī,<sup>2908</sup>
- al-Ḥasan b. ‘Umar<sup>2909</sup> al-Fuqaymī,
- Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Abī Laylā,
- al-Ḥajjāj b. Arṭāt,<sup>2910</sup>
- Abū Ḥanīfa al-Nu‘mān b. Thābit,<sup>2911</sup>
- Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh al-‘Arzamī,<sup>2912</sup>
- al-Ḥasan b. ‘Umāra,

<sup>2903</sup> Perhaps the same as al-Ḥasan b. ‘Ubaydallāh b. ‘Urwa al-Nakha‘ī, a Kufan traditionist (d. 139/756–757 or 142/759–760); see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 2:292–293.

<sup>2904</sup> Abū Ḥayyān Yahyā b. Sa‘īd al-Taymī (d. 145/762) was a Kufan traditionist; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 11:214–215.

<sup>2905</sup> Muḥammad b. al-Sā‘ib al-Kalbī (d. 146/763) was a Kufan polymath and author of an extensive commentary on the Qur‘ān, which has not survived. See the article by W. Atallah in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Kalbī.

<sup>2906</sup> Written here as al-Kalbī, but corrected by the Leiden editor on the basis of ed. Leiden, 2:436, above.

<sup>2907</sup> Sic M, C; the Leiden editor notes that his name is given below (ed. Leiden, 2:486) as Yahyā; he may be the same as Yahyā b. Zakariyyā‘, known as Ibn Abī Zā’ida (mentioned below, ed. Leiden, 2:523), whose death in 183/799–780 is mentioned by Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta‘rīkh*, 457. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 12:295, notes that the *kunya* Abū Zā’ida referred to Zakariyyā‘ and to his son Yahyā (d. between 182 and 184); see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 11:208–210.

<sup>2908</sup> Yūnus b. Abī Ishāq ‘Amr b. ‘Abdallāh al-Hamdānī al-Sabī‘ī (d. c. 158/774–775) was a Kufan traditionist; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 11:433–434.

<sup>2909</sup> Sic MSS; perhaps to be corrected to ‘Amr; see above, ed. Leiden, 2:436, and note.

<sup>2910</sup> Al-Ḥajjāj b. Arṭāt al-Nakha‘ī (d. 145/762–763) served the Umayyads, but went over to the ‘Abbāsids and became judge of Basra and secretary to Abū Ja‘far al-Manṣūr. According to al-Ṭabarī, *Ta‘rīkh*, 3:321–322, he laid out the plan for the congregational mosque of Baghdad. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 2:196–198; and the biography in Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 157.

<sup>2911</sup> Abū Ḥanīfa al-Nu‘mān b. Thābit (d. 150/767) was the foremost Kufan authority on law and the eponymous founder of the legal school (the Ḥanafī *madhab*) that bears his name. For a biography, see the article by Hiroyuki Yanagihashi in *EI*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. Abū Ḥanīfa.

<sup>2912</sup> His name is given by Ibn Ḥajar as Abū ‘Abd al-Rahmān Muḥammad b. ‘Ubaydallāh b. Abī Sulaymān al-‘Arzamī (d. 155/771–772); see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 9:322–324.

- Mis‘ar b. Kidām,
- Abū Ḥamza al-Thumālī,
- Sufyān b. Sa‘īd al-Thawrī,
- ‘Abd al-Jabbār b. ‘Abbās al-Hamdānī,
- Yaḥyā b. Salama b. Kuhayl,<sup>2913</sup>
- ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Awn al-Muzanī,<sup>2914</sup>
- Khālid b. Mihrān,<sup>2915</sup>
- Abū l-Mu‘tamir Sulaymān al-Taymī,
- ‘Amr b. ‘Ubayd,
- Sawwār b. ‘Abdallāh,
- Abū l-Ashhab al-‘Uṭāridī,<sup>2916</sup>
- Ḥumayd al-Ṭawīl,
- Shu‘ba al-‘Abdī b. al-Ḥajjāj,<sup>2917</sup>
- Ḥammād b. Salama,<sup>2918</sup>
- Ḥammād b. Zayd,<sup>2919</sup>
- ‘Abdallāh b. Muḥarrar,<sup>2920</sup>
- ‘Amr b. Qays al-Kindī,<sup>2921</sup>

<sup>2913</sup> MSS M, C have *b. Nahik* here, but give the name correctly as *b. Kuhayl* below, ed. Leiden, 2:486. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 11:224–225, adds the nisba al-Ḥaḍramī and identifies him as a Kufan Shi‘ī “extremist” (*kānayaghlu fil-tashayyu’*) who died in 179/795–796 or 172/788–789.

<sup>2914</sup> ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Awn b. Arṭabān al-Muzanī (d. 151/768–769) a Basran mawlā of the Mu-zayna, is said to have traveled to Mecca, Medina, Kufa, and Damascus; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 5:346–349.

<sup>2915</sup> Khālid b. Mihrān al-Ḥadhdhā’ (d. 141/758–759 or 142/759–760) was a Basran tradition-ist; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 3:120–122.

<sup>2916</sup> MSS M, C have *al-Uṭārid*. Full name: Abū l-Ashhab Ja‘far b. Ḥayyān al-‘Uṭāridī, d. 162/778–779 or 165/781–782; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 2:88.

<sup>2917</sup> Given in ed. Leiden as Shu‘ba b. al-Ḥajjāj al-‘Abdī; however, the strange order (nisba before father’s name) may indicate a miscopying, as the full name of this well-known Basran traditionist (d. 160/776) is normally given as Abū Bistām Shu‘ba b. al-Ḥajjāj b. al-Ward al-‘Atakī al-Azdī; see the article by G. H. A. Juynboll in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Shu‘ba b. al-Ḥadjdjādj, and F. Sezgin, *GAS*, 1:92.

<sup>2918</sup> Ḥammād b. Salama b. Dīnār (d. 176/783) was a Kufan traditionist. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 3:11–16.

<sup>2919</sup> Ḥammād b. Zayd b. Dīnār al-Azdī (d. Ramaḍān 179/795) was a Basran traditionist. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 3:9–11.

<sup>2920</sup> ‘Abdallāh b. Muḥarrar al-Āmirī (d. between 150/767–768 and 160/776–777), served as judge in the Jazīra; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 5:389–390.

<sup>2921</sup> ‘Amr b. Qays al-Kindī (d. 140/757–758) was a scholar from the Syrian city of Ḥimṣ; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 8:91–92.

- al-Awzā‘ī ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. ‘Amr,
- Ghālib b. ‘Abdallāh al-‘Uqayli.<sup>2922</sup>

### The Days of al-Mahdī

He was Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh al-Manṣūr. His mother was Umm Mūsā bt. Manṣūr | b. ‘Abdallāh b. [Dhi] Sahm<sup>2923</sup> b. Yazīd al-Ḥimyarī. He was given the oath of allegiance on the day on which al-Manṣūr died. Al-Rabi‘ received the oath for him in Mecca from those of the Banū Hāshim and commanders who were present; Ṣalīḥ b. al-Manṣūr was present, as was Mūsā b. al-Mahdī. Word of this, along with Abū Ja‘far’s last will and testament, was sent to al-Mahdī with Manāra, Abū Ja‘far’s client. Manāra journeyed for twelve days to Baghdad, where al-Mahdī was. The latter summoned the commanders, the Banū Hāshim, and the companions (*sahāba*), and they rendered the oath of allegiance.

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On that day the Sun was in Libra,  $24^\circ 50'$ ; the Moon in Gemini,  $20^\circ 50'$ ; Saturn in Libra,  $18^\circ 50'$ ; Jupiter in Capricorn,  $17^\circ 40'$ ; Mars in Gemini,  $5^\circ 40'$ , retrograde; Venus in Libra,  $25^\circ 40'$ ; Mercury in Scorpio,  $18^\circ 10'$ ; and the Ascending Node in Taurus,  $9^\circ 10'$ .

Al-Mahdī read Abū Ja‘far’s last will and testament.<sup>2924</sup> The text was as follows:

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate. This is what ‘Abdal-lāh, the Commander of the Faithful, enjoined upon al-Mahdī Muḥammad, son of the Commander of the Faithful and heir apparent of the Muslims, when he entrusted him with his last will and testament following his death and appointed him as his successor over the subjects (*ra‘īyya*) consisting of Muslims and *ahl al-dhimma*,<sup>2925</sup> and over God’s Sanctuary, His treasures, and His land, which *He bequeaths to whom He will among His servants; and the ultimate issue is to the godfearing*.<sup>2926</sup>

<sup>2922</sup> Unidentified.

<sup>2923</sup> The MSS read *b. Sahr*; corrected by the Leiden editor on the basis of the parallel in al-Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj*, 4:165 (§ 2435).

<sup>2924</sup> The Arabic verb *qara‘a* (he read), usually implies reading aloud. For a parallel account of al-Manṣūr’s wills, see al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh*, 3:443–454.

<sup>2925</sup> That is, members of other religious communities deemed to be non-polytheistic and therefore entitled to the protection of their Muslim overlords in return for payment of tribute. See the article by Yohanan Friedman in *EI*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. Dhimma.

<sup>2926</sup> Qur‘ān 7:128.

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The Commander of the Faithful charges you to fear God with regard to the lands and to act in obedience to Him with regard to God's servants. He warns you to be on guard against suffering sorrow, regret, and shame at the Resurrection, guarding against them before the coming of death and the outcome of your passing, | when you shall say, "*My Lord, if only Thou wouldest defer me unto a near term!*"<sup>2927</sup> But how can you ask for a respite when your appointed time has ended? And you shall say, "*My Lord, return me, that I might act righteously.*"<sup>2928</sup> But then your kin will be cut off from you, and your deeds will descend upon you; and you will see what your hands have wrought, where your feet have trodden, what has sprung from your mouth, for what your limbs have labored, whereon your gaze has lingered, and what has nestled in your heart. And you will be recompensed fully for it: evil for evil, and good for good. Therefore let mindfulness of God be your affair, and obedience to Him your concern. Ask God's help with regard to these two things, and through them seek closeness to your Lord. As for your soul, take it in hand, and do not give it over to its passions. Be to evildoing a subduer;<sup>2929</sup> for there is no one more burdened, whose sins are more blameworthy, or who can inflict greater calamities or worse disasters than you; for your sins will grow thick and your deeds be multiplied because God has entrusted the flock to you, to judge among them on the smallest of matters, and all of them will call you to account, and you will be accountable for the actions of your unjust officials. For God says, *You will perish, and they will perish; and on the Day of Resurrection before your Lord you shall dispute.*<sup>2930</sup> It is as if I can see you made to stand before the Almighty, deserted by your helpers, abandoned by your aides, encircled by your sins, yoked to your offenses, gripped by fear, and immobilized by disappointment, your arguments useless and your devices few, your claims stripped away, and creatures demanding requital on a day of intense horror and great fear, a day on which eyes and throats freeze in terror and oppressors will have neither friend nor intercessor to be obeyed.<sup>2931</sup> How will it be for you on that day, when all mankind contends with you and calls on God the Truth to render judgment against you; when there shall be neither men

<sup>2927</sup> Qur'ān 63:10.

<sup>2928</sup> Qur'ān 23:99–100.

<sup>2929</sup> Reading with M, *wa-kun li-'amali l-sharri qāmi'an*; ed. Leiden (editor's conjecture, based on C), *wa-lan ta'mala l-sharra qāmi'an* (and you, subduing, will not do evil).

<sup>2930</sup> Qur'ān 39:30–31.

<sup>2931</sup> The language echoes Qur'ān 14:43 and 40:18.

of influence to save you, nor kinsmen to protect you; a day on which chastisement will be demanded and intercession not accepted, and on which justice will be rendered and the verdict pronounced | decisively? For God has said, *Today there shall be no injustice, and God is swift at reckoning.*<sup>2932</sup> Therefore devote yourself to your religion, and strive for your soul: free yourself,<sup>2933</sup> seize this day, and be wary of tomorrow. Be vigilant as regards this world, for it is a treacherous and noxious world. Let your intention be sincere toward God, and your need for Him be great. Let your fairness extend broadly and your justice spread, and may people be safe from oppression on your part. Be evenhanded with all your subjects when passing judgment, and in every endeavour of yours seek the approval of God the Merciful. As for the people of religion, let them be your right hand;<sup>2934</sup> make them your confidants, appoint them to your offices, and rely on them as your aides, that God may know what you have intended and recompense your deeds, *for God is All-requiring, All-knowing.*<sup>2935</sup> Give Muslims the share of their wealth to which they are entitled, increase for them their share of the *fay'*, pay them their stipends regularly, and provide their living allowances promptly, year by year and month by month. Attend to the cultivation of lands by easing the burden of the land-tax. Win the people over with pleasing conduct and reasoned policy. Let it be your greatest concern to protect your borders, defend your frontiers, and dispatch your forces speedily. Incline humbly to God, may He be glorified and exalted, in striving in His path (*jihād*), in defending His religion, and in destroying His enemies through the victories that God grants to the Muslims and His strengthening of them in their religion. Devote your lifeblood, your courage, and your wealth to that end. Review

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<sup>2932</sup> Qur'ān 40:17.

<sup>2933</sup> That is, from subjection to God's punishment: Arabic *fajkuk 'unuqaka*, literally, "release your neck," apparently a variation on *fakka l-raqaba* (he emancipated a slave). According to Lane, *Lexicon*, 2430, the latter phrase was used metaphorically to mean (quoting from the *Tāj al-Ārūs*): "man's emancipating himself from subjection to God's punishment by the confession of the unity of God and by righteous doing and then by teaching the same to others."

<sup>2934</sup> The text from here to end of sentence is missing from C and hence from ed. Leiden. The copyist of C, working certainly from M, skipped from the first word in one line to the second word in the following line, leaving out the remainder of the first line. This is almost certain proof that C, the Cambridge manuscript, was copied directly from M, the Manchester manuscript.

<sup>2935</sup> Qur'ān 2:158.

your armies day and night, and know the positions of your cavalry and the locations of your infantry. Rely upon God for your protection, your authority, and your power, and in Him put your trust, your confidence, and your reliance; for He will protect you, free you from need, and guide you to victory. And He is a sufficient ally and protector!

Abū Ja‘far then directed him in matters that are too long to write out. We have limited ourselves to the first part of his testament.

Al-Mahdī showed great grief over al-Manṣūr. Delegations came to him to offer their condolences, each group saying what they could. Finally Shabīb b. Shayba entered to offer condolences and said: “Commander of the Faithful, when God gave you your share in this world, He was content to give you only what is most radiant and lofty in it. So, be content with nothing less for your soul in the next world than [that with which God has been content to give you in this world. Therefore fear God, for to you<sup>2936</sup> the world was given, from you it was taken, and to you it was returned.”

Al-Rabi‘ arrived on the first day of Muḥarram<sup>2937</sup> with the keys to the treasuries. Al-Mahdī, sitting in open assembly on the 15th of Muḥarram, ordered al-Rabi‘ to produce the register of appropriated wealth.<sup>2938</sup> He sent out a summons to every person from whom Abū Ja‘far had appropriated wealth. Turning to them, he said: “The Commander of the Faithful, al-Manṣūr, when God burdened him with your affairs and entrusted your care to him, managed your affairs as a devoted father would manage the affairs of his children. He looked after you better than you would have looked after yourselves, he kept for you what you would not have kept for yourselves, and he guarded that portion of your wealth that he feared might be squandered. Here is your money! Find blessing in it, and forgive the Commander of the Faithful for the delay in its return to you.”

Al-Mahdī then ordered the release from prison of the Ṭālibids and various other people. He set them free and ordered that they should be given copious rewards, gifts, and grants of money. Then, releasing the others, he gave to each person that he released a set of clothes and a gift according to his rank, until he

<sup>2936</sup> The pronouns are in the plural, referring presumably to al-Mahdī and his family.

<sup>2937</sup> 1 Muḥarram 158 = November 11, 774.

<sup>2938</sup> Arabic *daftar al-qubūd*. As the context indicates, this account-book recorded revenues that had been appropriated, or perhaps simply withheld from members of the military to whom they ought to have been given. The glossary to the Leiden al-Ṭabarī, s.v. *qabaḍ* (pl. *aqbāḍ*), records the meaning of “spoils not yet distributed.”

came to ‘Abdallāh b. Marwān,<sup>2939</sup> who had been in prison since the days of Abū l-‘Abbās. He ordered his release and gave him 10,000 dirhams. Ḥasan b. ‘Alī said to him: “We swore an oath of allegiance to this man when he was his father’s heir apparent. But you know best! However, he once gave my secretary some jewelry worth 30,000 (dirhams).” The story behind the jewelry mentioned by Ḥasan concerns Umm Yazīd, the wife of ‘Abdallāh b. Marwān. She had gone to Kufa hoping to find someone to whom she could speak on behalf of her husband and had been told that she should speak to Ḥasan b. ‘Alī. She approached his secretary, ‘Abbās b. Ya‘qūb, and spoke to him, giving him some jewelry that was still in her possession and asking him to speak to Ḥasan about interceding on behalf of her husband. He took the jewelry, but did not | speak to Ḥasan.

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‘Abdallāh b. al-Rabī‘ al-Ḥārithī said: “As for al-Mahdī’s actions—returning people’s money, releasing prisoners, guaranteeing safety to the fearful, and lavishing gifts on the destitute—I once heard al-Manṣūr say to al-Mahdī, when he bade him farewell upon departing for Mecca: ‘I leave behind three kinds of people, the poor man who seeks only your wealth, the fearful man who seeks from you only security, and the imprisoned man who seeks from you only freedom. When you take charge, give them a taste of contentment, but within limits.’”

Al-Ḥārith b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān came to al-Mahdī to tell him about what he had witnessed of al-Manṣūr and of al-Rabī‘’s cunning. He said, “I saw him manage things in a way that no one else could have hit upon.” “How so?” asked al-Mahdī. Al-Ḥārith said: “When al-Manṣūr died, al-Rabī‘ seated your brother Ṣalīḥ at the head of the assembly, thus setting him before all the others who were present. But after al-Manṣūr was buried,<sup>2940</sup> he seated your son Mūsā in front and seated your brother behind. Ṣalīḥ was upset about that, but al-Rabī‘ said, ‘Prince, while your father was still on the face of the earth, you were more deserving of precedence due to the absence of your brother al-Mahdī; however, now that your father is beneath the earth and the reins of power are in the hands of this one’s father, he is more deserving of precedence than you.’” Al-Mahdī said, “Anyone who manages affairs of state should manage them like al-Rabī‘.”

Al-Mahdī removed Ḥasan b. Mūsā as heir apparent, purchasing this from him<sup>2941</sup> for ten million dirhams. He had the oath of allegiance sworn to his son

<sup>2939</sup> The son of the last Umayyad caliph, Marwān b. Muhammad, who, as the following story makes clear, had been imprisoned and whose property had been confiscated.

<sup>2940</sup> The text to and including the word “earth” is found only in M.

<sup>2941</sup> Following M; *minhu* (from him) is not in C or ed. Leiden.

Mūsā<sup>2942</sup> as heir apparent—this was in the year 159<sup>2943</sup>—and had the oath of allegiance sworn to his son Hārūn<sup>2944</sup> as heir apparent after Mūsā.

Al-Mahdī made the pilgrimage in 160.<sup>2945</sup> He stripped the Ka'ba<sup>2946</sup> and then covered it with Egyptian linen, silk, and silk brocade and daubed its walls from top to bottom with musk and ambergris. The Ka'ba had been located at one side of the Mosque and was not in the center. Al-Mahdī therefore razed the walls of the Sacred Mosque and made additions to it, buying people's dwellings and homes and importing craftsmen and architects from every province. He wrote to his client Wādīḥ, [his governor of Egypt, to send money to Mecca and to provide tools and whatever was required in the way of gold, mosaics, and chains for the lanterns. These he was to send out and deliver to Yaqtīn b. Mūsā and Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Rahmān.

The Ka'ba was made to stand in the center. He added 90 cubits from next to the Ka'ba toward the Gate of al-Ṣafā, and 60 cubits from the Ka'ba toward the Gate of the Banū Shayba. The full area now measured 120,000 square cubits. The length of the Mosque, from the Gate of the Banū Jumāh, to the Gate of the Banū Hāshim, and to the green marker,<sup>2947</sup> was 404 cubits. It contained 484 columns that had been transported by sea from Egypt, each measuring 10 cubits in height. He put 498 arches into it and gave the Mosque 23 doors. Al-Mahdī was the last to make additions to the Sacred Mosque. He constructed the two markers between which one runs in going between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa, there being 112 cubits between them. Once he had expanded the Mosque to its present dimensions, the distance between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa came to be 754 cubits. He also expanded the Mosque of the Messenger of God,<sup>2948</sup> adding to it an area equal to its original area and transporting to it marble pillars, mosaics, and gold; he raised its ceiling and covered the exterior of the tomb with marble.

<sup>2942</sup> The future caliph Mūsā l-Hādī.

<sup>2943</sup> 159 A.H. = October 31, 775 – October 18, 776.

<sup>2944</sup> The future caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd.

<sup>2945</sup> Dhū l-Ḥijja 160 = September 9 – October 8, 777. On al-Mahdī's building activities in Mecca see al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 3:483 (trans. Kennedy, *The History al-Ṭabarī*, xxix, 194f.).

<sup>2946</sup> That is, of the accumulated cloth coverings that previous rulers had sent. According to the account in al-Ṭabarī, their accumulated weight threatened to destroy the building.

<sup>2947</sup> Arabic *al-'alam al-akhḍar*. Al-Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 315, refers to two green markers, marking the starting and finishing points of the *sa'y* (running) between the hills of al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa that forms part of the pilgrimage.

<sup>2948</sup> In Medina.

Al-Mahdī rebuilt the frontier town known as al-Ḥadath in the year 163;<sup>2949</sup> it had been a refuge and stronghold for the enemy.<sup>2950</sup> This was because the Byzantines had raided Mar’ash, taking prisoners and killing people. After al-Mahdī rebuilt al-Ḥadath, its benefit to the people of the frontier became great. He dispatched his son Hārūn, along with several commanders and the army, to campaign in this year. | Al-Mahdī accompanied Hārūn as far as the Jayḥān river. During the campaign, Hārūn conquered Samālū<sup>2951</sup> and a number of fortresses. Al-Mahdī dispatched him again in the year 164,<sup>2952</sup> and Hārūn made it as far as Constantinople. The Byzantines sought a settlement from him, which he granted before departing.

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Al-Mahdī removed ‘Uqba b. Salm al-Hunā’ī as governor of al-Yamāma and al-Baḥrayn because of reports he received about the Rabī'a whom ‘Uqba had killed. “God,” he said, “will not see me fail to hold him responsible for his offence or consent to his activity.” When ‘Uqba b. Salm arrived, al-Ḥasan b. Qaḥṭaba met him and said, “‘Uqba, you have put yourself into hell.” He replied, “You treat me unfairly, Abū l-Ḥasan, for I put myself into hell to shield you from shame.” A young man from al-Yamāma arrived, a member of the Rabī'a, whose father, paternal uncle, two maternal uncles, and five brothers had been killed by ‘Uqba b. Salm. He waited for ‘Uqba at the gate of al-Mahdī's residence, and, when ‘Uqba passed with his retinue, he stabbed him with a poisoned knife and killed him. The youth was taken to al-Mahdī, who asked him to account for himself, which he did. Al-Mahdī wanted to release him, but the commanders spoke out, saying, “By God, he doesn't deserve punishment for killing ‘Uqba, but if he is left unpunished, every day some whelp of this kind will attack a commander and kill him.” So al-Mahdī ordered that he be beheaded.

Khurāsān grew unsettled and unrest spread in Soghdia and Farghāna. Yūsuf al-Barm, a client (*mawlā*) of the Thaqīf in Bukhārā, rose up, summoning his followers to command the good and forbid the evil.<sup>2953</sup> Many people rallied to his

<sup>2949</sup> 163 A.H. = September 17, 779 – September 5, 780. On this frontier city located at the foot of the Taurus mountains, see the article by S. Ory in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Ḥadath.

<sup>2950</sup> The MSS read, *raf' lil-'aduww wa-sadid*; emended by ed. Leiden to *daf' lil-'aduww wa-tasdūd*. The translation follows the MSS, but is uncertain. According to al-Tabarī, *Tarikh*, 3:493, the Byzantines had attacked al-Ḥadath and destroyed its walls in 162/778–779.

<sup>2951</sup> The MSS read “Samāliq,” corrected by the Leiden editor. Samālū was a fortress located near al-Maṣṣīṣa and Tarsus. On its site see Wilhelm Tomaschek, “Historisch-Topographisches vom oberen Euphrat und aus Ost-Kappadokien,” 144.

<sup>2952</sup> 164 A.H. = September 6, 780 – August 25, 781.

<sup>2953</sup> A frequent theme in the Qur'ān (cf. 3:110, 7:157, 9:71, 9:112, 22:41), implying that the existing government was corrupt and deserved to be overthrown. On the revolt of Yūsuf

cause, and he made war on the governing authority.<sup>2954</sup> Aḥmad b. Asad set out for Farghāna, seizing territory as far as Kāsān, the seat of the local dynasty. Yazīd b. Mazyad al-Shaybānī was campaigning against Yaḥyā the Khārijite,<sup>2955</sup> and al-Mahdī therefore wrote to him, directing him and those with him to turn against Yūsuf al-Barm. Yazīd b. Mazyad therefore engaged Yūsuf al-Barm; a number of clashes took place between them, | and Yazīd finally defeated him. When Yazīd raised a red banner, guaranteeing safe-conduct to those who gathered beneath it, all of Yūsuf's men made their way to it. Yazīd took Yūsuf prisoner and sent him to al-Mahdī. When Yūsuf was brought before al-Mahdī, he addressed al-Mahdī rudely; al-Mahdī therefore upbraided him, saying, "How badly your family brought you up!" Then he had him beheaded and his body gibbeted.

Al-Mahdī wrote to 'Umar b. al-'Alā', who was in Ṭabaristān, that he should make his way to Jurjān and expel the Muḥammira<sup>2956</sup> who were there, after calling on them to submit. Having reached Jurjān, he dispersed the Muḥammira, killed 'Abd al-Qāhir,<sup>2957</sup> and scattered the group.

Al-Mahdī sent messengers to the kings, calling on them to submit, and most of them submitted to him. Among them were the king of Kābul Shāh,<sup>2958</sup> whose name was Ḥanḥāl;<sup>2959</sup> the king of Ṭabaristān, the Iṣbahbadh;<sup>2960</sup> the

al-Barm, see the article by C. E. Bosworth in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Yūsuf al-Barm; Crone, *Nativist Prophets*, 157–159.

2954 Arabic *sultān*; here in its original sense.

2955 Arabic *al-Shārī* (pl. *Shurāt*): a designation that the Khārijites used of themselves; literally, the "vendors" or "purchasers" (the Arabic verb has both senses), that is, those who have who have exchanged the life of this world for the life of the world to come.

2956 Muḥammira (Wearers of Red) may derive from a Persian original such as *surkh-jāmagān* or *surkh-alamān* (those with banners of red). Although al-Ya'qūbī gives no details about this revolt, from other sources it becomes clear that the Muḥammira were neo-Mazdakites in revolt against Islam and the Arabs, perhaps allied to the Khurramiyya. See the parallels in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 3:493 (trans. Kennedy, *The History al-Ṭabarī*, xxix, 207 and note); the article by W. Madelung in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Khurramiyya*; and Crone, *Nativist Prophets*, 79–82. Despite their defeat, they rebelled again during the caliphate of al-Mu'tashīm, as al-Ya'qūbī will report below, ed. Leiden 2:575 (cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 3:1235; trans. Bosworth, *The History al-Ṭabarī*, xxxiii, 95 and note 268); see also Daniel, *The Political and Social History of Khurasan under Abbasid Rule*, 147.

2957 Their leader; in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 3:493, he is called 'Abd al-Qahhār.

2958 From al-Ya'qūbī's *Geography*, ed. Leiden, 248, where one quarter of Baghdad is said to be inhabited by, among others, "people from Kābul Shāh," it appears that al-Ya'qūbī took this term, originally the title of the ruler of Kābul, also as the name of his kingdom.

2959 Reading uncertain.

2960 On the use of the Iranian title Iṣbahbadh (Army Chief) by the local rulers of Ṭabaristān, see the article by C. E. Bosworth in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Iṣbahbadh*.

king of Soghdia, the Ikhshīd;<sup>2961</sup> the king of Ṭukhāristān, Sharwīn;<sup>2962</sup> the king of Bāmiyān, the Shīr;<sup>2963</sup> the king of Farghāna, -----;<sup>2964</sup> the king of Usrūshana, Afshīn; the king of the Kharlukhiyya, Jabghūya;<sup>2965</sup> the king of Sijistān, Zunbīl;<sup>2966</sup> the king of Turks, Ṭarkhān;<sup>2967</sup> the king of Tibet, H-h-w-r-n;<sup>2968</sup> the king of Sind, al-Rāy;<sup>2969</sup> the king of China, Baghbūr;<sup>2970</sup> the king of India and Atrāḥ, Wahūfūr;<sup>2971</sup> and the king of the Tughuz-ghuz, Khāqān.<sup>2972</sup>

Al-Mahdī appointed Rawḥ b. Ḥātim al-Muhallabī to govern al-Sind. He arrived there following the outbreak of unrest among the Zuṭṭ.<sup>2973</sup> He remained only a short while before he was removed from office and replaced by Naṣr b. Muḥammad b. al-Ash’ath al-Khuzaī. Al-Sind then was put under the authority of Muḥammad b. Sulaymān b. ‘Alī al-Hāshimī, who appointed over it | ‘Abd al-

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- <sup>2961</sup> An Iranian title used by the rulers of Soghdia and Farghāna. It derives either from Old Persian *khshaeta* (shining, brilliant) or from Old Persian *khshāyathiya* (king, ruler); see the article by C. E. Bosworth in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Ikhshid*.
- <sup>2962</sup> In al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:519, Sharwīn is identified as one of the rulers of Ṭabaristān, not Ṭukhāristān.
- <sup>2963</sup> Apparently Shīr is a variant of the Iranian title more usually transcribed into Arabic as Shār, deriving ultimately from Old Persian *khshathriya* (ruler), although by this date it was probably a homophone of Middle Persian *shēr* (lion); see the article by C. E. Bosworth in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Shār*.
- <sup>2964</sup> The name is too ambiguous to be read, but is probably the same as the ruler mentioned above, ed. Leiden, 465. Here the ductus looks more like F-r-y-ān.
- <sup>2965</sup> Probably the Qarluq, a Turkish group on the northern fringes of Transoxania. Jabghūya probably stands for Yabghu, the title of their ruler. See the article by C. E. Bosworth in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Ḳarluḳ*.
- <sup>2966</sup> The name is correctly written in M; C and ed. Leiden read Rutbil. On the proper form of the name, see the article by C. E. Bosworth in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Zunbīl*.
- <sup>2967</sup> On Ṭarkhān as a title and personal name, see the article by P. B. Golden in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Ṭarkhān*.
- <sup>2968</sup> See Dunlop, “Arab Relations with Tibet,” 307, on a possible reading.
- <sup>2969</sup> Both MSS read al-Rār, emended by the Leiden editor. The *Chachnamah* (trans. Fredunbeg, index) has many references to members of local royal families bearing title Rai.
- <sup>2970</sup> Baghbūr (also given as Faghfūr) appears frequently in Arabic sources as a title for the emperor of China. It appears to be derived from Soghdian *baghpūr* (son of God), a translation of the Chinese title *T’ien tzü* (son of heaven). See the article by the editor in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Faghfūr* or *Baghbūr*.
- <sup>2971</sup> The reading Atrāḥ is conjectural, as is the reading Wahūfūr. The latter word could just as well be read as *wa-huwwa fūr* (and he is Fūr), giving him the same name as King Porus with whom Alexander the Great fought.
- <sup>2972</sup> See the article by P. B. Golden in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Toghuzghuz*.
- <sup>2973</sup> A people of northwestern India; see the article by C. E. Bosworth in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Zuṭṭ*.

Malik b. Shihāb al-Mismaī.<sup>2974</sup> He held office for less than twenty [days] before al-Sind was returned to Naṣr b. Muḥammad b. al-Ash‘ath al-Khuzāī. Al-Mahdī then appointed al-Zubayr b. al-‘Abbās, a descendent of Qutham b. al-‘Abbās b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib, but he never reached the province, so al-Mahdī appointed [Saṭīḥ]<sup>2975</sup> b. ‘Amr al-Tagħlibī. Intertribal tensions (*‘aṣabiyya*) had broken out for the first time in al-Sind, and so al-Mahdī appointed his client (*mawlā*) Layth b. Ṭarīf. Layth arrived at al-Manṣūra and remained for a month; the Zuṭṭ had become numerous, but he unsheathed the sword against them and eliminated them.

Al-Mahdī traveled to Basra, in the year 165,<sup>2976</sup> intending to go on the pilgrimage, but, on being informed that water was scarce along the route, he remained behind. When word reached him of the unrest in al-Sind, he sent al-Layth with an army from Basra and then returned to Baghdad.

Al-Mahdī departed for Syria and encamped at al-Baradān.<sup>2977</sup> When word reached him of the death of Īsā b. ‘Alī b. ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Abbās, he returned to Baghdad. He attended Īsā’s funeral and walked in the funeral procession; then he returned to his camp and set out until he reached the frontier (*thaghr*). Then he made his way to Jerusalem, where he stayed for some days before departing. When he reached the district of Qinnasrīn, the Tanūkh met him with gifts and said, “We are your maternal uncles, Commander of the Faithful.” “Who are these men?” he asked. He was told that they were Tanūkh, a tribe<sup>2978</sup> that belongs to Quḍā‘a, and their circumstances and great numbers were described to him. He was also told that they were all Christians, whereupon he said, “I do not accept you as being my maternal uncles.” A man among them had apostatized, and so he had him beheaded, which so frightened the others that they maintained their adherence to Islam.<sup>2979</sup>

<sup>2974</sup> Muhammad b. Sulaymān was governor of Basra; Sind was added to his governorship and he appointed this ‘Abd al-Malik as his deputy. For ‘Abd al-Malik b. Shihāb the MSS read Shihāb b. ‘Abd al-Malik, corrected by the Leiden editor on the basis of al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:460.

<sup>2975</sup> The name is corrupt in the MSS. Saṭīḥ b. ‘Umar appears in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:503.

<sup>2976</sup> 165 A.H. = August 26, 781 – August 14, 782.

<sup>2977</sup> A town about 15 miles north of Baghdad; see the article by M. Streck and S. H. Longrigg in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Baradān.

<sup>2978</sup> Accepting Landberg’s suggested emendation *hayy yantamī* for ed. Leiden *hattā tan-tamī* (until they belong to).

<sup>2979</sup> The implication is that the individual had converted to Islam at one point, but had returned to the Christian religion of his tribe, thus rendering himself an apostate from Islam. According to other sources, al-Mahdī, upon being met by the Tanūkh,

‘Isā b. Mūsā died in the year 167.<sup>2980</sup> Al-Mahdī appointed his son, Mūsā b. ‘Isā, over Kufa and the other provinces for which his father had been responsible.

Yazid b. Mansūr al-Ḥimyari, al-Mahdī's maternal uncle, died. He had been Abū Ja‘far's governor over Yemen. In his stead, al-Mahdī appointed Raja’ b. Salām b. Rawḥ [b.] Zinbā‘ al-Judhāmī; then he appointed ‘Alī b. Sulaymān b. ‘Alī. It was he who wrote to al-Mahdī about summoning al-Ghiṭrif b. ‘Atā’, the brother of al-Khayzurān, the mother of Mūsā and Hārūn, his two sons.<sup>2981</sup> Al-Ghiṭrif had been the slaveboy of a man from Jurash who had manumitted him. He then took to hiring himself out to guard people's vineyards.<sup>2982</sup> Al-Mahdi directed his governor over Jurash to send him on. The governor found him in a vineyard, wearing a garment of wool; and so, after providing him with new clothes and giving him gifts,<sup>2983</sup> he sent him on to al-Mahdi, who promoted him. Afterward, al-Mahdī dismissed ‘Alī b. Sulaymān and appointed Mansūr b. Yazid b. Mansūr al-Ḥimyari.<sup>2984</sup> Then he dismissed him and appointed ‘Ubaydallāh<sup>2985</sup> b. Sulaymān b. ‘Alī; then he dismissed him and appointed Sulaymān b. Yazid al-Hārithī, followed by ‘Abdallāh b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Zaynabī, who was the son of Sulaymān's daughter, then by Ibrāhīm b. Sulaymān al-‘Abdī, then by al-Ghiṭrif b. ‘Atā’, the maternal uncle of Mūsā and Hārūn, and finally by al-Rabi‘ b. ‘Abdallāh al-Hārithī.

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asked them to convert to Islam. When they refused, he had their chief, Layth b. Maḥatta, beheaded, whereupon they converted. See the article by Irfan Shahid in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Tanūkh.

<sup>2980</sup> 167 A.H. = August 5, 783 – July 23, 784.

<sup>2981</sup> On al-Khayzurān bt. ‘Atā’ al-Jurashiyya, a former slave of Yemenī origin who was freed and then was married to Mahdī, to whom she bore three children, Mūsā (al-Hādī), Hārūn (al-Rashīd), and a daughter called al-Bānūqa, see the article by the editor in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Khayzurān. On the career of al-Ghiṭrif, who rose to governorships of Yemen and Khurāsān, see the article by C. E. Bosworth in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Ghiṭrif b. ‘Atā’.

<sup>2982</sup> Reading, with M, *kurūm al-nās*; the last word has dropped out of C and hence ed. Leiden.

<sup>2983</sup> Reading, with ed. Leiden, *wa-ḥabāhu*; M, *wa-ḥayyāhu*, “he greeted him.”

<sup>2984</sup> The translation follows M, where the original reading ‘Abdallāh b. Sulaymān has been corrected between the lines to ‘Alī b. Sulaymān. The copyist of C copied the correction into the text, giving the reading ‘Alī ‘Abdallāh b. Sulaymān. In order to make sense of the confusion, the Leiden editor introduced two emendations, to read: “‘Alī was dismissed, [and he appointed] Abdallāh b. Sulaymān [then he dismissed him] and appointed Mansūr b. Yazid b. Mansūr al-Ḥimyari.”

<sup>2985</sup> Thus in both MSS; ed. Leiden emends to ‘Abdallāh on the basis of al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh*, 3:518.

Al-Mahdī ordered taxes to be levied on the markets of Baghdad and imposed rents on them, a matter entrusted to Sa‘īd al-Ḥarashī. Taxes were levied on the markets of Baghdad for the first time under al-Mahdī.

It is said that a man approached him and said, “I have a piece of advice, Commander of the Faithful.” Al-Mahdī asked him, “For whom is this advice of yours intended?—for us, for the general public, or for yourself?” He said, “For you, Commander of the Faithful”—and he went on to say: “The slanderer is no more worthy of disgrace or more deserving of blame than the one who accepts his slander. Either he will be an enier of blessings and then | your rage will not assuage, or he will be an enemy and then your enemy will not be punished by you on account of what has been accepted against the people.” Al-Mahdī said: “Indeed, I will not do what a self-proclaimed adviser advises us to do except insofar as it enjoys God’s approval and serves the welfare of the Muslims.”<sup>2986</sup> Only the bodies belong to us, not the hearts: if anyone conceals himself from us, we will not expose him; if anyone shows himself to us openly, we will ask him to repent; and if anyone wrongs us accidentally, we will forgive his slip. I regard correction by means of mercy as more effective than that secured through punishment, and security with forgiveness as greater than [that with] speedy (punishment). Hearts do not remain loyal to a ruler who does not show sympathy when it is asked of him, who does not forgive when it is in his power to do so, who does not pardon when he triumphs, and who refuses mercy when it is sought from him. He whose compassion is little and whose severity is great evokes loathing and multiplies those who detest him.”<sup>2987</sup>

Al-Mahdī was relentless in pursuing and killing the Zindīqs,<sup>2988</sup> and he had a great number of them killed. Word reached him that Ṣāliḥ, the son of Abū

<sup>2986</sup> The text is difficult. The translation follows M, but with a significantly different reading of the second word (*lā a'malanna*, for the copyist's *lā a'lamanna*). The two words are very similar in Arabic script. If one reads copyist's *lā a'lamanna*, the translation will be, “Indeed, I will not know,” perhaps in the sense of “discern.” In any case, al-Mahdī's use of the word *mutanassīh* (someone who pretends to be offering sincere advice, as opposed to a *nāsiḥ*, who actually does so) carries on the idea of not accepting advice (especially advice to punish) uncritically.

<sup>2987</sup> Reading with M, *wa-kaththara mubghidīhi*.

<sup>2988</sup> *Zindiq*, pl. *zanādiqa*, is an Arabic word borrowed from Persian *zandik* and used narrowly in the sense of Manichaeans (a follower of the sect founded by Mānī, d. 274 or 277 CE), but loosely applied to any heretic, renegade, or unbeliever. In this case, the narrower meaning of Manichaeans fits the context and is corroborated by other sources that document an inquisition against Manichaeans at this time. See the article by F. C. de Blois in *EP*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Zandīk*.

'Abdallāh<sup>2989</sup> his secretary, was a Zindiq. He summoned him, and when he found the charge to be true, al-Mahdī demanded that he repent. He replied, "I have no desire to abandon what I follow,<sup>2990</sup> nor do I require anything other than it." Al-Mahdī ordered his father, [Abū] 'Abdallāh, to stand up and behead him. He stood up, took the sword, and approached his son. Having raised it, he backed away and said, "Commander of the Faithful, I arose loyal and obedient, but I feel what a man feels about his own son." Al-Mahdī commanded him to sit down, and then ordered that his son be beheaded in front of him. He then dictated a letter to him as he stared at his slain son. Then he said, "Since you were loath to kill an enemy of God, one who rejected Him, may God spurn you." When Abū 'Abdallāh arose, one of the persons seated there said, "I do not think this man's heart will ever recover from this."<sup>2991</sup> So he said,<sup>2992</sup> "By God, I also suspect him—he was close to his son." Afterward he fell out of favor and was replaced | by Ya'qūb b. Dāwūd.

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Şālih b. 'Abd al-Quddūs<sup>2993</sup> was brought before al-Mahdī, who asked him to repent, which he did. However, as he departed from al-Mahdī's presence, he mentioned to him the following verse of his:

An old man cannot change his nature  
until he is hidden in the dust of his grave.

<sup>2989</sup> Thus in M; ed. Leiden 'Ubaydallāh, implying that the person intended here is Abū 'Ubaydallāh Mu'āwiya b. 'Ubaydallāh, referred to below (ed. Leiden, 2:483) as "the person with the greatest influence over al-Mahdī at the beginning of his caliphate." Indeed, a similar story is told about Abū 'Ubaydallāh in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 3:490, but there the son is named Muḥammad, and al-Mahdī is led to believe that the son has become involved with one of the women in al-Mahdī's own harem. The son's inability to recite the Qur'ān when summoned is not explicitly connected to a charge of *zandqa*. The father, 'Ubaydallāh, is indeed commanded to execute his own son, but when he proves unable to do so, the son is taken away for execution. Al-Ya'qūbi's mention below of some "treachery" or "betrayal" (Arabic *khiyāna*) on the father's part accords better with the anecdote in al-Ṭabarī. Possibly, two separate anecdotes have been amalgamated.

<sup>2990</sup> Following the emended text of ed. Leiden; the reading in both MSS is corrupt.

<sup>2991</sup> Arabic *yaṭibu qalbuhi*, in the sense of overcoming grief, but also in the sense of being well-disposed toward the caliph. M preserves an alternate reading, *yabqā* (will remain, i.e., loyal), written between the lines over *yaṭibu*.

<sup>2992</sup> The identity of the speaker is ambiguous—either another courtier or the caliph himself.

<sup>2993</sup> Şālih b. 'Abd al-Quddūs was a poet famous for poems full of gnomic and didactic expressions. See the article by Mohsen Zakeri in *ET<sup>2</sup>*, s.v. Şālih b. 'Abd al-Ķuddūs.

Al-Mahdi said, "And do you really say this!" So he had him brought back and beheaded without asking him to repent.

The people of al-Ḥawf<sup>2994</sup> in Egypt rebelled in the year 168.<sup>2995</sup> Mūsā b. Muṣ'ab, then governor of the province, marched against them and engaged them in fierce fighting. His standard-bearer, Hāshim b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Mu'āwiya b. Ḥudayj<sup>2996</sup> al-Sakūnī, lowered the standard, signaling defeat. The people of al-Ḥawf turned on Mūsā b. Muṣ'ab and killed him. Al-Mahdi appointed al-Fadl b. Ṣalīḥ al-Hāshimī, who did not arrive in the province until after the death of al-Mahdī.

The person with the greatest influence over al-Mahdī at the beginning of his caliphate was Mu'āwiya b. 'Abdallāh.<sup>2997</sup> Known as Abū 'Ubaydallāh, he was a client (*mawlā*) of the Ash'ařīs. Afterward, al-Mahdī learned of some treachery on his part<sup>2998</sup> and therefore replaced him with Ya'qūb b. Dāwūd.<sup>2999</sup> Ya'qūb was of sound conduct and cheery disposition, and generally given to virtue, generosity, and right-mindedness. Afterward, al-Mahdī dismissed him, displeased with him, and had him imprisoned. He remained in prison until the death of al-Mahdī. Muḥammad b. al-Layth, who was known for his eloquence, was appointed in his stead.

'Alī b. Yaqtīn and al-Ḥasan b. Rāshid wielded influence over his affairs. Naṣr b. Mālik headed his security force (*shurṭa*). When Naṣr died, he appointed his brother, Ḥamza b. Mālik. Afterward al-Mahdī dismissed him and appointed 'Abdallāh b. Mālik. Muḥriz<sup>3000</sup> b. Ibrāhīm was in charge of his personal guard (*haras*). He then dismissed him, replacing him with Abū l-'Abbās al-Ṭūsī. His chamberlain (*hājib*) was his client al-Rabī'. His judges were Ibn | 'Ulātha<sup>3001</sup> al-'Uqaylī and 'Āfiya b. Yazīd al-Azdī. The judge of Kufa was Sharīk b. 'Abdallāh; of Basra, 'Ubaydallāh b. al-Ḥusayn al-'Anbarī,<sup>3002</sup> of Medina, 'Abdallāh b. Muham-

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<sup>2994</sup> The eastern part of the Nile Delta.

<sup>2995</sup> 168 A.H. = July 24, 784 – July 13, 785.

<sup>2996</sup> Undotted in both MSS.

<sup>2997</sup> See the article by S. Moscati in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Abū 'Ubayd Allāh.

<sup>2998</sup> This may refer to the accusation of heresy brought against his son Muḥammad in 161/777–788, who was executed. See Moscati's article.

<sup>2999</sup> On Ya'qūb b. Dāwūd, see the article by H. Kennedy in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Mahdī.

<sup>3000</sup> Thus in M and al-Tabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 3:461, 547. The copyist of C omitted the last letter of the name, which the Leiden editor then conjectured was to be read as Muḥammad.

<sup>3001</sup> Both MSS have "Abū" followed by undotted name. Khalīfa b. Khayyāt, *Ta'rīkh*, 442, lists Ibn 'Ulātha al-'Uqaylī and 'Āfiya b. Yazīd al-Awdī (sic) as judges for al-Mahdī.

<sup>3002</sup> Undotted in both MSS. Al-Tabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 3:459, and Khalīfa b. Khayyāt, *Ta'rīkh*, 440, and ed. Leiden all give the name as 'Ubaydallāh b. al-Ḥasan, and M itself gives "b. al-Ḥasan" below, ed. Leiden, 2:524.

mad b. 'Imrān al-Taymī, who was the first judge to hold the post of judge there on behalf of a caliph; and, of Egypt, 'Abdallāh b. Lahī'a al-Hadramī. Al-Mahdi afterward appointed Ibn al-Yasa' al-Kindī, who was from Kufa, then Ghawth b. Sulaymān al-Hadramī, who was from Egypt, then al-Mufaḍḍal b. Faḍāla al-Qitbānī.

At the end of the year 168 and the beginning of the year 169, the people were struck by a plague, much death, darkness, and a red dust which they found in their beds and on their faces.

On 12 Muḥarram 169,<sup>3003</sup> al-Mahdi set out from Baghdad for al-Jabal. He stopped at a village called al-Radhādh, located in the region of Māsabādhān. He went out to hunt and spent the day pursuing game. The dogs followed a gazelle, and al-Mahdi followed in hot pursuit. The gazelle rushed through the door of a ruined house. The dogs passed through, but as his horse rushed him through, the door of the ruined house slammed into him. He was carried to his camp and died eight days before the end of Muḥarram 169<sup>3004</sup> at the age of 48.

It has been reported that he awoke one day and said to 'Alī b. Yaqtīn and to a group of his companions, "I woke up hungry this morning." So he was brought some bread and cold meat. He ate it, and the men ate with him. Then he said, "I am going into this room to sleep; do not disturb me until I wake." He went in and fell asleep, and the men slept in the hall. Suddenly they heard him crying, and they hurried to him and asked him what was wrong. He said, "Did you see what I saw?" They said, "We have seen nothing." He said: "I saw an old man whom I would recognise even if I saw him among a hundred thousand. He was standing against the doorpost of the room, saying:

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'I seem to see this palace, its people perished,  
its chambers and foundation desolate.  
The mansion's lord, bereft of joy and empire,  
has ended in a tomb marked out with stones.  
Nothing of him remains but name and story,  
and wives lamenting who cry out to him.'

He died only ten days afterward. His caliphate lasted ten years, one month, and twenty-two days. His son 'Alī, the son of (his wife) Rayṭā, performed the funeral prayer. He was buried at al-Radhādh. He left eight sons: Mūsā, Hārūn, 'Alī, 'Ubaydallāh, Ishqāq, Ya'qūb, Ibrāhīm, and Manṣūr.

<sup>3003</sup> 25 July 785.

<sup>3004</sup> That is, 22 Muḥarram 169, or 4 August 785.

Those who led the pilgrimage during his days were:

- in the year 159, Yazīd b. Mānsūr al-Ḥimyārī;
- in the year 160, al-Mahdī, and he ordered the expansion of the Sacred Mosque and the Mosque of the Messenger of God;
- in the year 161, Mūsā b. al-Mahdī;
- in the year 162, Ibrāhīm b. Ja‘far b. Abī Ja‘far;
- in the year 163, ‘Alī b. al-Mahdī, whose mother was Rayṭā bt. Abī l-‘Abbās;
- in the year 164, al-Mahdī: he set out for the pilgrimage and traveled four stages from Kufa with a great entourage, but the people became thirsty,<sup>3005</sup> and he received word of the scarcity of water on the road, and so he turned back from al-‘Aqaba,<sup>3006</sup> and Ṣāliḥ b. Abī Ja‘far led the people on the pilgrimage;
- in the year 165, Ṣāliḥ b. Abī Ja‘far;
- in the year 166, Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī;
- in the year 167, Ibrāhīm b. Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī;
- in the year 168, ‘Alī b. al-Mahdī.

2:486 The leaders of the campaigns during his days:

- In the year 159, the Byzantines came to Sumaysāt and took a great number of prisoners. He dispatched his client (*mawlā*) Ṣaghīr against them, who rescued the Muslims. Al-‘Abbās b. Muḥammad led the forces on campaign, reaching as far as Ankara.
- In the year 160, Thumāma b. al-Walīd al-‘Absī led the campaign.
- In the year 161, ‘Isā b. ‘Alī campaigned, but the Byzantine army met him and surrounded him.
- In the year 162, al-Ḥasan b. Qaḥṭaba al-Ṭā’ī led the campaign.
- In 163, Hārūn b. al-Mahdī led it and conquered Samālū.
- In the year 164, Hārūn, led it again and reached the bay (*khalīj*) of Constantinople.
- In the year 166, Thumāma b. al-Walīd led it.

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<sup>3005</sup> Following the emendation *fa-‘atīsha l-nās* proposed by the Leiden editor; the reading of M is *fa-ghashiya l-nās* (and he came upon the people). One might perhaps read *fa-ghushiyā l-nās* (the people fainted), but the usual construction requires a preposition: *fa-ghushiyā ‘alā l-nās*. The parallel in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:502, is worded differently and provides no solution.

<sup>3006</sup> One of the stages on the pilgrimage road from Iraq, not to be confused with several other places sharing the name.

- In the year 167, al-Faḍl b. Ṣāliḥ led it.
- In the year 168, Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm led it.

The religious scholars (*fuqahā*) during his time:

- Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Dhī’b,
- Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Abī l-Ḥasan,<sup>3007</sup>
- Sa’id b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Jumahī,<sup>3008</sup>
- ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Abī Ḥāzim,<sup>3009</sup>
- ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Madani,<sup>3010</sup>
- Yūnus b. Abī Ishāq al-Sabī‘ī,
- al-Ḥajjāj b. Arṭāt al-Nakha‘ī,
- Sufyān b. Sa’id al-Thawrī,
- Sharīk b. ‘Abdallāh al-Nakha‘ī,<sup>3011</sup>
- Yahyā b. Salama b. Kuhayl,
- Salama al-Āḥmar,<sup>3012</sup>
- Ibrāhīm b. Sa’d al-Zuhrī,<sup>3013</sup>
- Abū Mikhnaf Lūṭ b. Yahyā,<sup>3014</sup>

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<sup>3007</sup> Unknown.

<sup>3008</sup> The MSS read “Sa’d,” corrected by the Leiden editor on the basis of Ibn al-Athīr. Sa’id b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz (d. 167/783–784 or 168/784–785) was a Damascus Qur’ān scholar and traditionist; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 4:59–61.

<sup>3009</sup> ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Abī Ḥāzim (d. 184/800–801) was a Medinan jurist and traditionist; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 6:333–334.

<sup>3010</sup> ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Madani; identification uncertain, perhaps to be identified with the Medinan traditionist ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd b. Ja’far b. ‘Abdallāh al-Anṣārī (d. 153/770–771), said to have participated in the revolt of Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh b. Ḥasan (al-Nafs al-Zakiyya) in 145/762; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 6:111–112.

<sup>3011</sup> The appointment of Sharīk b. ‘Abdallāh al-Nakha‘ī (d. c. 177/793–794) as judge of Kufa has been mentioned above, ed. Leiden, 2:469, 484. He was also a traditionist; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 4:333–337.

<sup>3012</sup> Abū Ishāq Salama b. Ṣāliḥ al-Āḥmar al-Ju’fi (d. 188/803–804) was a traditionist and judge at Wāsiṭ; see Ibn Sa’id, *Tabaqāt*, 6:267.

<sup>3013</sup> Ibrāhīm b. Sa’id b. Ibrāhīm b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Awf al-Zuhrī (d. 182/798–799 or in the following year) was one of the most famous traditionists of Medina. He later became a judge in Baghdad. See F. Sezgin, *GAS*, 1:95; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 1:121–123.

<sup>3014</sup> Abū Mikhnaf Lūṭ b. Yahyā b. Sa’id b. Mikhnaf al-Azdī (b. c. 70/689, d. 157/775) was a late Umayyad and early ‘Abbāsid compiler of historical monographs on Iraqi events. See the article by H. A. R. Gibb in *EI<sup>2</sup>*, s.v. Abū Mikhnaf; F. Sezgin, *GAS*, 1:308–309; and the monograph by Ursula Sezgin, *Abū Mīhnaf*.

- Sufyān b. al-Ḥasan al-Ḥimmānī,<sup>3015</sup>
- Ja‘far b. ‘Attāb,<sup>3016</sup>
- Yaḥyā b. Abī Zā’ida,
- ‘Alī b. Mishar,<sup>3017</sup>
- Muḥammad b. Marwān al-Suddī,<sup>3018</sup>
- Ziyād b. al-Ṭufayl,<sup>3019</sup>
- ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mālik,<sup>3020</sup>
- Mālik b. al-Fuḍayl,<sup>3021</sup>
- Abū Muḥammad b. [...],<sup>3022</sup>

2:487 – Muḥammad b. Jābir | al-Yamāmī,<sup>3023</sup>

- Abū l-Ashhab Ja‘far b. Ḥayyān al-‘Uṭāridī,
- Salama b. ‘Alqama,<sup>3024</sup>
- Sa‘īd b. Iyās,<sup>3025</sup>
- Khālid b. Dīnār,<sup>3026</sup>
- Jarīr b. Ḥāzim al-Azdī,<sup>3027</sup>
- Shu‘ba b. al-Ḥajjāj,

<sup>3015</sup> Unidentified.

<sup>3016</sup> Unidentified.

<sup>3017</sup> ‘Alī b. Mishar al-Qurashī (d. 189/804–805) was a Qur’ān scholar, traditionist, and judge at Mosul; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 7:333–334.

<sup>3018</sup> Muḥammad b. Marwān al-Suddī was a Kufan traditionist; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 9:436–437 (who calls him unreliable).

<sup>3019</sup> Unidentified.

<sup>3020</sup> ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mālik: possibly ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mālik al-Mudlījī; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 6:263.

<sup>3021</sup> Unidentified.

<sup>3022</sup> The Leiden editor infers a lacuna at this point, although there is no indication of one in M, and it is possible to read Abū Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Jābir al-Yamāmī as a single name.

<sup>3023</sup> Muḥammad b. Jābir b. Sayyār al-Yamāmī was a blind Kufan scholar who is said to have traveled to al-Yamāma; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 9:88–90.

<sup>3024</sup> Salama b. ‘Alqama was a Basran traditionist; see al-Bukhārī, *Kitāb al-Ta’rīkh*, 4:82; Ibn Sa‘d, *Tabaqāt*, VII/2, 24, 41.

<sup>3025</sup> Sa‘īd b. Iyās al-Jarīrī (d. c. 144/761–762) was a Basran traditionist; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 4:5–7.

<sup>3026</sup> Khālid b. Dīnār al-Shaybānī, called al-Nili from the Iraqi town of al-Nil where he lived, was a traditionist; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 3:88–89.

<sup>3027</sup> Abū l-Naḍr Jarīr b. Ḥāzim b. ‘Abdallāh al-Azdī al-Jahḍamī (d. c. 175/791–792) was a Basran traditionist and historian, known for his monograph on the Azāriqa Khārijites and as a transmitter of the text of Ibn Ishāq’s biography of the Prophet. See F. Sezgin, *GAS*, 1:310–311; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 2:69–72.

- Ḥammād b. Salama,
- Mahdī b. Maymūn,<sup>3028</sup>
- Mūsā b. ‘Ulayy b. Rabāḥ,<sup>3029</sup>
- ‘Abdallāh b. Lahī‘a,
- Ja‘far b. al-Ghiṭrīf,<sup>3030</sup>
- Baqiyya b. al-Walid al-Ḥimṣī,<sup>3031</sup>
- ‘Abd al-Salām [b.]<sup>3032</sup> ‘Abd al-Malik al-Dimashqī.<sup>3033</sup>

### The Days of Mūsā l-Hādī b. al-Mahdī

The oath of allegiance to Mūsā l-Hādī b. Muḥammad al-Mahdī was sworn at Māsabādhān while he was away in Jurjān.<sup>3034</sup> His mother was a slave concubine (*umm walad*) named al-Khayzurān.<sup>3035</sup> His brother Hārūn<sup>3036</sup> received the oath of allegiance on his behalf and wrote to him with the news. The messenger, Nuṣayr al-Waṣīf,<sup>3037</sup> reached him eight days after the death of his father.

On that day the Sun was in Leo, 17°; the Moon in Leo, 22° 30'; Saturn in Aquarius, 1° 40', retrograde; Jupiter in Scorpio, 14° 30'; Mars in Cancer, 28° 50'; Venus in Virgo, 8° 30'; Mercury in Virgo, 9° 50'; and the Ascending Node in Libra, 29° 15'.

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<sup>3028</sup> Abū Yahyā Mahdī b. Maymūn al-Azdī al-Mi‘walī was a Basran traditionist; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 10:326–327.

<sup>3029</sup> Mūsā b. ‘Ulayy b. Rabāḥ (b. North Africa c. 89/707, d. Alexandria 163/779–780) was an Egyptian traditionist; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 10:363–364.

<sup>3030</sup> Unidentified.

<sup>3031</sup> Baqiyya b. al-Walid al-Ḥimṣī was a traditionist who died c. 197/812–813; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 1:473–478.

<sup>3032</sup> Om. M.

<sup>3033</sup> Unidentified.

<sup>3034</sup> That is, those present at the scene of al-Mahdī's death in Māsabādhān immediately swore allegiance to Mūsā l-Hādī, the designated heir apparent, who was absent in Jurjān.

<sup>3035</sup> The MSS vary between al-Khayzurān and al-Khayzurāna, with the latter form used here.

<sup>3036</sup> According to al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:545, Hārūn was with al-Mahdī at the time of his death in Māsabādhān.

<sup>3037</sup> The second part of his name, al-Waṣīf, is probably a title, “the servant.” This is al-Ya‘qūbī’s only mention of him, but he appears several times in al-Ṭabarī (e.g., *Ta’rīkh*, 3:461, 536, 547), sometimes as al-Waṣīf and sometimes as al-Khādim (the servant, but often used specifically of a eunuch).

Three days later, al-Hādī left Jurjān for Iraq. He took up residence in Ḫisābādh,<sup>3038</sup> | the site that al-Mahdī had built up and which Mūsā (al-Hādī) completed and where his residence was.

He appointed his maternal uncle, al-Ghiṭrīf b. ‘Aṭā, over Khurāsān and its districts. When al-Ghiṭrīf arrived in Khurāsān, the province was untroubled and peaceful, the kings<sup>3039</sup> there in a state of obedience. However, he conducted himself badly and displayed great weakness, so that the province fell into turmoil. A party of Tālibids arose and approached the kings of the various regions, who received them and promised them support and assistance. This took place because Mūsā (al-Hādī) had vigorously pursued the Tālibids and had made them very fearful. He cut off delivery of the maintenance payments that al-Mahdī used to provide to them regularly, and sent orders throughout the provinces that they should be rounded up and delivered to him. As their fears mounted, with increasing numbers of people pursuing them and agitating against them, the Shi‘a and others sought out al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī.<sup>3040</sup> He was a figure of refined, excellent, and noble conduct. They said to him, “You are the man of your family; you can see the fear and adversity that have befallen you, your kin, and your supporters.”<sup>3041</sup> He replied, “Neither I nor my family can find supporters who will lead us to victory.” Thereupon, a great number of those present for the pilgrimage swore the oath of allegiance to him. He said to them, “The signal among us is that a man will call out, ‘Who has seen the red camel?’” Fewer than five hundred men rallied to him. This was in the year 169 at the end of the pilgrimage.

Al-Ḥusayn was met by Sulaymān b. Abī Ja‘far, al-‘Abbās b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī, and Mūsā b. Ḫisā at Fakhkh. He and those with him were routed and dispersed. Al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī and a group of his kinsmen were killed. His maternal uncle, Idrīs b. ‘Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī, escaped. Having reached the Maghrib, he gained authority over a region adjacent to al-Andalus known as Fās, and its people rallied to him. According to an account current among the

<sup>3038</sup> The commencement of building activity by al-Mahdī at this site east of Baghdad (the precise location is unknown) is dated by al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:502, to Dhū l-Qa’da 164/July 781.

<sup>3039</sup> Arabic *al-mulūk*, designating the various non-Arab rulers.

<sup>3040</sup> On the unsuccessful revolt of this ‘Alid, who revolted at Medina and was killed at al-Fakhkh near Mecca on 8 Dhū l-Hijja 169/11 June 786, see the article by L. Vecchia Vagliari in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī, *Šāhīb Fakhkh*; supplementary bibliography in C. E. Bosworth in *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, XXX, 14 (translating al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:551ff.).

<sup>3041</sup> Arabic *shī‘atuka* (your Shi‘a).

people of the Maghrib, Mūsā (al-Hādī) dispatched someone who assassinated him with a poisoned tooth-stick.<sup>3042</sup> | Following his death, Idrīs b. Idrīs succeeded him, and his descendants remain there to the present day, inheriting the kingdom one from the other.<sup>3043</sup>

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Opposition rose in Yemen against al-Rabī‘ b. ‘Abdallāh al-Hārithī, Mūsā (al-Hādī's) client (*mawlā*). The caliph appointed al-Ḥuṣayn b. Kathīr al-‘Abdī, then dismissed him and appointed in his stead Ayyūb b. Ja‘far al-Hāshimī. Afterward he reinstated al-Rabī‘ b. ‘Abdallāh al-Hārithī over the province, except for Ṣan‘ā’. The province remained in turmoil throughout the days of Mūsā (al-Hādī).

Al-Faḍl b. Ṣāliḥ arrived in Egypt. He stirred up none of the people of al-Ḥawf who had killed Mūsā b. Muṣ‘ab, al-Mahdī's governor, but placated them and refrained from pursuing them. He had been in office only a short while, however, before Dihya b. al-Asbagh b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz rebelled in the district of Ahnās, one of the towns of Upper Egypt, at the head of a large body of men. Dihya seized control of the road, frightening travelers, and then asserted his authority by collecting the land tax (*kharāj*). Al-Faḍl b. Ṣāliḥ dispatched a commander named Sufyān and a man from the Fayyūm named ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Alī al-Murādī. They engaged [Dihya] at a place known as Ṣahrā’ Buwayṭ and attacked him. Dihya fled in defeat and went into a *qurmūs*, a kind of kiln used for making pottery. They captured him and brought him to al-Faḍl, who had him beheaded and gibbeted and sent his head to Mūsā (al-Hādī).

Mūsā (al-Hādī) and his brother (Hārūn) had a falling-out. Al-Hādī therefore decided to remove Hārūn and to make his own son Ja‘far heir apparent, and he called on the commanders to support this. The majority declined and advised him not to do it, but some were quick to strengthen his resolve, | and they informed him that the realm would not thrive [if it went]<sup>3044</sup> to Hārūn. Among those who supported his removal was Abū Hurayra Muḥammad b. Farrūkh al-Azdī, a commander from the Azd. Mūsā (al-Hādī) had sent him at the head of a large force to raise support from those in the Jazīra, Syria, Egypt, and the

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<sup>3042</sup> Arabic *miswāk*, a twig of the *arāk* tree used for cleaning the teeth. The MSS contain a marginal note in a different hand: “In fact the one who assassinated the Imam Idrīs, on whom be peace, was Hārūn, surnamed al-Rashīd.” On this Idrīs, who founded the Idrīsid line of Moroccan kings, see the article by D. Eustache in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Idrīs I (al-Akbar) b. ‘Abd Allāh.

<sup>3043</sup> On the career of this son, called variously Idrīs al-Asghar, al-Azhar, or Idrīs II, see the article by D. Eustache in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Idrīs II.

<sup>3044</sup> The translation follows the emendation (*in šāra*) proposed by the Leiden editor. The MSS repeat the word *al-mulk* (the realm).

Maghrib and to summon the people to reject Hārūn on pain of the sword. He marched until he reached al-Raqqa, where he received word of the death of Mūsā (al-Hādī).

Mūsā (al-Hādī) had Yahyā [b. Khālid] b. Barmak seized and imprisoned, and on several occasions nearly had him executed.<sup>3045</sup> A certain elder recounted the following to me on the authority of Yahyā b. Khālid, who said: “Mūsā imprisoned me because of al-Rashīd—my role as his tutor and my relationship with him. Al-Rashīd had been delivered to us as an infant in swaddling clothes; the breasts of our women nourished him, and he grew up in our laps. (Mūsā) said, ‘I have received word that you want the caliphate for Hārūn and the office of the vizier for yourself, but, by God, I will destroy him and you before that happens.’ He imprisoned me in a narrow room where I could not stretch my legs, and I remained there for days. While I was in prison under these conditions, one night the doors swung open. I said, ‘He has remembered me and wants to kill me.’ I heard the servants<sup>3046</sup> voices and grew alarmed. As the door opened, I recited the *shahāda*,<sup>3047</sup> but I was told, ‘The Lady is here,’ by which they meant al-Khayzurān. I came out and there she was, standing at the door. She said: ‘The man collapsed during the night, and I believe he is dead. Come see him.’ My fear and anxiety grew, but she said, ‘It is as I say.’ So I came and found him with his face turned to the wall. He was dead. I hurried to Hārūn to bring him out of the place where he was imprisoned. The following morning, the commanders swore their allegiance, and I came to conduct the affairs of the realm.”

<sup>2:491</sup> The person who wielded the greatest influence over Mūsā (al-Hādī) was al-Faḍl b. al-Rabī‘. Over his security forces (*shurat*) was ‘Abdallāh b. Khāzim al-Tamīmī, whom he later removed and replaced with ‘Abdallāh b. Mālik al-Khuza‘ī. Over his palace guards (*haras*) was ‘Alī b. Īsā b. Māhān. His chamberlain (*hājib*) was al-Faḍl b. al-Rabī‘. His caliphate lasted for fourteen months. He died on 14 Rabi‘ I 170,<sup>3048</sup> at the age of 26 years. His brother Hārūn led the prayer over his grave and he was buried in Īsābādh.

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<sup>3045</sup> On Yahyā b. Khālid b. Barmak and the history of this important family, see the article by Kevin van Bladel in *EI*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. Barmakids.

<sup>3046</sup> Arabic *khadām* (pl. of *khādim*), often used to mean eunuchs; in any case, palace servants.

<sup>3047</sup> That is, expecting imminent death, he recited the creed of Islam, “I bear witness that there is no god but God and that Muḥammad is the Messenger of God.”

<sup>3048</sup> September 13, 786.

He had eight sons: Ja'far, Ismā'il, Ishāq,<sup>3049</sup> 'Abdallāh, Sulaymān, Īsā, Mūsā, who was blind, and al-'Abbās, who was born after his death. During his days, Sulaymān b. Abī Ja'far led the pilgrimage in 169.

### The Days of Hārūn al-Rashīd

Hārūn al-Rashīd b. Muḥammad al-Mahdī, whose mother was al-Khayzurān, became ruler on the day on which his brother, Mūsā (al-Hādī), died. This was on 14 Rabī' I 170, in Aylūl (September) of the months of the non-Arabs.

On that day the Sun was in Virgo, 20°; the Moon in Pisces, 25° 50'; Saturn in Aquarius, 11°, retrograde; Jupiter in Sagittarius, 17°; Mars in Sagittarius, 28° 10'; Venus in Virgo, 5° 40'; and the Ascending Node in Libra, 8° 6'.

Al-Ma'mūn was born on the night in which al-Rashīd became caliph. Al-Rashīd was delighted with this and therefore named him al-Ma'mūn.<sup>3050</sup> Muḥammad b. Hārūn<sup>3051</sup> was born | six months after him. On the night when he became ruler, al-Rashīd sent Mūsā b. Īsā to lead the pilgrimage. Then, having changed his mind and having decided to go himself, he set out, overtook Mūsā along the way, and led the pilgrimage. He lavished many gifts upon the people of Mecca and Medina, and distributed sums of money. Then he returned and made his way to the tomb of al-Mahdī in Māsabdhān. There he gave out large sums in charity, which he made a practice every year.

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He put al-Faḍl b. Yahyā<sup>3052</sup> in charge of Khurāsān. By the time he arrived, the people of al-Tālaqān had risen in dissent, but he seized control over al-Tālaqān. The ruler (*sāhib*) of the Turks advanced with many men and engaged al-Faḍl's army, and fighting ensued between them. The Turkish ruler's face was struck, knocking him out. Al-Faḍl destroyed his army and seized his possessions. The poet<sup>3053</sup> commented on al-Faḍl as follows:

<sup>3049</sup> Omitted in ed. Leiden.

<sup>3050</sup> That is, "the Trustworthy." The account is misleading, as most sources agree that his given name was 'Abdallāh and that "al-Ma'mūn" was a regnal title assumed later.

<sup>3051</sup> That is, the future caliph al-Amīn, whose given name was Muḥammad.

<sup>3052</sup> For a summary of his career, see the articles by D. Sourdel in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Faḍl b. Yahyā al-Barmakī, and by Kevin van Bladel in *EI*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. Barmakids.

<sup>3053</sup> The poem is cited with three additional verses in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 3:615, where the poet, Abū Thumāma al-Khaṭīb, is said to have received a gift of 100,000 dirhams for his effort.

To al-Faḍl belongs the Day of al-Ṭālaqān, and before it  
 was a day on which he besieged Khāqān.  
 Never has there been the like of his two battle days that succeeded each  
 other,  
 in which two battle days succeeded each other in two campaigns.

Yahyā b. ‘Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan had fled to Khurāsān and then had entered the land of al-Daylam. Hārūn wrote to the ruler (*sāhib*) of al-Daylam, demanding him from him and threatening him; the latter therefore sought out Yahyā. When Yahyā saw this, he requested a guarantee of safe-conduct from al-Faḍl. Al-Faḍl gave it to him and took him to al-Rashīd, who imprisoned him. Yahyā remained in prison until his death. According to one account, the person who was charged with his care denied him food for days and he therefore died of hunger. One of the clients (*mawālī*) of the Banū Hāshim told me: “I was imprisoned in the same building as Yahyā b. ‘Abdallāh. I was next to the room he was in, and he often spoke to me from behind a low wall. One day he said to me, ‘I have been denied | food and drink for nine days.’ On the tenth day, the servant in charge of him entered and searched the room. He stripped Yahyā of his clothes, untied his drawers, and found a tube made of cane that Yahyā had fastened to the inside of his thigh. It contained cow’s ghee that he would lick bit by bit to sustain himself. After taking it away, the servant continued to search his leg until Yahyā died.”

Abū Jamil<sup>3054</sup> told me: “During the reign of al-Ma’mūn, I set out for Basra. Riding on the boat with us was a servant who told us that he was one of al-Rashīd’s servants.<sup>3055</sup> He recounted to us the fate of Yahyā b. ‘Abdallāh and that he had been the one responsible for his death, as described previously. During the night, a man who was on the boat pushed him into the water while the boat was moving and drowned him.”

In the year 175,<sup>3056</sup> Hārūn had the oath of allegiance sworn to his son Muḥammad as heir apparent. Muḥammad was five years old. To mark the occasion, Hārūn distributed copious gifts to the people and brought Muḥammad before the commanders. Muḥammad, standing on a cushion, praised God and

<sup>3054</sup> The identity of this narrator, other than what he reveals in his account, is unknown. The words “as described previously,” seem to imply that Abū Jamil is the client of the Banū Hāshim who narrated the account of the death of Yahyā b. ‘Abdallāh in the previous paragraph.

<sup>3055</sup> Arabic *khādim*. Possibly in the sense of “eunuch”; in any case, a palace servant.

<sup>3056</sup> 175 A.H. = May 10, 791 – April 27, 792.

invoked blessings upon His Prophet. ‘Abd al-Şamad b. ‘Alī<sup>3057</sup> then rose and said, “People, do not be deceived by his youth, for this is the Blessed Tree whose roots are true and whose branches reach to the sky.” Men of the Banū Hāshim continued to declaim in this fashion until the occasion ended. Dirhams, dinars, bags of musk, and pellets of ambergris were scattered over them.

Hārūn appointed Sālim al-Yūnusī,<sup>3058</sup> a client (*mawlā*) of Ismā‘il b. ‘Alī, over al-Sind, replacing al-Layth, a client of the Commander of the Faithful. He conducted himself well. Shortly thereafter, he appointed Ishāq b. Sulaymān b. ‘Alī al-Hāshimī, who arrived in the province and was an abstemious man. Then he dismissed him and appointed Ṭayfūr b. ‘Abdallāh b. Manṣūr al-Ḥimyārī.

Fighting erupted between the Yamāniyya and the Nizāriyya;<sup>3059</sup> he therefore sent Jābir b. al-Ash‘ath al-Ṭā‘ī to govern the region west of the river<sup>3060</sup> and Makrān. Then he appointed Sa‘īd b. Salm b. Qutayba, who sent his brother, Kathīr b. Salm. The latter conducted himself badly and was criticized; al-Rashīd therefore assigned al-Sind to Īsā b. Ja‘far b. al-Manṣūr, who dispatched Muḥammad b. ‘Adī al-Tagħlibī<sup>3061</sup> to the province. Upon his arrival, he stirred up factional tensions, displayed favoritism, and pitted the tribes one against the other. He left al-Manṣūra for al-Multān, where, engaging his forces, the local populace fought and defeated him and plundered all the weapons in his possession. Defeated, he fled, turning aside for nothing, until he reached al-Manṣūra. The enmity between the Yamāniyya and the Nizāriyya grew fiercer and continued unabated, so al-Rashīd appointed ‘Abd al-Rahmān [...],<sup>3062</sup> followed by Ayyūb b. Ja‘far b. Sulaymān. Then, in 184,<sup>3063</sup> he appointed Dāwūd b. Yazīd b. Hātim al-Muhallabī, who dispatched his brother al-Mughira to the province.

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<sup>3057</sup> A prominent member of the ‘Abbāsid family; son of ‘Alī b. ‘Abdallāh b. al-Abbās b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib, whose death was recorded at ed. Leiden, 2:385–386.

<sup>3058</sup> The reading “al-Yūnusī” is conjectural. In C the word is undotted; M reads “al-Tūnusī,” and in Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta’rīkh*, 463, he is called “al-Burnusī.” In any case, he was well-connected, being a client of another son of ‘Alī b. ‘Abdallāh b. Abbās, mentioned above at ed. Leiden, 2:386.

<sup>3059</sup> That is, between Arabs tracing their ancestry to the southern tribes (the Yamāniyya) and those tracing their ancestry to the northern tribes (the Nizāriyya).

<sup>3060</sup> That is, the Indus.

<sup>3061</sup> Thus M; ed. Leiden, al-Tha’labī. The reading al-Tagħlibī is confirmed by Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta’rīkh*, 463, where Muḥammad b. ‘Adī is identified as “the son of the sister of Hishām b. ‘Amr,” who elsewhere (*ibid.*, 433, 441) is identified as al-Tagħlibī.

<sup>3062</sup> Possible lacuna. Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta’rīkh*, 463, identifies him as ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Sulaymān.

<sup>3063</sup> 184 A.H. = February 1, 800 – January 19, 801.

The Nizāriyya, taking note, set out to divide the region into four parts—one for the Quraysh, one for the Tamīm,<sup>3064</sup> one for the Qays, and one for the Rabī‘a—and to oust the Yamāniyya.

When al-Mughīra arrived, the people of al-Manṣūra locked the gates and prevented him from entering unless he promised them that he would not exploit factional enmity among them until they had all left the city, and only then would he enter it. All who still had any breath left in them departed and al-Mughīra entered the city. He discriminated against the Nizāriyya, and therefore they fought him and defeated him. When Dāwūd b. Yazīd received word of this, he marched until he reached the province, and, taking the sword to the Nizāriyya, he killed a great number of them. He then proceeded to al-Manṣūra, where he battled them for twenty days. The fighting between them lasted several months before he wrested control of the city. He then marched against the remaining towns of al-Sind, conquering and laying waste, until the entire province fell to him.

Hārūn appointed Sulaymān b. Abī Ja‘far<sup>3065</sup> over Damascus. Its inhabitants rose up against him | because of the rock crystal vase (*al-qulla al-billawr*) that had been in their *mīhrāb*.<sup>3066</sup> They ousted him and ransacked everything in his possession.

A man from the Banū Murra named ‘Āmir b. ‘Umāra, also known as Abū l-Haydhām, rebelled in Hawrān in the region of [Damascus]<sup>3067</sup> and killed members of the Yamāniyya. This occurred in the year 176.<sup>3068</sup> Al-Rashīd sent al-Sindī<sup>3069</sup> and a group of commanders against them. Abū l-Haydhām was killed and his men scattered.

Hārūn set off for Syria, but on learning of the death of Abū l-Haydhām he headed for the frontier and sent Harthama b. A‘yan<sup>3070</sup> to campaign in

<sup>3064</sup> The phrase, “one for the Tamīm” is absent from ed. Leiden, but present in M.

<sup>3065</sup> The son of the caliph al-Manṣūr and therefore Hārūn al-Rashīd’s uncle.

<sup>3066</sup> This refers to an incident in which the ‘Abbāsid official sparked a riot when he made off with a famous ornament from the Umayyad mosque. See Nasser Rabbat, “The Dome of the Rock Revisited,” 71. Cobb, *White Banners*, 104–105, presents evidence from Ibn ‘Asākir’s *Tarikh Dimashq* that the incident took place during the reign of al-Amīn.

<sup>3067</sup> Om. MSS; added by the Leiden editor. On the revolt of Abū l-Haydhām al-Murri, see the extensive treatment in Cobb, *White Banners*, 82–91.

<sup>3068</sup> 176 A.H. = April 28, 792 – April 17, 793.

<sup>3069</sup> MSS, al-Suddī; corrected by the Leiden editor. He is the Khurāsānī commander al-Sindī b. Shāhak mentioned above, ed. Leiden, 2:439.

<sup>3070</sup> On the career of this ‘Abbāsid general and governor, see the article by Ch. Pellat in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Harthama b. A‘yan.

Byzantine territory. In 171, he ordered the reconstruction of Tarsus.<sup>3071</sup> He built it up solidly, giving the town five gates and eighty-seven towers around it. A large river spanned by vaulted bridges cut through the middle of the town. Construction began under his client Abū Sulaymān, but when he left for Iraq to take part in the pilgrimage, he appointed in his stead Ja‘far b. Yahyā b. Khālid over the districts of Syria and the Jazīra.

When intertribal strife (*‘aṣabiyya*) broke out in Ḥimṣ, Ja‘far b. Yahyā ascended the pulpit and spoke.<sup>3072</sup> Having offered thanks and praise to God and having pronounced blessings upon Muḥammad, he said:

People of Syria, I warn you of the consequences of insolence, the dire outcome that awaits those who are ungrateful for their blessings, and the unhappy end of every regrettable act. Truly happy is he by whom others become happy,<sup>3073</sup> truly wretched is he who is wretched in himself and from whose fate others take warning. Truly deceived is he who is deceived in his intellect; truly seduced is he who is seduced from his religion. Truly deprived is he who is deprived of his share from God; truly a loser is he who sells his hereafter for this world, and his ultimate destiny for his immediate life. Only those of God’s servants who possess knowledge fear Him, and only to those of His servants who are prudent has God given warning ...

—and he went on in the same vein for some time.

In 179,<sup>3074</sup> the Khārijite<sup>3075</sup> al-Walīd b. Ṭarīf rebelled in the Jazīra. | ‘Abd al-Malik b. Ṣalīḥ was responsible for the province and part of Syria. Al-Walīd

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<sup>3071</sup> The conquest of this frontier city has already been mentioned at the end of the account of the reign of Mu‘āwiya (ed. Leiden, 2:285) as having taken place in 53/673. On ‘Abbāsid fortification projects for the city, see the article by C. E. Bosworth in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Tarsus. The river is the Cydnus (Arabic Baradān).

<sup>3072</sup> For details about this episode, which can be dated to 180/796–797, see Cobb, *White Banners*, 91.

<sup>3073</sup> The sense requires emending the text to read: *man sa‘ida bihi ghayruhu*. By omitting one letter, the copyist has produced *man sa‘ida bi-ghayrihi* (he who becomes happy because of others), but this makes little sense.

<sup>3074</sup> 179 A.H. = March 27, 795 – March 15, 796.

<sup>3075</sup> Arabic *al-Harūrī*; on al-Walīd b. Ṭarīf, who like many Khārijites was both a rebel and a poet, see the article by H. Eisenstein in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Walīd b. Ṭarīf. A verse attributed to him has been added in the margin of M at this point, apparently in another hand and probably not part of the original text. The verse, which occurs in *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, 11:9, may be translated: “I am al-Walīd b. Ṭarīf, al-Shārī (literally, “the vendor,” i.e., who

besieged him at al-Raqqa. Al-Rashīd dispatched Mūsā b. Khāzim al-Tamīmī with an army, but al-Walīd defeated him. Then he sent Mu‘ammār b. Ḫisā al-‘Abdī, and clashes took place between them. Mu‘ammār died in the midst of the campaign, and Yazīd b. Mazyad al-Shaybānī therefore set out against him. He fought him for one day; then on the following day he said to him, “Walīd, come forth for single combat, so that no one will have to die on our account.” Al-Walīd came out for single combat, and Yazīd killed him, cut off his head, and sent it to al-Rashīd. Al-Walīd’s supporters scattered, but some of them regrouped afterward around a man known as Khurāshā<sup>3076</sup> and proceeded to the area of the Jazīra near Diyār Rabī‘a.

Yazīd b. Ḥātim al-Muhallabī governed Ifrīqiya from the days of al-Manṣūr until the days of al-Rashīd. Having designated his son, Dāwūd b. Yazīd b. Ḥātim, as his successor over Ifrīqiya, he died. Dāwūd governed the people unjustly, so they fought him and defeated him. Al-Rashīd then appointed Rawḥ b. Ḥātim al-Muhallabī. He arrived in the country and subdued its people, after which he died. Al-Rashīd then appointed Naṣr b. Ḥabīb al-Muhallabī; afterward he dismissed him and appointed al-Fadl b. Rawḥ. ‘Abdallāh b. al-Jārūd rose against him, and the people of al-Maghrib rallied to him. Engaging al-Fadl, they battled his troops. They overcame him and imprisoned him and his men. ‘Abdallāh b. al-Jārūd gained control of the province.<sup>3077</sup> He then requested a guarantee of safe-conduct and asked that certain demands, which he named, be guaranteed to him. They<sup>3078</sup> granted him all that he had requested and then returned to al-Rashīd with news of him.

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Al-Rashīd dispatched Harthama b. A‘yan to Syria, Egypt, and the Maghrib | to reconnoiter and set matters right. He proceeded from region to region, setting right whatever he thought needed to be set right, until, in the year 179, he reached Egypt, where the people had risen up against their governor. Harthama then proceeded to al-Maghrib. When he reached Tripoli in the region of al-Maghrib, he distributed payments that were in arrears to its army and gave a general guarantee of safe-conduct. He finally reached al-Qayrawān, in the year 179, and, offering safe-conduct to its inhabitants, he placated them. However,

have sold my life for God’s sake), a lion; the heat of my fire cannot be endured. Your injustice caused me to leave my home.”

<sup>3076</sup> The name is undotted in the MSS, and the first letter can be read as KH, H, or J. The translation follows the reading of al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:645 (see Bosworth, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, xxx, 63, note 585). The detailed account in Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta’rīkh*, 454–456, reads the name as Jurāshā, with a note that Ibn al-Athīr reads it as Ḥurāshā.

<sup>3077</sup> A lacuna is likely here, as noted by the Leiden editor.

<sup>3078</sup> Presumably, envoys from the caliphate.

certain men in one district rose against him, and he sent an army against them and dispersed them. Having stayed until he had set matters right, Harthama then returned to Egypt, where he remained until conditions there were became settled. Transporting those whom he saw fit to take with him, he departed.

Al-Rashīd appointed Muḥammad b. Muqātil [al-‘Akkī] over Ifrīqiya. [Tammām b. Tamīm al-Tamīmī rose against him]<sup>3079</sup> and besieged him [in] al-Qayrawān. The people of al-Qayrawān opened the gate to Tammām, who entered the city. Muḥammad b. Muqātil sought a guarantee of safe conduct, which Tammām granted him. Ibn Muqātil left [for] Iraq, and Tammām gained control over the province. The Khurāsāni and Syrian troops then rose against him and fought him. Tammām fled from them.<sup>3080</sup>

Then Ibrāhīm b. al-Aghlab<sup>3081</sup> arrived, and the people of al-Maghrib made him their governor; he managed their affairs well. When al-Rashīd received word of this, he sent Ibrāhīm his document of appointment over Ifrīqiya. He sent the document with Yahyā b. Mūsā al-Kindī.

Ibrāhīm b. al-Aghlab b. Sālim was one of the soldiers who had been dispatched from Egypt to Ifrīqiya. He had led the security forces (*shurṭa*) of the governor (*sāhib*) of Ifrīqiya; and when Ibn Muqātil died, having named Ibrāhīm as his successor over the province, he managed it well and the people became more obedient. Whereas the sum of 600 dīnārs used to be sent to the governor (*sāhib*) of Ifrīqiya from Egypt every year, Ibrāhīm b. al-Aghlab wrote to al-Rashīd informing him that he would administer the province without the money, so al-Rashīd appointed him to the governorship. His tenure in office and that of his descendants continues to the present day.

Al-Rashīd had appointed his client (*mawlā*) al-‘Abbās b. Sa‘īd over Yemen. The people of Yemen began to complain about him, and there were reports of disgraceful conduct by him. Al-Rashīd dismissed him and appointed in his stead Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Imām.<sup>3082</sup> He then dismissed him and appointed ‘Abdallāh b. Muṣ‘ab al-Zubayrī, then dismissed him and ap-

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<sup>3079</sup> The text in the MSS is defective and has been reconstructed by the Leiden editor on the basis of Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 6:105; similarly Khalīfa b. Khayyāt, *Tarīkh*, 464.

<sup>3080</sup> Reading with M, *fa-haraba minhum*; ed. Leiden, *fa-nhazama minhum* (he was routed by them).

<sup>3081</sup> On Ibrāhīm b. al-Aghlab, whose family held the governorship of Ifrīqiya from 184 to 296 (800 to 909), see the articles by M. Talbi in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ibrāhīm I, and G. Marçais and J. Schacht in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Aghlabids.

<sup>3082</sup> I.e., the grandson of Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. ‘Abdallāh b. al-‘Abbas, surnamed “the Imam,” active in unleashing the ‘Abbāsid revolution.

pointed in his stead Aḥmad b. Ismā‘il b. ‘Alī, then dismissed him and appointed his client (*mawlā*) Ḥammād al-Barbarī, who subjected the people of Yemen to injustice and harshness.

In the year 179, al-Hayṣam b. [‘Abd al-Majīd]<sup>3083</sup> al-Hamdānī rebelled in Yemen and gained control. His stronghold was at a mountain called Miswar.<sup>3084</sup> Supporting him was ‘Umar b. Abī Khālid al-Ḥimyarī, who was based in ‘Ashshatān.<sup>3085</sup> Also supporting him was al-Ṣabāḥ in an area called Ḥarāz. They engaged Ḥammād al-Barbarī, and clashes occurred between them in which over 20,000 people were killed. Ḥammād captured ‘Umar b. Abī Khālid and sent him to al-Rashīd. The fighting between him and al-Hayṣam continued for nine years. Then a local man came to Ḥammād and informed him that al-Hayṣam had come down from his citadel and had gone into a certain village in disguise to gather information. Ḥammād sent with the man a commander named Jarād,<sup>3086</sup> who succeeded in capturing al-Hayṣam. Al-Hayṣam said, “By God, being killed is something I am untroubled by, for men have been created only for death and killing.” Ḥammād led him into Ṣan‘ā mounted on a camel, and then sent him to al-Rashīd. In a long poem, it was said of him:

The remedy for what the soul does not desire  
is a quick departure.

Al-Rashīd called for al-Hayṣam and ordered that he be beheaded. Ḥammād al-Barbarī then turned his attention to Ṣabāḥ. Ṣabāḥ pleaded<sup>3087</sup> for a guarantee of safe conduct, which he gave him. Others have said that he did not grant it to him, but rather took him prisoner and sent him, along with 600 of his men and those of al-Hayṣam,<sup>3088</sup> to al-Rashīd, who had them all beheaded and had al-Hayṣam and Ṣabāḥ gibbeted together. Ḥammād al-Barbarī remained governor of Yemen for thirteen years, visiting cruel torment upon its people, until finally some Yemenis shouted to al-Rashīd at a time when the latter was in Mecca: “We

<sup>3083</sup> Added by the Leiden editor, but no reference provided.

<sup>3084</sup> The name is corrupt in both MSS. Yāqūt identifies Miswar as a fortress near Ṣan‘ā’.

<sup>3085</sup> The name is corrupt in both MSS. Yāqūt identifies a place with this name in the district of Şa‘da in Yemen.

<sup>3086</sup> The name is undotted in the MSS. Ed. Leiden prints “Harād.”

<sup>3087</sup> Following the reading in ed. Leiden (*fa-darra'a*); M reads (undotted) *fa-ṣarakha* (he cried out).

<sup>3088</sup> Following M, *min aṣḥābihi wa-aṣḥāb al-Hayṣam*; ed. Leiden has only *min aṣḥāb al-Hayṣam* (of al-Hayṣam’s men).

entreat you by God, Commander of the Faithful: rid us of Ḥammād al-Barbarī if you can.” He replied, “No, absolutely not!”<sup>3089</sup>

Ḥammād had been Hārūn’s slave whom he had manumitted at the start of his caliphate. Al-Rashīd afterward dismissed Ḥammād and replaced him with ‘Abdallāh b. Mālik, who governed the province in praiseworthy and commendable fashion until the time of Hārūn’s death.

### [The Death of Mūsā b. Ja‘far]<sup>3090</sup>

Mūsā b. Ja‘far b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, whose mother was a slave concubine (*umm walad*) named Ḥamda, died in the year 183<sup>3091</sup> at the age of 58. His death took place in Baghdad in al-Rashīd’s prison that was administered by al-Sindī b. Shāhak. Al-Rashīd summoned the eunuch (*khādim*) Masrūr, the commanders, the secretaries, the Hāshimites, the judges, and all the Ṭālibids who were in Baghdad. He uncovered Mūsā’s face and asked them, “Do you know him?” They replied, “We know him very well; he is Mūsā b. Ja‘far.” Hārūn said, “Do you see on him any marks or indications of a violent death?” They replied, “No.” He was washed, shrouded, and taken out and buried among the tombs of the Quraysh on the west side of the city.

Mūsā b. Ja‘far was an exceedingly pious person and transmitted traditions from his father.

Al-Ḥasan b. Asad said: “I heard Mūsā b. | Ja‘far say: ‘Whenever a people hold this world in contempt, God makes it pleasant for them and provides them with blessings in it; but whenever a people holds it in high regard, He renders it loathsome for them.’”

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Mūsā also said: “There are some men who associate with the ruler; believers take them as caves of refuge, and they shall be safe on the Day of Resurrection—if only I could behold one of them!”<sup>3092</sup>

<sup>3089</sup> Arabic *lā wa-lā karāma*, an expression meaning “I will give you neither what you seek nor anything else.”

<sup>3090</sup> The section title was added by the Leiden editor; it is not in the MSS. The person whose death is recorded is Mūsā l-Kāzīm, the seventh Imam, according to the reckoning of the Twelver Shī‘a. For biography and bibliography, see the article by E. Kohlberg in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Mūsā al-Kāzīm.

<sup>3091</sup> 183 A.H. = February 12, 799 – January 31, 800. Other dates are given.

<sup>3092</sup> Although the sense is vague, commentators have interpreted “one of them” as a veiled reference to a particular government official, ‘Alī b. Yaqṭīn, said to have been a devoted Shī‘ite and whom Mūsā l-Kāzīm is said to have asked to exert his influence on behalf

A certain tyrant was mentioned in his presence, and he said “By God, if he finds glory by oppression in this world, he will surely be brought low by justice in the next.”

Someone said to Mūsā b. Ja‘far when he was in prison, “Why haven’t you written to such and such a person to speak to al-Rashīd on your behalf?” He replied: “My father told me, on the authority of his ancestors, that God, may He be glorified and exalted, revealed to David: ‘David, whenever one of my servants holds fast to one of My creatures, rather than to Me—I knowing this about him—I sever his grasp of the ropes to Heaven and dissolve the very earth beneath him.’”

Mūsā b. Ja‘far said: “My father related to me that Moses, the son of ‘Imrān, said: ‘Lord, which of Your creatures is the most evil?’ He replied: ‘He who suspects My motives.’ Moses, the son of ‘Imrān, asked: ‘Lord, is there among Your servants anyone who suspects Your motives?’ He replied: ‘Yes, he who seeks My protection but then is dissatisfied with My judgment.’”

He had 18 sons and 23 daughters. The sons were: ‘Alī al-Riḍā,<sup>3093</sup> Ibrāhīm, al-‘Abbās, Qāsim,<sup>3094</sup> Ismā‘il, Ja‘far, Hārūn, al-Ḥasan, Aḥmad, Muḥammad, ‘Ubaydallāh, Ḥamza, Zayd, ‘Abdallāh, Ishāq, al-Ḥusayn, al-Faql, and Sulaymān. Mūsā [b.] Ja‘far stipulated that his daughters should not marry. None of them did, except for Umm Salama, who was married in Egypt to al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. Ja‘far b. Muḥammad. This led to such a terrible rift between him and his family that he swore that he had not consummated the marriage and that he intended only to accompany her on pilgrimage.

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Al-Rashīd had the oath of allegiance taken to his son al-Ma’mūn as heir apparent after (his brother) Muḥammad (al-Amīn) in this | year—the year 183. The oath of allegiance to him was received from all the people, even from the people of the markets. Eight years separated the oath taken to Muḥammad and that taken to al-Ma’mūn. Al-Rashīd would send al-Ma’mūn and Muḥammad to

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of Shī‘ites. The saying is then interpreted to mean that working through officials of a government illegitimate from a Shī‘ite perspective is permitted when done to further the Shī‘ite cause. See the article by E. Kohlberg in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Mūsā al-Kāzim. Note, however, that the next dictum but one implies the opposite.

<sup>3093</sup> Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. Mūsā b. Ja‘far, known as ‘Alī al-Riḍā, was the eighth Imam of the Twelver Shī‘a. On his life, see the article by Tamima Bayhom-Daou in *EI*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. ‘Alī al-Riḍā.

<sup>3094</sup> Sic M; ed. Leiden, al-Qāsim.

the religious scholars (*fuqahā'*) and traditionists to learn from them. He also summoned experts in theology and disputation to instruct them. Muḥammad was a slow learner, while al-Ma'mūn proved to be quick.

Al-Rashīd pursued officials, wealthy landowners,<sup>3095</sup> village chiefs,<sup>3096</sup> owners of estates, land agents,<sup>3097</sup> and holders of tax-farms,<sup>3098</sup> for they owed accumulated sums. He put 'Abdallāh b. al-Haytham b. Sām in charge of collecting the money from them, which he did by means of various forms of torture. This was in the year 184.<sup>3099</sup> Al-Rashīd came down with a severe illness in that year, but recovered from it. When al-Fudayl b. 'Iyād visited him and saw that people were being tortured for payment of the land tax (*kharāj*), he said: "Relieve them, for I heard the Messenger of God say: 'He who tortures people in this world, God will torture him on the Day of Resurrection.'" So al-Rashīd ordered that torture should not be used against people, and torture was banned from that year on.

Al-Rashīd resided at al-Rāfiqa until he had completed construction there. He took up residence there in the year 186.<sup>3100</sup> He led the pilgrimage in that year, accompanied by Muḥammad (al-Amin), al-Ma'mūn, illustrious Hāshimites, officers, and secretaries; no one of significance or standing stayed behind. On arriving in Medina, al-Rashīd distributed to the people of Medina the equivalent of three months' pay and many garments. Then he proceeded to Mecca, but he did not do the same there.

Upon reaching Mecca, he ascended the pulpit and delivered a sermon; then he descended and entered the Ka'ba. He summoned Muḥammad (al-Amin) and al-Ma'mūn. He dictated to Muḥammad a document of stipulations incumbant upon him,<sup>3101</sup> and Muḥammad wrote out the document. He then had him take an oath to uphold its contents and adhere to the promises and pledges in it. He did the same with al-Ma'mūn and had him make the same declarations. The text of the document that Muḥammad wrote out in his own hand was as follows:<sup>3102</sup>

<sup>3095</sup> The translation follows the emendation (*tana'a*) proposed by Houtsma in ed. Leiden. This would be an otherwise unattested plural of *tāni'*, an Arabic synonym of *dihqān*. Both MSS read *bunāh* (builders).

<sup>3096</sup> Arabic *dahāqīn*, pl. of *dihqān*.

<sup>3097</sup> See Løkkegaard, *Islamic Taxation*, 98 and note 63.

<sup>3098</sup> Term undotted in both MSS (see Leiden, 501, note c).

<sup>3099</sup> 184 A.H. = February 1, 800 – January 19, 801.

<sup>3100</sup> 186 A.H. = January 6, 802 – December 29, 802.

<sup>3101</sup> That is, upon Muḥammad.

<sup>3102</sup> Cf. the parallel account and text of the agreement in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 3:654 ff. Bos-

2:502 In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate. This is a document of the servant of God, Hārūn the Commander of the Faithful, written out by Muḥammad the son of Hārūn the Commander of the Faithful, in soundness of body [and mind],<sup>3103</sup> and in full exercise of his power.

The Commander of the Faithful, Hārūn, has appointed me to the succession after him and has made the oath of allegiance to me obligatory for all Muslims. He has designated my brother, ‘Abdallāh son of the Commander of the Faithful, to the succession, the caliphate, and all affairs of the Muslims, after me, with my agreement and consent, voluntarily and unconstrainedly. He has appointed him over Khurāsān, with its frontiers, its districts, its armies, its land tax (*kharāj*), its *tirāz* workshops,<sup>3104</sup> its post,<sup>3105</sup> its treasures, its alms (*ṣadaqāt*), its tithe (*‘ushr*), its tribute (*‘ushūr*),<sup>3106</sup> and all its administrative functions, during his lifetime and after his death.

I have promised my brother ‘Abdallāh to fulfill all that Hārūn the Commander of the Faithful has stipulated for him regarding the oath of allegiance, the succession, [the executive authority, the caliphate, and the affairs of the Muslims after me, and to deliver this to him, along with the]<sup>3107</sup> governorship of Khurāsān and its administrative offices; all grants of land that Hārūn the Commander of the Faithful has provided to him;

worth, in his notes to his translation (*The History of al-Tabarī*, xxx, 183 ff.), summarizes the differences between the primary versions—al-Ya‘qūbī, al-Azraqī, and al-Ṭabarī—and gives a bibliography of recent discussions.

<sup>3103</sup> Added by the Leiden editor on the basis of the parallel versions, but neither ms contains the words.

<sup>3104</sup> Arabic *tirāz* (from a Persian word meaning ‘adornment’): the workshops that produced the official sashes or fabric inlays (*tirāz*) embroidered with the name of the caliph or his governors and worn on ceremonial occasions. See the article by Y. Stillman and P. Sanders in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Tirāz*.

<sup>3105</sup> Arabic *barīd*, a system of post riders used to convey official documents as well as to provide the central government with intelligence. See Adam J. Silverstein, *Postal Systems in the Pre-Modern Islamic World*.

<sup>3106</sup> Arabic *‘ushrahā wa-‘ushūrahā*. The meaning of the phrase, which also appears in the parallel versions, is not clear. De Goeje in the glossary to the Leiden *Ṭabarī* (p. ccclxiii) saw *‘ushūr* as tribute to be paid by non-Muslims, implying that *‘ushr* referred to tithes paid from the harvest of land owned by Muslims. See also the article by T. Sato in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *‘Ushr*.

<sup>3107</sup> The Leiden editor restored the bracketed words on the basis of the parallel version in al-Azraqī. Their omission in the mss of al-Ya‘qūbī can be explained as due to homeoteleuton.

any and all revenue-generating properties and estates from his estates and properties, or those estates and properties that he may have purchased; and whatever he has given to him during his own lifetime in the way of money, ornaments, jewels, furniture, clothing, and slaves, be it little or much. All this shall belong to 'Abdallāh son the Commander of the Faithful, my brother, set aside for him and granted to him. I acknowledge all of this, item by item, by its name, kind, and location, as does my brother, 'Abdallāh b. Hārūn.

If we disagree over any of these matters, the decision therein shall belong to 'Abdallāh my brother. I will take nothing, small or large, of his wealth or of | his governorship of Khurāsān and its administrative functions. I will not remove him from any of them, nor will I seek to replace him with any other or to succeed him,<sup>3108</sup> nor will I advance any person over him with regard to the succession or the caliphate. I will visit no harm upon him in his soul or his body, in his affairs private or public, in his authority, in his wealth, in his land grants and revenue-generating properties. I will [alter] to his detriment [nothing] for any reason. I will not call to account any of his secretaries, officials, or administrators, of those who have accompanied him and taken up residence with him in the governorship of Khurāsān, its districts, and all else over which Hārūn the Commander of the Faithful shall have appointed him in his lifetime, and those whom he shall have made his associate<sup>3109</sup> in tax-collection, sources of wealth, production of official garments, the post, alms, tithes, tribute, and anything else related to its governance. I will never command anyone to do so, allow anyone else to do so, or contemplate imposing any such step upon him. I will make no demands upon his land grants, neither will I diminish anything that Hārūn the Commander of the Faithful designated and gave to him during his lifetime, his caliphate, and his dominion, of all that I have specified in this document of mine.

I make the oath of allegiance to him binding upon myself and upon all the people. I will permit no person to repudiate him or defy him; I will give ear to no creature who speaks of such a thing, neither will I approve of it secretly or openly, or turn a blind eye to it, or overlook it. I will not accept from anyone, be he pious or sinful, truthful or mendacious, sincere or deceitful, close or far, or from any member of the human race, male or

<sup>3108</sup> The translation follows M: *lā akhlufuhu*. This apparently means that al-Amīn will not attempt to wrest the governorship of Khurāsān from al-Ma'mūn's heirs. Ed. Leiden emends the text to read *lā akhlā'uhu* (I will not depose him).

<sup>3109</sup> Reading with M *wa-ashabahu*; ed. Leiden emends to *wa-sīḥhatihī* (in his health).

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female, any advice, device, or stratagem regarding any matter, whether secret or open, valid or invalid, | [hidden] or apparent, or any means whereby I might intend to impair anything that I myself have granted to ‘Abdallāh son of Hārūn the Commander of the Faithful and stipulated as incumbent upon me in this document of mine.

I have made it my duty, have stipulated, and have specified that if any person intends evil, villainy, repudiation, warfare, or assault against his soul and his body, his womenfolk, wealth, authority, or governorship, all together or any one of the same, secretly or openly, I will help him, protect him, and defend him as I would defend myself—my person, my blood, my hair, my flesh, my womenfolk, and my authority. I will equip armies for him and provide him support against everything that opposes or defies him. He and I shall stand as one in this forever, so long as I live. I will not desert him, turn away from him, or distance myself from him. If the event of death befalls Hārūn whilst I and ‘Abdallāh are in the presence of the Commander of the Faithful, or one of us, or we are both absent, together or separately, and ‘Abdallāh is not in his governorship of Khurāsān, it shall be incumbent upon me to see that ‘Abdallāh son of Hārūn the Commander of the Faithful reaches Khurāsān; to deliver to him its governorship, all of its administrative functions, and its armies, not restraining him from them or detaining him, either at my side or in any of the provinces other than Khurāsān; and to expedite his arrival in the province in his capacity as the one assigned to be in charge of it and all its administrative functions, possessing it alone and entrusted with all its administrative functions. With him I will dispatch all such persons as the Commander of the Faithful has joined to him from among his commanders, soldiers, companions, secretaries, clients, servants, and all other sorts of people subordinate to him, along with their property and households. I will bar none of these persons from him; I will make no one a partner with him in these matters; | I will send no agent, secretary, or tax agent<sup>3110</sup> to him; and I will impede him in nothing small or large.

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I have given to the Commander of the Faithful Hārūn and to ‘Abdallāh son of Hārūn, against what I have stipulated to them as incumbent upon myself regarding all that I have laid down and written out in this document, God’s pact and covenant, the agreement of protection of the

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<sup>3110</sup> Arabic *bundār*, a Persian term used in a variety of senses in Arabic. Here it seems to mean someone placed next to or under the main tax official; see al-Ṭabarī, *Glossarium*, cxli.

Commander of the Faithful, my own agreement of protection [and those of my forefathers],<sup>3111</sup> the agreements of protection of the believers, and the most binding of the solemnly pledged charges and covenants that God has laid upon the prophets, the messengers, and all His creatures, with the solemn oaths whose fulfillment God has commanded and whose violation or alteration He has forbidden.

If I violate or alter anything that I have stipulated to Hārūn and to 'Abdallāh son of Hārūn the Commander of the Faithful, or [if I contemplate violating a single item of what is incumbent upon me]<sup>3112</sup> or accept such a thing from any person, may I be cut off from God, [His dominion and religion, and from Muḥammad, the Messenger of God; may I come before God on the Day of Resurrection]<sup>3113</sup> as an unbeliever and polytheist; may every woman who is now my wife or whom I shall marry within thirty years be divorced with threefold repudiation, definitively, with the divorce of *haraj* and of *sunna*;<sup>3114</sup> may it become incumbent upon me to walk in pilgrimage to the Sacred House of God thirty<sup>3115</sup> times, as an act

<sup>3111</sup> The Leiden editor has added the bracketed words on the basis of the parallel version in al-Azraqī.

<sup>3112</sup> The Leiden editor has restored the bracketed words on the basis of the parallel versions.

<sup>3113</sup> The Leiden editor has added the bracketed words on the basis of the parallel version in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 3:662.

<sup>3114</sup> Arabic *talāq al-ḥaraj wa-l-sunna* (with the divorce of straitness/sinfulness and *sunna*). Various explanations have been given for this phrase. (See, for example, 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Šan'ānī, *Al-Muṣannaf*, "Bāb Ṭalāq al-Ḥaraj.") It seems that the question early arose among legal scholars as to whether the formula *anti ḥaraj 'alayya* (you are straitness/sinfulness to me) was a valid formula for divorcing one's wife. One opinion was that it was valid. Another interpretation of the phrase was that it meant a divorce pronounced at a moment when, according to the *sunna*, a wife could not be divorced, as, for example, when she was menstruating. Such a divorce, although sinful (another term for it was *bid'a*, 'innovation') could be interpreted as valid. Therefore, Muḥammad al-Amīn would be swearing to divorce all his wives, whether divorcing them involved sin on his part or whether it could be done in accordance with the *sunna*. In his 1927 Italian translation of the parallel version in al-Ṭabarī, F. Gabrieli translated "con divorzio implicante peccato [ove la donna venga ripresa]." In other words, a divorce upon which sin would ensue if the husband remarried the wife. (Gabrieli, "Documenti relativi al califfato di al-Amīn in al-Ṭabarī," 197.) Bosworth in his English translation (*The History of al-Tabari*, xxx, 191, and note 685) follows Gabrieli.

<sup>3115</sup> Accepting the emendation (*thalāthīn*) of the Leiden editor. M and C read what looks like *mī'atayn* (two hundred), but the grammatical form is wrong for the context and the two words look very similar when written without dots.

of atonement incumbent upon me, barefoot and on foot, [which God will accept from me only if fulfilled in its entirety; may all the wealth that I possess today or that I shall acquire within thirty years be a gift brought to the Sacred Ka'ba];<sup>3116</sup> and may every slave that I possess today or that I shall acquire within thirty years be set free for the sake of God, May He be glorified and exalted.

Everything that I have undertaken toward the Commander of the Faithful and toward 'Abdallāh the son of the Commander of the Faithful, that I have written out and stipulated to them, and that I have sworn and specified in this document of mine, I am bound to fulfill; I harbor no other thought and intend nothing else. | If I ever harbor any such thought or intend anything other than this, all of these covenants and oaths shall ensue and take their effect on me; and the officers of the Commander of the Faithful, his armies, the people of the provinces and garrison cities, and ordinary Muslims shall be released from the oath of allegiance to me, my caliphate, and my covenant, and shall be free to depose me and strip me of my authority over them, so that I become as one of the market people and as a man of the populace at large, with no claim over them, no authority over them, and no allegiance to me incumbent upon them. They shall be released from the oaths they have given to me, and released from the consequences and sin of (breaking) them, in this world and the next.

—Written by Muḥammad b. Hārūn in his own hand.

—Witnessed by Sulaymān, the son of the Commander of the Faithful al-Manṣūr; 'Isā b. Ja'far; [Ja'far b. Ja'far];<sup>3117</sup> 'Ubaydallāh<sup>3118</sup> b. al-Mahdī; Ja'far, the son of Mūsā the Commander of the Faithful; Isḥāq b. 'Isā b. 'Alī; 'Isā b. Mūsā, the son of the Commander of the Faithful; Isḥāq b. Mūsā the Commander of the Faithful; Aḥmad b. Ismā'il b. 'Alī; Sulaymān b. Ja'far b. Sulaymān; 'Isā b. Ṣalih b. 'Alī; Dāwūd b. 'Isā b. Mūsā; Dāwūd b. Sulaymān b. Ja'far; Yaḥyā b. 'Isā b. Mūsā; Yaḥyā b. Khālid; Khuzayma b. Khāzim; Harthama b. A'yan; 'Abdallāh b. al-Rabī'; [al-Faḍl b. al-Rabī'];<sup>3119</sup> al-'Abbās b. al-Faḍl; al-Qāsim b. al-Rabī'; Dhufāfa<sup>3120</sup> b. 'Abd al-'Azīz; Sulaymān b.

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<sup>3116</sup> The bracketed words have been added by the Leiden editor on the basis of al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 3:662.

<sup>3117</sup> Added by the Leiden editor.

<sup>3118</sup> C, M, 'Abdallāh; emended by the Leiden editor in *Addenda et emendanda*, 1:viii.

<sup>3119</sup> Added by the Leiden editor. The omission in the MSS can be explained by homeoteleuton.

<sup>3120</sup> Thus apparently in M; ed. Leiden, "Duqāqa."

'Abd [Allāh b. al-Aṣamm; Muḥammad b. 'Abd] <sup>3121</sup> al-Rāḥmān, the chief judge of Mecca; 'Abd al-Karīm al-Ḥajabī; <sup>3122</sup> Ibrāhīm b. 'Abd al-Rāḥmān <sup>3123</sup> al-Ḥajabī; Abān, the client of the Commander of the Faithful; al-Ḥārith, the client of the Commander of the Faithful; Khālid, the client of the Commander of the Faithful; Muḥammad | b. Maṇṣūr; and Ismā'īl b. Ṣubayḥ.

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—Written in Dhū l-Ḥijja in the year 186. <sup>3124</sup>

The text of the terms written out by 'Abdallāh the son of the Commander of the Faithful in his own hand in the Ka'ba:

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate. This is a document of the servant of God, [Hārūn] the Commander of the Faithful, written out for him by 'Abdallāh the son of Hārūn the Commander of the Faithful, in soundness of mind, in full exercise of his power, with sincerity of intention regarding what he has written in this document of his, and with recognition of what it contains of benefit and well-being for himself, the members of his family, and the community of Muslims.

The Commander of the Faithful has appointed me to the succession, the caliphate, and all of the affairs of the Muslims in his dominion after my brother, Muḥammad son of Hārūn the Commander of the Faithful. He has appointed me, during his lifetime and after his death, as governor over the frontier regions of Khurāsān, its districts, and all of its administrative functions, including alms (*ṣadaqāt*), tithes (*'ushr*), [tribute (*'ushūr*)], <sup>3125</sup> the post, *tirāz* workshops, <sup>3126</sup> and all other functions. He has stipulated for me and for Muḥammad <sup>3127</sup> the son of Hārūn the Commander of the Faithful to fulfill all that has been entrusted to me as regards the caliphate, authority over the servants of God and the provinces after him, and the governorship of Khurāsān and all of its administrative functions. He shall

<sup>3121</sup> The bracketed words were added by the Leiden editor on the basis of the parallel in al-Azraqī.

<sup>3122</sup> The *nisba* is undotted in both MSS.

<sup>3123</sup> Al-Azraqī: "b. 'Abdallāh."

<sup>3124</sup> Dhū l-Ḥijja 186 began on December 1, 802.

<sup>3125</sup> Added by the Leiden editor.

<sup>3126</sup> M, *al-turuq* (the roads) is probably a copyist's mistake for *al-turuz*, the plural of *al-tirāz*.

<sup>3127</sup> The translation follows M (*wa-shtaraṭa lī wa-li-Muhammad*). The Leiden editor emends to *wa-shtaraṭa lī 'alā Muhammad* (he has stipulated on my behalf as an obligation upon Muḥammad).

interfere with me in nothing that the Commander of the Faithful has granted to me or acquired [for me], or what I have acquired for myself, of estates, revenue-generating properties, buildings, and dwellings, or regarding what the Commander of the Faithful Hārūn has given me of wealth, jewels, garments, furniture, and riding beasts on the pretext of calling my companions to account, neither shall he investigate any of them.

He shall not inflict upon me, upon anyone with me or representing me, upon any of my officials or secretaries, or upon any persons whom I have charged to assist me anything hurtful to person, | blood, hair, or skin, or wealth, small or large. Muḥammad has acknowledged this to him, has agreed to it, and has written out a document to this effect. He has bound himself to it, and Hārūn the Commander of the Faithful has approved it and has acknowledged the sincerity of his intention.

I have promised the servant of God, Hārūn the Commander of the Faithful, and have given him a commitment that I will hear and obey Muḥammad [the son of]<sup>3128</sup> the Commander of the Faithful and will not oppose him. I will offer him sincere advice and never mislead him; I will fulfill the oath of allegiance to him and acknowledge his authority; I will not betray or violate; I will carry out his writs and commands; I will support and assist him properly; and I will strive to combat his enemies in the regions assigned to me, as long as he fulfills for me the terms that he has laid down for me and for the servant of God, Hārūn the Commander of the Faithful; which he has agreed to on my behalf, and I have accepted. I will not diminish any of this or any matter that the Commander of the Faithful has stipulated for him regarding me.

If Muḥammad the son of the Commander of the Faithful requires any soldiers and writes to me, commanding me to dispatch them to him, to one province or another, or against any of his enemies [that has risen against him]<sup>3129</sup> and that seeks to diminish any of the authority that Hārūn the Commander of the Faithful has entrusted us and to which he has appointed us, [it shall be my duty]<sup>3130</sup> to carry out his command and not disobey him or fall short in anything whereof he has written to me.

If Muḥammad son of the Commander of the Faithful wishes to appoint one of his sons to the succession after me, he may do so, as long as he

<sup>3128</sup> The Leiden editor has added the bracketed words, which are in neither ms.

<sup>3129</sup> Added in ed. Leiden.

<sup>3130</sup> Adding *fa-'alayya*, as suggested by the editor of the parallel text in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 3:661.

has fulfilled what the Commander of the Faithful Hārūn has stipulated for me and made incumbent upon him regarding me and which he has committed himself to undertake concerning me.

I pledge to carry out and fulfill this. I will not diminish, alter, or replace any of it, neither will I give precedence over him to any of my sons or any other person near or far; save that Hārūn the Commander of the Faithful may appoint one of his sons [as heir apparent]<sup>3131</sup> after me and may obligate me | and Muḥammad to honor that decision.

I have pledged to the Commander of the Faithful Hārūn and to Muḥammad son of the Commander of the Faithful the fulfillment of all that I have stipulated and specified in this my document, as long as Muḥammad son of the Commander of the Faithful fulfills all of the obligations towards me that Hārūn Commander of the Faithful has stipulated for me and all such matters as the Commander of the Faithful has granted as specified in the document that he wrote out for him.<sup>3132</sup> [Upon me be]<sup>3133</sup> God's pact and covenant, the agreement of protection of the Commander of the Faithful, my own agreement of protection, the agreements of protection of my forefathers, the agreements of protection of the believers, and the most binding of the solemnly pledged charges and covenants that God has laid upon the prophets, the messengers, and all His creatures, with the solemn oaths whose fulfillment God has commanded.

If I violate, alter, replace, break, or betray anything that I have stipulated and specified in this document of mine, may I be cut off from God, His dominion and religion, and from Muḥammad, the Messenger of God; may I come before God on the Day of Resurrection as an unbeliever and polytheist; may every woman who is now my wife or whom I shall marry within thirty years be divorced with threefold repudiation, [definitively, with the divorce of]<sup>3134</sup> sinfulness;<sup>3135</sup> may every slave that I possess today or that I shall acquire within thirty years be set free; may it become incumbent upon me to walk in pilgrimage to the Sacred House in Mecca thirty times, as an act of atonement [incumbent upon me],<sup>3136</sup> barefoot and on

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<sup>3131</sup> Added by the Leiden editor on the basis of the parallel in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:662.

<sup>3132</sup> That is, the document that Muḥammad al-Amīn wrote out for Hārūn.

<sup>3133</sup> Added by the Leiden editor on the basis of the parallel in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:662.

<sup>3134</sup> Added by the Leiden editor on the basis of the parallel in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:662.

<sup>3135</sup> On “the divorce of straitness/sinfulness” (*ṭalāq al-haraf*), see note 3114 above.

<sup>3136</sup> Added by the Leiden editor on the basis of the parallel in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:662.

foot, which God will accept from me only if fulfilled in its entirety; and may all the wealth that I possess today or that I shall acquire within thirty years be a gift brought to the Sacred Ka'ba.

Everything that [I have undertaken] toward the servant of God, Hārūn the Commander of the Faithful, and that I have stipulated in this document of mine is binding upon me; I harbor no other thought and intend nothing else.

The men who bore witness were the same as those who had been witnesses for his brother, Muḥammad the son of the Commander of the Faithful. Al-Rashīd led the people in the pilgrimage and commanded that these two documents should be hung up, and so they were hung on the door of the Ka'ba during the days of the pilgrimage; they were read to the people several times | and were placed inside the Ka'ba.

Al-Rashīd left and stopped in al-Ḥīra, where he remained for some days. He then set out on the desert road and stopped at a place near al-Anbār known as al-Ḥurf, in a monastery called al-‘Umr, where he remained for a day. That night, his wazīr, Ja'far b. Yaḥyā b. Khālid, was killed without any prior incident.<sup>3137</sup> Al-Rashīd accompanied his body to Baghdad the following day. Ja'far's corpse was cut into three parts, and each was gibbeted on a bridge in Baghdad—Baghdad had three bridges at the time. Al-Rashīd imprisoned Yaḥyā b. Khālid b. Barmak, his sons, and the members of his household, confiscated their wealth, and seized their estates. He said: “If my right hand had learned the reason why I acted as I did, I would have cut it off.” People gave many explanations for the wrath that was visited upon them.

Ismā'il b. Ṣubayḥ said: “One day al-Rashīd sent for me while he was in Baghdad. I entered, but saw no one in the private rooms and galleries until I reached him. ‘Ismā'il,’ he asked, ‘did you see anyone in the palace?’ ‘No, by God,’ I replied. He said, ‘Go and check the audience chambers, the galleries, and the private rooms.’ I did, but I found no one. ‘Do it a third time,’ he said. I did. Then he said, ‘Take that chair.’ I did. He went out with a club in his hand and made his way to the middle of the inner courtyard. Then he said, ‘Put the chair

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<sup>3137</sup> That is, without any incident that would explain his killing. The Arabic verb could also be read in the active voice, in which case the translation would be, “he killed his wazīr,” emphasizing al-Rashid's direct agency. Thus begins al-Ya'qūbi's account of the fall of the Barmakī family. The Arabic sources and modern treatments of the subject are summarized by C. E. Bosworth, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, XXX, 201, n. 697. See also the article by Kevin van Bladel in *EJ*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. Barmakids, which discusses possible motives for al-Rashid's actions and provides a comprehensive bibliography.

down.' I did. He sat down, holding the club, and said, 'Sit down.' I suddenly was overcome with fear, but I sat down. He said, 'I want to reveal a secret to you, but, by God, if I hear it from anyone else, I will have you beheaded.' Recovering my composure, I said, 'Commander of the Faithful, if you have told it to someone already or will tell it to someone, there is no need for me to hear it.' He said: 'I have not told it to anyone else and will not. I intend to inflict on the Barmak family what no one has ever inflicted on anyone. I want to make them a subject of every conversation and an example to others until the end of time.' I said, 'May God grant you success, Commander of the Faithful, and guide your affair aright.' Then he stood up and headed back. I took the chair and put it back. I said to myself, 'He only wanted to find out what they mean to me.' He sent me to them as he had done many times before. A year went by, then a second, then a third. At the beginning of the fourth year, he had them killed."

2:511

Ja‘far was killed in Ṣafar of the year 188 at the monastery of al-‘Umr.<sup>3138</sup> Yaḥyā b. Khālid had stopped at this monastery on the way back from the pilgrimage, a full year before what befell his family, and had entered the monastery in which his son Ja‘far was killed. As he wandered through it, a monk appeared before him. He asked the monk, "How long ago was this church built?" The monk replied: "Six hundred years ago, and this is the tomb of its founder."<sup>3139</sup> Yaḥyā stopped before a tomb with writing on it, which he read. It said:

In the year the Banū l-Mundhir perished,  
at the time when the monk erected the church,  
Their necks were suffused with musk  
and with amber collected by the gatherer;  
Their clothes were of cotton and linen—  
no one tailored them clothes of wool.<sup>3140</sup>  
Yet by morning they became a garden for earthworms:  
Fate's favorites do not endure!  
By midday no one approached them for favors,  
and no one feared them any longer.  
It was as if a curse had veiled them,  
and a rider had traveled to ...<sup>3141</sup>

<sup>3138</sup> Ṣafar 188 began on January 19, 804.

<sup>3139</sup> Arabic *sāhibihā*, literally, "its master," referring either to the founder or perhaps to the relics of a saint.

<sup>3140</sup> That is, they never wore wool, a less luxurious fabric. See al-Tawḥidī, *Baṣā’ir*, 8:53.

<sup>3141</sup> The last half line, found in no parallel version, is too corrupt to be deciphered.

Ja‘far’s face fell, and he said, “I seek God’s protection from your evil, O monk.” Before his very eyes, the monk vanished. He searched for him, but without success.

Yahyā and his sons remained in prison for several years. Yahyā wrote to al-Rashīd, hoping to gain his sympathy, reminding him | of the reverence due to him and of his role in his upbringing.<sup>3142</sup> Al-Rashīd wrote on the back of his note: “People like you, Yahyā, are those concerning whom God, may He be glorified and exalted, fashioned a parable: *A city that was secure, at rest, its provision coming to it easefully from every place, but then it was unthankful for the blessings of God; so God let it taste the garment of hunger and of fear for the things that they were working.*”<sup>3143</sup>

In this year—that is, the year 188—al-Rashīd sent his son, al-Qāsim, on the summer campaign. ‘Abd al-Malik b. Ṣalih al-Hāshimī accompanied him, and Ibrāhīm b. ‘Uthmān b. Nahīk was in charge of his affairs. He besieged the fortress of Sinān and Qurra. Severe famine, scarcity, and high prices beset the people, so that the Byzantines sought a settlement in exchange for the return of 320 Muslims. He accepted the offer and departed.

Al-Rashīd seized Ahmād b. Īsā b. Yazīd al-‘Alawī and imprisoned him in al-Rāfiqa in the year 188. Ahmād b. Īsā escaped from prison and made his way to Basra. He began writing to the Shī‘a, calling on them to rise up in his name. Al-Rashīd sent spies against him and offered money to anyone who laid hold of him, all to no avail. Then Ḥādir, Ahmād’s companion who managed his affairs, was seized and taken to al-Rashīd. On reaching Baghdad, at Bāb al-Karkh, he said: “People, I am Ḥādir, the companion of Ahmād b. Īsā b. Yazīd al-‘Alawī, and the authorities have seized me.” The men in charge of him prevented him from speaking. When he was brought before al-Rashīd, the latter questioned him about Ahmād b. Īsā and threatened him. Ḥādir replied, “By God, if he were under the soles of my feet, I would not lift them away from him.” And he<sup>3144</sup> answered coarsely and he said: “I am an old man of over ninety years of age. Am I to seal my life’s work by revealing the whereabouts of the descendant of the Messenger of God, so that he can be killed?” Al-Rashīd ordered that he be beaten to death and that his body be gibbeted in Baghdad. This put an end to the affair of Ahmād b. Īsā, and from then on there was no further word of him.

<sup>3142</sup> As mentioned above, ed. Leiden, 2:490, Yahyā had been al-Rashid’s tutor.

<sup>3143</sup> Qur’ān 16:112.

<sup>3144</sup> The pronouns are ambiguous. The Arabic suggests that “he” refers to Ḥādir, but it is possible that al-Rashīd replied coarsely, whereupon Ḥādir replied, “I am an old man ...”

2:513

In this year—that is, the year 188—al-Rashīd imprisoned ‘Abd al-Malik b. Ṣāliḥ b. ‘Alī al-Hāshimī.<sup>3145</sup> This was because his son ‘Abd al-Rahmān and his secretary Qumāma b. Yazīd, a client (*mawlā*) of ‘Abd al-Malik, accused him of declaring himself qualified for the caliphate and of corresponding with the heads of tribes and clans in Syria and the Jazīra. ‘Abd al-Malik was an eminent man, eloquent, and a skillful rhetorician. He asked: “What is the reason for my imprisonment? If it is for a sin, I will confess it; if it is slander, I will clear myself.” Al-Rashīd had him brought before him and said, “Here is your son, ‘Abd al-Rahmān, telling us of the disobedience and disorder that you were planning.” He replied, “My son is either acting under orders and is therefore excused, or he is an enemy to be guarded against. As God Almighty has said: *Among your wives and children there is an enemy to you; so beware of them.*”<sup>3146</sup> Al-Rashīd said, “And here is Qumāma b. Yazīd, your secretary, saying the same thing, and he has asked that you and he be brought face to face.” ‘Abd al-Malik replied, “He who has lied about me and exposed me to peril can hardly be trusted not to slander me.”

According to what one of our elders reported to me: One day, al-Rashīd had ‘Abd al-Malik b. Ṣāliḥ b. ‘Alī brought out (from prison). Al-Rashīd turned to him and said: “It is as if I were looking at its raincloud having burst, and its thunderhead having flashed, and the threat having kindled a spreading flame, leaving hands without wrists and heads without throats! So be careful, Banū Hāshim; be careful! Do not mistake smooth ground for rough, or rough ground for smooth. Do not make light of blessings and invite certain punishment. Soon the wise man will scorn his opinion, and the resolute man will turn from his course. You will be replacing glory with humiliation, security with fear.” ‘Abd al-Malik replied: “Am I speaking as an individual or | as twins?”—He meant as one person or two.<sup>3147</sup> “As an individual,” replied al-Rashīd. ‘Abd al-Malik said: “Then fear God in regard to the office to which He has appointed you, and heed Him in regard to your flock that He has chosen you to tend. Do not set ingratitude in the place of gratitude, or punishment in the place of reward. Do not sever the bonds of kinship that God has made incumbent upon you, whose claims He has made binding, and whose rending the Book<sup>3148</sup> has declared

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<sup>3145</sup> Parallel with more detail in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:688–694 (trans. Bosworth, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, xxx, 230–238, where the other parallels are listed). For a summary of his career, see the article by Paul M. Cobb in *EI*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. ‘Abd al-Malik b. Ṣāliḥ.

<sup>3146</sup> Qur’ān 64:14.

<sup>3147</sup> The intention is unclear; parallel in al-Tawḥīdī, *Baṣā’ir*, 8:132.

<sup>3148</sup> That is, the Qur’ān.

to be disbelief. Restore to the claimant what is his due, and do not turn aside what is due to those to whom it does not belong. For you have I united voices that once spoke against you, quieted hearts that had turned from you, and made the hitching loops<sup>3149</sup> of your dominion to be stronger than the corner of Yalamlam.<sup>3150</sup> As a member of the Banū Ja‘far b. Kilāb said:<sup>3151</sup>

Many a narrow standing-place have I opened up  
with my tongue, my eloquence,<sup>3152</sup> and argument.  
If an elephant or its keeper had stood there,  
they would have slipped and withdrawn from a standing-place like  
mine.”

Then he left. Al-Rashīd watched him go and said, “By God, [were it not for sparing the blood of the Banū Hāshim, I would have you beheaded].”<sup>3153</sup>

Hārūn al-Rashīd set out for al-Rayy in the year 189.<sup>3154</sup> When he reached Qarmāsīn, he had the oath of allegiance taken to his son al-Qāsim as heir apparent after al-Ma’mūn. There were six years between the oath of allegiance to al-Ma’mūn and the oath to al-Qāsim. Al-Rashīd continued on and stopped in al-Rayy. He wrote to his son Muhammad, who was in Baghdad, ordering him to leave for al-Rayy to take charge of what he<sup>3155</sup> had left behind there. He wrote to Bindād-Hurmuz,<sup>3156</sup> the lord (*sāhib*) of Ṭabaristān, who set out, and

<sup>3149</sup> Arabic *awākhī*, plural of *ākhiyya*: “a loop tied to a peg or stake driven into the ground, to which a beast is attached,” used metaphorically for “a sacred or inviolable right” (Lane, *Lexicon*, 1:34).

<sup>3150</sup> The corner, side, or support (*rukñ*), or the corners, sides, or supports (in the dual, as in al-Ṭabarī, *Tarīkh*, 3:691) of Yalamlam, a place in the lowlands of Yemen (possibly a building there, or a mountain; cf. Yāqūt, *Mu‘jam al-Buldān*, s.v.) was proverbial for strength, see al-Maydānī, trans. Freytag, 1:271.

<sup>3151</sup> Part of a longer poem by the pre- and early Islamic poet Labīd b. Rabī‘a (so identified in Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 6:183). For the full poem, see C. Brockelmann, *Die Gedichte des Lebīd*, 11–17.

<sup>3152</sup> Thus in ed. Leiden. In M the undotted word seems to be *wa-bi-yadī* (and with my hand), which does not fit the meter, but can be corrected to *wa-yadayya* (and my two hands), which does fit the meter.

<sup>3153</sup> The words in brackets are missing from both MSS; the Leiden editor has supplied them from al-Ṭabarī, *Tarīkh*, 3:692.

<sup>3154</sup> 189 A.H. = December 8, 804 – November 26, 805.

<sup>3155</sup> That is, al-Rashīd.

<sup>3156</sup> M, C: Bindād Hurmuz, corrected by the Leiden editor. Parallel, al-Ṭabarī, *Tarīkh*, 3:705. For the more correct form of this Iranian name, Wandād-Hurmuzd, and the back-

to Sharwīn,<sup>3157</sup> the lord (*shāhib*) of Ṭukhāristān. Bindād-Hurmuz came to him, accompanied by Harthama b. A'yan, bringing his son Qārin, whom he delivered to al-Rashīd's camp.<sup>3158</sup> Al-Rashīd departed from al-Rayy, having delegated 'Abdallāh b. Mālik al-Khuzā'ī over Qūmis, Tabaristān, and Dunbāwand [and made his way to Baghdad].<sup>3159</sup> He passed through Baghdad during the day without staying there. When he reached the bridge, he ordered the burning of Ja'far b. | Yahyā's body and the execution of al-Walid b. Jusham.<sup>3160</sup>

2:515

In the year 189, al-Rashīd appointed 'Alī b. Īsā b. Māhān over Khurāsān, replacing Manṣūr b. Yazīd b. Manṣūr al-Ḥimyarī. He joined to him a group of commanders, among them Rāfi' b. al-Layth al-Laythī,<sup>3161</sup> commanding him not to appoint the latter over any country while he was far away. When 'Alī b. Īsā arrived in Khurāsān, he appointed Rāfi' b. Layth over Samarqand. He had been there barely a year when he rebelled, calling for disobedience and making war. Word reached al-Rashīd that this was due to plotting on the part of 'Alī b. Īsā, and so he sent Harthama b. A'yan with 4,000 troops on the pretext of providing 'Alī b. Īsā with reinforcements. When Harthama entered the city,<sup>3162</sup> he proceeded to the governor's residence and led the forces under his command into the residence. He produced the letter<sup>3163</sup> and gave it to 'Alī b. Īsā. When the latter finished reading it, Harthama asked: "Do you heed and obey?" "Yes," he replied. Harthama called for a heavy chain, bound him, and immediately took him away. He accompanied him until he had crossed from the district of Marw. Then he dispatched him, with envoys acting on his behalf, to al-Rashīd. Al-Rashīd ordered 'Alī and his sons imprisoned and his wealth confiscated. He remained in prison until the death of al-Rashīd.

Armenia had rebelled following the death of al-Mahdī and remained in rebellion in the days of Mūsā (al-Hādī). When al-Rashīd appointed Khuzayma b. Khāzim al-Tamīmī over Armenia, he served there for a year and two months, bringing the province under control. The province was pacified and its people

ground of al-Rashīd's summons to him, see the article on this local Iranian dynasty by M. Rekaya in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Kārinids.

<sup>3157</sup> On this local Iranian ruler, see the article by R. N. Frye in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Bāwand.

<sup>3158</sup> That is, as a hostage.

<sup>3159</sup> Added by the Leiden editor.

<sup>3160</sup> On the execution of this Khārijite, cf. the parallel in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 3:683.

<sup>3161</sup> For a summary of the life of this leader of a rebellion against the governor of Khurāsān, which lasted until after the death of al-Rashīd, see the article by C. E. Bosworth in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Rāfi' b. al-Layth b. Naṣīb. Sayyār.

<sup>3162</sup> Marw, according to al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 3:719.

<sup>3163</sup> The text of al-Rashīd's letter to 'Alī b. Īsā is given in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 3:716–717.

gave their obedience. Al-Rashīd then appointed Yūsuf b. Rāshid al-Sulamī to replace Khuzayma b. Khāzim. Yūsuf moved a group of the Nizāriyya to the province, where the Yamāniyya heretofore had been dominant. The Nizāriyya became numerous during Yūsuf's time. Al-Rashīd then appointed Yazīd | b. Mazyad b. Zā'ida al-Shaybānī as governor. He brought in Rabī'a tribesmen from everywhere, so that today they dominate the province. He maintained such a firm grip on the province that no one was able to cause trouble. Afterward, al-Rashīd appointed 'Abd al-Kabīr b. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, a descendant of Zayd b. al-Khaṭṭāb al-'Adawī, whose residence was in Ḥarrān. He proceeded to Armenia with a group of tribesmen from Diyār Muḍar, but remained there only four months before he was dismissed. Al-Rashīd then appointed al-Faḍl b. Yahyā b. Khālid al-Barmakī, who set out for the province in person. On arriving, he proceeded toward Bāb al-Abwāb. He attacked the fortress at Ḥamzīn, but the people of Ḥamzīn defeated him. He departed in defeat<sup>3164</sup> and headed back to Iraq, leaving 'Umar b. Ayyūb al-Kinānī as his deputy over the province.

When al-Faḍl reached Iraq, he sent Abū l-Şabbāh to be in charge of taxes (*kharāj*) in Armenia and Sa'īd b. Muḥammad al-Ḥarrānī al-Lihbī<sup>3165</sup> over its military affairs. The people of Bardha'a rose up against Abū l-Şabbāh and killed him. Armenia rebelled, and Abū Muslim the Khārijite rose up [in the province]. Al-Faḍl therefore appointed Khālid b. Yazīd b. Asīd al-Sulamī over Armenia and sent 'Abd al-Malik b. Khalifa al-Ḥarashī to him with 5,000 troops. They engaged Abū Muslim the Khārijite at Rūyān, but he defeated them. Abū Muslim went off to the fortress of al-Kilāb and captured it.

Al-Rashīd appointed al-'Abbās b. Jarīr b. Yazīd b. Jarīr b. 'Abdallāh al-Bajalī over Armenia. When he reached Bardha'a, the inhabitants of al-Baylaqān rose against him. He fortified himself against them in the outer town<sup>3166</sup> of Bardha'a. He<sup>3167</sup> dispatched Ma'dān al-Ḥimṣī against Abū Muslim the Khārijite<sup>3168</sup> with 6,000 troops. Their forces met and a battle took place between them. Ma'dān al-Ḥimṣī was killed, and Abū Muslim the Khārijite proceeded to Dabil. | He besieged the city for four months; then he withdrew and made his way to al-Baylaqān, where he stayed.

The situation in Armenia grew serious. Al-Rashīd dispatched Yahyā al-Ḥarashī with 12,000 troops, and Yazīd b. Mazyad al-Shaybānī with 10,000. He

<sup>3164</sup> Reading with M, *munhaziman*; ed. Leiden (conjectural reading), *mā ya'lwi 'alā shay'in* (not turning aside for anything).

<sup>3165</sup> Possibly to be vocalized as "al-Lahabī."

<sup>3166</sup> Arabic *rabad*; for this translation, see R. Bulliet, *The Patricians of Nīshāpūr*, 7f.

<sup>3167</sup> The referent of the pronoun is uncertain.

<sup>3168</sup> Arabic *al-Shārī*.

ordered Yazīd b. Mazyad to proceed to Armenia and ordered al-Ḥarashī to Azerbaijan. Muhalhil al-Tamīmī had taken control of Azerbaijan. Al-Ḥarashī engaged him, fought him, defeated him, and pacified the province. He then proceeded to Armenia to join Yazīd b. Mazyad in campaigning against Abū Muslim the Khārijite. He reached the province only to find that the latter had died. Al-Sakan b. Mūsā al-Baylaqānī, the client (*mawlā*) of [...],<sup>3169</sup> rose in his stead. His residence was al-Baylaqān. When he received word of the arrival of Yaḥyā al-Ḥarashī, he sent al-Khalil b. al-Sakan against him with his best cavalry. Al-Khalil engaged al-Ḥarashī, who captured him, and then proceeded against al-Baylaqān. When al-Sakan received word of this, he fled and made his way to the fortress of al-Kilāb. The people of al-Baylaqān went to al-Ḥarashī to ask for safe-conduct. They opened the city to him, and al-Ḥarashī gave the people a guarantee of safe-conduct and razed the city's fortress. Al-Sakan marched toward Yazīd b. Mazyad with 8,000 men to ask him for a guarantee of safe-conduct. He escorted him to al-Rashīd.

When the the province became quiet, al-Rashīd appointed Mūsā b. Īsā al-Hāshimī, who remained in Armenia for a year. Then the unrest resumed and its regions fell into turmoil. He wrote to al-Rashīd with this news. Al-Rashīd said, "I see no one suitable for Armenia except al-Ḥarashī." He therefore dismissed Mūsā b. Īsā and sent al-Ḥarashī to be its governor. Al-Ḥarashī unleashed the sword on its people until the province was set aright.

Afterward, al-Rashīd appointed Aḥmad b. Yazīd b. Asīd al-Sulamī. When he arrived, the Khurāsānians in the province who had come with al-Ḥarashī and before al-Ḥarashī rose up against him, fought him, and conspired against him, saying, "We will neither heed you nor obey you." Al-Rashīd then appointed Saʿīd b. Salm b. | Qutayba al-Bāhili. When he arrived in the province, the people were reconciled with each other for several months. He then offended the nobles,<sup>3170</sup> and the people of Bāb al-Abwāb therefore turned against him and rose up against his resident governor. Al-Najm b. Hāshim, the lord (*sāhib*) of Bāb al-Abwāb, had been killed by Saʿīd b. Salm, and so his son, Hayyūn<sup>3171</sup> b. al-Najm, rose up, killed Saʿīd's resident governor in Bāb al-Abwāb, and bared his head in (a sign of) rebellion.<sup>3172</sup> He wrote to Khāqān, the Khazar king,

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<sup>3169</sup> Lacuna in both MSS.

<sup>3170</sup> Arabic *batāriqa*, pl. of *bitrīq*; from the Latin, *patricius*.

<sup>3171</sup> The reading of the name, undotted in both MSS, is uncertain. The parallel in al-Tabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 3:648, merely identifies him as the son of his father, whose name appears in al-Ṭabarī as "al-Munajjim."

<sup>3172</sup> Or possibly, "exposed the (severed) head."

[who advanced]<sup>3173</sup> with a huge force and attacked the Muslims, killing many people and taking many captives. He advanced as far as the bridge over the Kurr River, taking many Muslims captive and killing many others. He burned the land and killed women and children. When al-Rashīd received word of his actions, he dispatched \_\_\_\_\_<sup>3174</sup> and ordered him to confront Sa‘īd b. Salm and expose him to public shame. When he arrived in the province, Sa‘īd offered him money.<sup>3175</sup> \_\_\_\_\_ was inclined to accept the money; however, when al-Rashīd received word of this, he dispatched Naṣr b. Ḥabīb al-Muhallabī as governor of the province, but it was only a short time before al-Rashīd dismissed him and replaced him with ‘Alī b. ‘Isā b. Māhān. No sooner had the latter arrived than his misconduct led the people of Sharwān to rise against him, and the province was in turmoil. Al-Rashīd therefore appointed Yazīd b. Mazyad al-Shaybānī and sent ‘Alī back to Khurāsān. Armenia and Azerbaijan together were assigned to Yazīd b. Mazyad. When he arrived, the people became reconciled with each other. He set the country right; he treated the Nizāriyya and the Yamāniyya on equal terms and wrote to the local princes and nobles, enlarging their hopes. The province settled down.

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Al-Rashīd then appointed Khuzayma b. Khāzim al-Tamīmī, who seized the notables and princes and beheaded them; he treated the people very badly, and so Jurjān and the Ṣanāriyya rose in rebellion. He<sup>3176</sup> dispatched an army<sup>3177</sup> against them, but they killed him.<sup>3178</sup> He then sent Sa‘īd b. al-Haytham b. Shu‘ba b. Zuhayr al-Tamīmī with a large army. He fought the people of Jurjān and the Ṣanāriyya until he had expelled them from the province. He then departed for Tiflīs. Khuzayma b. Khāzim remained for less than a year. Al-Rashīd dismissed him and appointed Sulaymān b. Yazīd b. al-Āṣamm al-Āmirī, a virtuous but dimwitted old man. He became so weak that none of his orders were carried out and control over the province was nearly lost. Al-Rashīd then appointed al-‘Abbās b. Zufar al-Hilālī, but the Ṣanāriyya rose against him. He fought them but was too weak for them, and so al-Rashīd sent Muḥammad b. Zuhayr b. al-Musayyab al-Ḍabbī, who was the last of al-Rashīd’s governors of Armenia.

<sup>3173</sup> Added by the Leiden editor.

<sup>3174</sup> Name corrupt in both MSS.

<sup>3175</sup> That is, to buy him off.

<sup>3176</sup> The referent of the pronoun is unclear; it could refer to Khuzayma.

<sup>3177</sup> Sic, but it would make more sense to see the Arabic *jayshan* (an army—the first letter is undotted in M) as a copyist’s mistake for the name of the person sent by Khuzayma to fight the rebels.

<sup>3178</sup> Or: “they killed/destroyed the army.” The sentence is apparently corrupt as there is no indication of who the commander of this force was.

The people of Ḥimṣ threw off their allegiance in the year 190<sup>3179</sup> and attacked their governor. Al-Rashīd set out against them; when he reached Manbij, their delegation met him submissively, asking that he pardon them. He forgave them and then set out for Byzantine territory to lead the summer campaign. He conquered Heraclea<sup>3180</sup> and al-Maṭāmīr.<sup>3181</sup>

Umm Ja‘far, the daughter of Ja‘far b. al-Mansūr, made the pilgrimage in this year—the year 190. The people suffered great thirst, and Zamzam became so depleted that there was barely any water in it. Zamzam was deepened by several cubits and the water level rose slightly. The length of the bucket-rope of Zamzam was eighteen cubits. A further nine cubits were dug to deepen it. This was the first time that Zamzam was deepened.

Al-Rashīd’s paternal uncle, his father’s paternal uncle, and his grandfather’s paternal uncle came together. His uncle was Sulaymān b. | Ja‘far, his father’s uncle al-‘Abbās b. Muḥammad, and his grandfather’s uncle ‘Abd al-Ṣamad b. ‘Alī. ‘Abd al-Ṣamad b. ‘Alī said: “I praise God, O Commander of the Faithful, for His favors toward you, for He has brought together for you what He never brought together for any caliph before you, and He has brought together for you your uncle, your father’s uncle, and your grandfather’s uncle.”

2:520

The person with the greatest influence over al-Rashīd was Yaḥyā b. Khālid b. Barmak, along with his two sons, Ja‘far and al-Faḍl, for part of his caliphate—so much so that with them he ceased to wield the authority to command and forbid. They continued thus, controlling the affairs of the kingdom, for seventeen years. Afterward, al-Faḍl b. al-Rabī‘ had the greatest influence over him, along with Ismā‘īl b. Ṣubayḥ. Al-Qāsim b. Naṣr<sup>3182</sup> b. Mālik headed his security forces (*shurṭa*). Al-Rashīd then dismissed him and appointed Khu-zayma b. Khāzim. Afterward, he dismissed him and appointed al-Musayyab b. Zuhayr al-Ḍabbī; then he dismissed the latter and appointed ‘Abdallāh b. Mālik; then he dismissed the latter and appointed ‘Alī b. al-Jarrāḥ al-Khuzā‘ī; then he dismissed the latter and appointed ‘Abdallāh b. Khāzim. Ja‘far b. Muḥammad b. al-Ash‘ath headed his palace guard (*haras*); then he dismissed him and

<sup>3179</sup> 190 A.H. = November 27, 805 – November 16, 806.

<sup>3180</sup> Arabic *Hiraqla*, modern Ereğli in the vilāyet of Konya, a frontier fortification on the way from Iconium to Cilicia. See the Article in *EI*<sup>2</sup> by J. H. Mordtmann and F. Taeschner, s.v. Ereğli.

<sup>3181</sup> Al-Maṭāmīr (the underground storage pits or dwellings, pl. of *maṭmūra*) refers to an area with dwellings of cave-dwellers. See the article by Ch. Pellat in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Maṭmūra.

<sup>3182</sup> Sic M, agreeing with al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh*, 3:455, where the same person is mentioned as heading the *shurṭa* of al-Mahdī; ed. Leiden prints “al-Nadr.”

appointed 'Abdallāh b. Mālik, followed by Harthama b. A'yan. His chamberlain (*hājib*) was al-Fadl b. al-Rabī'.<sup>3183</sup>

Hārūn (al-Rashīd) set out for Khurāsān in the month of Sha'bān of the year 192.<sup>3183</sup> He stopped at Qarmāsīn, spending the month of Ramaḍān there and celebrating the Feast of Sacrifice<sup>3184</sup> in al-Rayy. When he reached Jurjān, he wrote to 'Isā b. Ja'far, ordering him to join him. 'Isā set out, but he died along the way.

An elder of the al-Muhallab family, who was with 'Isā b. Ja'far, recounted to me: "We visited him one day when he was very ill, and heard him say, '*Surely we belong to God, and to Him we return.*'<sup>3185</sup> By God, my soul has departed.' We said to him: 'But today, God be praised, you are healthy.' He replied: 'I have tasted what is coming from my ear | and have found it to be decayed.' Then he fainted. The women heard the weeping of the men and, overpowering the servants, they rushed out. Coming to, he lifted his head, looked at them, and said:

'They used to conceal their faces in modesty,  
but today they have come and displayed themselves to onlookers.'

He died immediately afterward."

When al-Rashīd received word of his death, he was deeply grieved. Then he visited a slave girl, who said: "Commander of the Faithful, 'Isā wished for you what has overtaken him, but God caused him to be beset by it himself. Behold, Masrūr and Ḥusayn know this well." "She has spoken the truth," they said. Al-Rashīd was consoled and called for something to eat.

Hārūn proceeded to Tüs and stayed at a village known as Sanābādh;<sup>3186</sup> he was very ill. He died on the first day of Jumādā I in the year 193,<sup>3187</sup> at the age of 46. His son Ṣalīḥ b. Hārūn led the prayers over him. Al-Ma'mūn had left for Marw some 23 days earlier. The announcement of his death arrived in Baghdad<sup>3188</sup> from Tüs on Wednesday, 12 nights remaining in Jumādā I.

<sup>3183</sup> Sha'bān 192 began on May 31, 808.

<sup>3184</sup> The 'Id al-Adhā, celebrated on 10 Dhū l-Hijja (October 5, 808).

<sup>3185</sup> Qur'ān 2:156.

<sup>3186</sup> About 15 miles from Tüs. Because the eighth Imam of the Shī'a, 'Alī al-Ridā, was buried in the same village about ten years later, the village came to be called al-Mashhad (the sepulchral shrine). It is the modern city of Mashhad in Iran. See the article by M. Streck in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Mashhad.

<sup>3187</sup> 1 Jumādā I 193 = February 20, 809.

<sup>3188</sup> Here called by its more formal name, *Madīnat al-Salām* (City of Peace).

Al-Rashīd left twelve sons: ‘Abdallāh al-Ma’mūn, Muḥammad al-Amīn, al-Qāsim, Abū Iṣhāq al-Mu’taṣim, Abū Ḥasan, Abū l-‘Abbās, ‘Alī, Sāliḥ, Abū Ya‘qūb, Abū ‘Alī, Abū Aḥmad, and Abū Ayyūb. The name of any of the Banū Hāshim known by a *kunya* is Muḥammad.<sup>3189</sup>

Those who led the pilgrimage during his rule:

- in the year 170, Hārūn al-Rashīd;
- in the year 171, ‘Abd al-Ṣamad b. ‘Alī;
- in the year 172, [Ya‘qūb b. al-Manṣūr];
- in the year 173]<sup>3190</sup> al-Rashīd;
- [in the year 174 and]<sup>3191</sup> 175, al-Rashīd;
- in the year 176, Sulaymān b. Abī Ja‘far;
- in the year 177, al-Rashīd;
- in the year 178, Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī;
- in the year | 179, al-Rashīd, who had performed the ‘umra, and remained on the ‘umra until he performed the pilgrimage, then departed for Basra;<sup>2:522</sup>
- in the year 180, Mūsā b. Ḥasan, who was sent by al-Rashīd from al-Raqqa;
- in the year 181, al-Rashīd;
- in the year 182, [Mūsā b. Ḥasan];
- in the year 183]<sup>3192</sup> al-‘Abbās b. Mūsā;
- in the year 184, Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī;
- in the year 185, Manṣūr b. al-Mahdī;
- in the year 186, al-Rashīd;
- in the year 187, ‘Abdallāh b. al-‘Abbās b. Muḥammad;
- in the year 188, al-Rashīd—this was the last pilgrimage that he led, and no caliph after him led the pilgrimage;
- in the year 189, al-‘Abbās b. Mūsā b. Ḥasan;
- in the year 190, Ḥasan b. Mūsā l-Hādī;
- in the year 191, al-Faḍl b. al-‘Abbās b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī;
- in the year 192, al-‘Abbās b. ‘Abdallāh b. Ja‘far b. Abī Ja‘far.

<sup>3189</sup> That is, any of them known usually by a name taking the form Abū N. (Father of N., a *kunya*) really had the given name Muḥammad and was called by his *kunya* in order to avoid ambiguity in a family with so many Muḥammads.

<sup>3190</sup> Added by the Leiden editor; cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:607, 609.

<sup>3191</sup> Added by the Leiden editor; cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:610.

<sup>3192</sup> Added by the Leiden editor; cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:647, 649.

The leaders of campaigns during his days:

- in the year 171, Yazīd b. ‘Anbasa al-Harashī, who served on behalf of Ishaq b. Sulaymān;
- in the year 172, Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm;
- in the year 173, Ibrāhīm b. ‘Uthmān;
- in the year 174, Sulaymān b. Abī Ja‘far;
- in the year 175, ‘Abd al-Malik b. Ṣalīḥ, but it was said that he did not enter Byzantine territory and that once he reached the pass<sup>3193</sup> he dispatched al-Faḍl b. Ṣalīḥ;
- in the year 176, Hāshim b. al-Ṣalt;
- in the year 177, Dāwūd b. al-Nu‘mān, on behalf of ‘Abd al-Malik;
- in the year 178, Yazīd b. Ghazwān;
- in the year 179, al-Faḍl b. Muḥammad;
- in the year 180, Ismā‘il b. al-Qāsim;
- in the year 181, Hārūn al-Rashīd, who conquered the fortress of al-Ṣafṣāf;<sup>3194</sup>
- in the year 182, Ibrāhīm b. al-Qāsim, on behalf of Īsā b. Ja‘far;
- in the year 183, al-Faḍl b. al-‘Abbās;
- in the year 184, Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm;
- in the year 185, Ibrāhīm b. ‘Uthmān;
- in the year 186, Ibrāhīm b. ‘Uthmān again;
- in the year 187, al-Qāsim b. al-Rashīd, ‘Abd al-Malik b. Ṣalīḥ, and Ibrāhīm b. ‘Uthmān b. Nahīk—it was in this year | that al-Rashīd had Ibrāhīm b. ‘Uthmān killed;
- in the year 189, al-Faḍl b. al-‘Abbās;
- in the year 190, al-Rashīd, who conquered Heraclea and al-Maṭāmīr; he also dispatched Ḥumayd b. Ma‘yūf to lead a campaign by sea—the people of Cyprus had broken the terms of the settlement, and so he raided them, killing and taking prisoners;
- in the year 191, al-Rashīd, who set out intending to campaign, but on reaching al-Ḥadath sent the men to campaign with Harthama b. A‘yan; he himself remained on the frontier until Harthama returned.

The religious scholars (*fuqahā’*) during his days:

<sup>3193</sup> Arabic *al-darb*: one of the two major passes into Byzantine territory.

<sup>3194</sup> A fortress beyond the northern end of the Cilician gates, on the road to Constantinople; cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:647 (trans. Bosworth, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, xxx, 165, note 601).

- Muḥammad b. ‘Imrān b. Ibrāhīm,<sup>3195</sup>
- Mālik b. Anas,<sup>3196</sup>
- Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Abī al-Ḥasan al-Aslāmī,
- Abū al-Bakhtārī b. Wahb al-Qurashī,<sup>3197</sup>
- ‘Abdallāh b. Ja‘far al-Madīnī,<sup>3198</sup>
- Ismā‘il b. Ja‘far Abū ‘Uqayl,<sup>3199</sup>
- Abū Ma‘shar al-Sindī,<sup>3200</sup>
- Sa‘id b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Jumahī,
- ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Abī Ḥāzim,
- ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Muḥammad al-Darāwardī,<sup>3201</sup>
- ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Abdallāh al-‘Umarī,<sup>3202</sup>
- Sulaymān b. Fulayḥ,<sup>3203</sup>
- [...]<sup>3204</sup> ‘Atā’ b. Yazīd,

<sup>3195</sup> Apparently not Muḥammad b. ‘Imrān b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Ṭalḥa, a judge in Medina who died in 154/770–771; possibly Muḥammad b. ‘Imrān al-Taymī, who served as judge in Medina under al-Mahdī (cf. Khalīfa b. Khayyāt, *Ta’rīkh*, 442).

<sup>3196</sup> Malik b. Anas (d. 179/796) was a jurist of Medina, the author of the oldest surviving Muslim lawbook, *Kitāb al-Muwatta'*, and the founding authority of the Mālikī *madhab* (legal school). See the article by J. Schacht, in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Mālik b. Anas.

<sup>3197</sup> Abū l-Bakhtārī Wahb b. Kabīr al-Qurashī (d. 200/815) served as a judge under al-Rashīd and was a traditionist, genealogist, and historian. Al-Ya‘qūbī cites him as one of the authorities for his history (ed. Leiden, 1:3). See Fuat Sezgin, *GAS*, 1:267.

<sup>3198</sup> ‘Abdallāh b. Ja‘far al-Madīnī (d. 178/794–795) was a Basran traditionist; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 5:174–176.

<sup>3199</sup> Identified in the index of ed. Leiden as Ismā‘il b. Ja‘far b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn, the son of Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq mentioned above, 2:460; but this is impossible, as this Ismā‘il b. Ja‘far (around whose claim to the imamate the Ismā‘ili movement coalesced) predeceased his father, who died in 148/765. The vocalization of ‘Uqayl is uncertain; it may be ‘Aqīl.

<sup>3200</sup> Miscopied as al-Asadī in both MSS and corrected by the Leiden editor. Al-Ya‘qūbī cites him as one of the authorities for his history (ed. Leiden, 1:4).

<sup>3201</sup> ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Muḥammad b. ‘Ubayd al-Darāwirdī (d. c. 187/803) was a Medinese traditionist of Persian origin; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 6:353–355.

<sup>3202</sup> ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Abdallāh al-‘Umarī (d. 186/802), a descendant of ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, was a Baghdad traditionist of poor reputation; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 6:213–214.

<sup>3203</sup> Sulaymān b. Fulayḥ b. Sulaymān is reported to have taken word of a revolt in Medina to al-Manṣūr in 145/762–763; see al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:267.

<sup>3204</sup> M reads *wa-‘Atā’* (and ‘Atā’), which the Leiden editor notes is impossible, as ‘Atā’ b. Yazīd died in 107/725–726. He therefore proposed emending *wa-* to *ibn* (son of) and assuming that a name has dropped out. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 7:217, notes that ‘Atā’ b.

- Sufyān b. ‘Uyayna,<sup>3205</sup>
- Sharik b. ‘Abdallāh al-Nakha‘ī,
- Salama al-Aḥmar,
- Abū Yūsuf Ya‘qūb b. Ibrāhīm,<sup>3206</sup>
- Ibrāhīm b. Sa‘d al-Zuhrī,
- Sufyān b. al-Ḥasan al-Ḥimmānī,<sup>3207</sup>
- Ja‘far b. ‘Attāb,
- Ibn Abī Zā‘ida,<sup>3208</sup>
- ‘Alī b. Mishar,
- ‘Abdallāh b. Idrīs al-Awdī,<sup>3209</sup>
- Muḥammad b. Marwān al-Suddī,
- Jarīr b. ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Kūfi,<sup>3210</sup>
- Shu‘ayb b. Ṣafwān,<sup>3211</sup> the companion (*ṣāḥib*) of Ibn Shubruma,<sup>3212</sup>

Yazid transmitted traditions to a son named Sulaymān, whose name conceivably could have occurred here, with the copyist omitting the name Sulaymān by mistake as the previous name began with Sulaymān.

<sup>3205</sup> Sufyān b. ‘Uyayna b. Maymūn al-Hilālī (d. 196/811) was a well-known Meccan traditionist, also known as a Qur’ān commentator and legal scholar. See the article by Susan A. Spectorsky in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Sufyān b. ‘Uyayna.

<sup>3206</sup> Abū Yūsuf Ya‘qūb b. Ibrāhīm (d. 182/798) was a prominent legal scholar. After studying law in Kufa and Medina with Abū Ḥanifa and Mālik b. Anas, among others, he returned to Kufa, where he lived until he was appointed chief judge of Baghdad. He was one of the founders of the Ḥanafī school of law. See the article by Brannon M. Wheeler in *EI*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. Abū Yūsuf.

<sup>3207</sup> The MSS give his *nisba* “al-Ḥimmānī” before his name; corrected by the Leiden editor on the basis of the previous occurrence of his name at ed. Leiden, 2:486.

<sup>3208</sup> On Ibn Abī Zā‘ida, see the note to al-Barā‘/Yahyā b. Abī Zā‘ida, above, ed. Leiden, 2:471.

<sup>3209</sup> ‘Abdallāh b. Idrīs b. Yazīd al-Awdī (d. late 192/808) was a Kufan judge and respected traditionist; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 5:144–146. Both MSS miscopy his *nisba* as “al-Azdi”; corrected by the Leiden editor.

<sup>3210</sup> Jarīr b. ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd b. Qurṭ al-Kūfi (d. 188/804) was a respected traditionist who was born in Isfahan, educated in Kufa, and then moved to Rayy, where he became a judge (hence his *nisba* is also given as al-Rāzī); see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 2:75–77.

<sup>3211</sup> Shu‘ayb b. Ṣafwān b. al-Rabī‘ al-Thaqafī was a traditionist of Kufan origin, also identified as a “secretary” (*kātib*) active in Baghdad under al-Rashīd. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 4:353–354.

<sup>3212</sup> ‘Abdallāh b. Shubruma (d. 144/761–762), a Kufan traditionist and poet, became a judge under al-Mansūr. He is mentioned above (ed. Leiden, 2:433) as a companion of al-Saffāḥ; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 6:250–251. Note that as Ibn Ḥajar mentions no connection between Shu‘ayb b. Ṣafwān and Ibn Shubruma, the meaning of *ṣāḥib* here is unclear.

- Ja‘far b. Sulaymān,<sup>3213</sup>
- | Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan,<sup>3214</sup>
- ‘Alī b. Hāshim,<sup>3215</sup>
- ‘Abdallāh b. al-Aslāḥ al-Kindī,<sup>3216</sup>
- al-Ṣalt b. al-Ḥajjāj,<sup>3217</sup>
- al-Qāsim b. Mālik al-Muzanī,<sup>3218</sup>
- ‘Alī b. Ẓabyān,<sup>3219</sup>
- Abū Shihāb al-Kūfi,<sup>3220</sup>
- Muḥammad b. Masrūq al-Qādī,<sup>3221</sup>
- ‘Adī b. ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Utbā b. Mas‘ūd,<sup>3222</sup>

<sup>3213</sup> Probably to be identified as the Basran traditionist of Shī‘ī leanings Ja‘far b. Sulaymān al-Ḏubaī (d. 178/794); see Ibn Sa‘d, *Tabaqāt*, 7:2, 44; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 2:95–98.

<sup>3214</sup> Probably to be identified as Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Shaybānī (d. 189/804–805), a jurist and traditionist, a follower of Abū Ḥanīfa and of the latter’s disciple Abū Yūsuf. He also appears in an *isnād* of al-Ya‘qūbī (ed. Leiden, 1:284). He served for a time as chief judge of al-Raqqa, but was dismissed and returned to Baghdad. He died in Rayy, where he had gone as a member of Hārūn’s entourage. See the article by E. Chaumont in *EI<sup>2</sup>*, s.v. al-Shaybānī, Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Farḳad.

<sup>3215</sup> Probably to be identified as ‘Alī b. Hāshim b. al-Barid (d. 181/797), a Kufan traditionist of Shī‘ī leanings; see Ibn Sa‘d, *Tabaqāt*, 6:273; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 7:392–393.

<sup>3216</sup> Unidentified.

<sup>3217</sup> The name is miswritten as al-Ṭalab in C, but the reading “al-Ṣalt,” suggested by the Leiden editor, is fairly clear in M. Al-Ṣalt b. al-Ḥajjāj was a Kufan traditionist (dates unknown); see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 4:433–444.

<sup>3218</sup> Al-Qāsim b. Mālik al-Muzanī (d. after 190/805–806) was a Kufan traditionist; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 8:332–333.

<sup>3219</sup> ‘Alī b. Ẓabyān, of Kufan origin, was a follower of Abū Ḥanīfa and became chief judge of Baghdad. He died at Qaṣr al-Luṣūs in western Iran in 192/807–808; see al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh*, 3:732; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 7:441–443.

<sup>3220</sup> Abū Shihāb al-Kūfi: of uncertain identification; probably the Kufan traditionist, Qur’ān reciter, and judge ‘Abd Rabbīhi b. Nāfi‘ al-Kinānī (d. c. 171/787–788), known as Abū Shihāb al-Asghar; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 6:128–130. The other Kufan Abū Shihāb (called Abū Shihāb al-Akbar) was Mūsā b. Nāfi‘ al-Asadī, a traditionist and Qur’ān reciter, who receives a brief notice without dates in Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 10:374–375.

<sup>3221</sup> M, C: “Masrūr,” corrected by the Leiden editor. This judge is otherwise unknown.

<sup>3222</sup> ‘Adī b. ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Utbā b. Mas‘ūd: At ed. Leiden, 2:538, he is called ‘Awn b. ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Utbā b. Mas‘ūd, and the Leiden editor suggests reading ‘Awn here, instead of ‘Adī. The name suggests that he was the brother of ‘Ubaydallāh b. ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Utbā b. Mas‘ūd, one of the “Seven Jurists of Medina.” However, as the latter died in 98/716–717, the identification is not plausible, unless one assumes that a name has dropped out: i.e., ‘Adī/Awn [b. ...] b. ‘Abdallāh.

- Wakī‘ b. al-Jarrāḥ,<sup>3223</sup>
- Yaḥyā b. al-Yamānī,<sup>3224</sup>
- ‘Amr b. Hishām,<sup>3225</sup>
- Ḥammād b. Zayd,
- Abū ‘Awāna,<sup>3226</sup>
- Yazīd b. Zuray‘,<sup>3227</sup>
- ‘Ubayd[allāh] b. al-Ḥasan,<sup>3228</sup>
- al-Mu‘tamir b. Sulaymān,<sup>3229</sup>
- Dāwūd b. al-Zibriqān,<sup>3230</sup>
- ‘Abbād b. ‘Abbād al-Muhallabī,<sup>3231</sup>
- Ḥamza b. Najiḥ,<sup>3232</sup>

- <sup>3223</sup> Wakī‘ b. al-Jarrāḥ (d. 197/812) was a famous Iraqi traditionist. He is said to have been offered a judgeship by al-Rashīd, but to have refused out of piety. See the article by R. G. Khoury in *EI<sup>2</sup>*, s.v. Wakī‘ b. al-Ḏjarrāḥ b. Māliḥ al-Ru’āṣī, Abū Sufyān.
- <sup>3224</sup> Following M, where the reading “al-Yamānī” is clear. Ed. Leiden prints an undotted ductus. He is probably to be identified as Yaḥyā b. al-Yamān al-Ijlī (d. 188/803–804 or 189/804–805) a Kufan traditionist who transmitted from Hishām b. ‘Urwa and Sufyān al-Thawrī, among others. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 11:306–307; and F. Sezgin, *GAS*, 1:39.
- <sup>3225</sup> ‘Amr b. Hishām: of uncertain identify. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 8:113, lists a certain ‘Amr b. Hishām b. Yazīn al-Jazarī Abū Umayya al-Harrānī, but the date of his death (245/859–860) makes him unlikely.
- <sup>3226</sup> Abū ‘Awāna al-Waḍdāḥ b. ‘Abdallāh al-Yashkūrī (died c. 176/792–793) a *mawlā*, was a prolific traditionist with an interest in historical traditions; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 11:116–120.
- <sup>3227</sup> Yazīd b. Zuray‘ (d. 182/798) was a Basran traditionist; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 11:325–328.
- <sup>3228</sup> M: ‘Ubayd b. al-Ḥasan; corrected by the Leiden editor on the basis of *Tabaqāt al-Huffāż*. He may be ‘Ubaydallāh b. al-Ḥasan (MSS al-Ḥusayn) al-‘Anbarī, mentioned above (ed. Leiden, 2:484), who served as judge in Basra under al-Manṣūr and al-Mahdī; however, according to al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:2517, he died in Dhū l-Qa’da 168/May–June 784, more than a year before the accession of al-Rashid. His presence here may have to do with the fact that al-Yāqūbī gives no list of religious scholars at the end of his section on al-Ḥādī. See also Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 7:7–8.
- <sup>3229</sup> Al-Mu‘tamir b. Sulaymān b. Ṭarkhān al-Taymī (d. 187/802–803) transmitted traditions of a historical character from his father Abū l-Mu‘tamir; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 10:227–228.
- <sup>3230</sup> Dāwūd b. al-Zibriqān al-Raqāshī (d. c. 180/796–797) was a traditionist (deemed unreliable) of Basran origin who moved to Baghdad; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 3:185–186.
- <sup>3231</sup> Abū Mu‘āwiya ‘Abbād b. ‘Abbād al-Muhallabī (d. c. 177/793–794) was a descendant of al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufra. Originally from Basra, he settled in Baghdad. Brief notice in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:2558 (trans. E. Landau-Tasseron, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, XXXIX, 330 and note); Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 5:95–96.
- <sup>3232</sup> Possibly “Nujayḥ”: Ibn Ḥajar identifies Ḥamza b. Najiḥ as a traditionist of Mu‘azilī

- Khālid b. Yazīd,<sup>3233</sup>
- Muḥammad b. Rāshid,<sup>3234</sup>
- ‘Imrān b. Khālid, the companion (*ṣāḥib*) of ‘Atā,<sup>3235</sup>
- Muḥammad b. Yazīd al-Wāsiṭī,<sup>3236</sup>
- ‘Abd al-Mun‘im b. Nu‘aym,<sup>3237</sup>
- ‘Umar b. Jāmi‘,<sup>3238</sup>
- Yūsuf b. ‘Aṭīya,<sup>3239</sup>
- ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. ‘Abd al-Ṣamad.<sup>3240</sup>

### The Days of al-Amīn

The oath of allegiance was sworn to Muḥammad al-Amīn b. Hārūn al-Rashīd. His mother was Umm Ja‘far bt. Ja‘far b. al-Manṣūr. Of the caliphs, only ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib and Muḥammad (al-Amīn) were of two Hāshimite parents.<sup>3241</sup> The oath of allegiance to him was sworn in Tūs on the day that al-Rashīd died. It was a Sunday, the first day of Jumādā I, 193.<sup>3242</sup> | Al-Faḍl b. Rabī‘ received the oath of allegiance on his behalf from the Hāshimites and commanders who

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leanings who transmitted traditions from al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, but gives no dates; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 3:34.

<sup>3233</sup> Khālid b. Yazīd: of uncertain identity; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 3:125 ff. gives at least four possibilities.

<sup>3234</sup> Muḥammad b. Rāshid: of uncertain identity; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 9:158 ff. gives three possibilities.

<sup>3235</sup> Leiden, 524, identifies him as *ṣāḥib ‘atā* but M breaks after “Khālid.” Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 8:129–130, lists two traditionists named ‘Imrān b. Khālid, one too early, one too late, and neither connected with ‘Atā.

<sup>3236</sup> Abū Sa‘īd Muḥammad b. Yazīd al-Kulāī al-Wāsiṭī (d. c. 188/803–804) was a *mawlā* of Syrian origin. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 9:527–528.

<sup>3237</sup> ‘Abd al-Mun‘im b. Nu‘aym al-Aswārī (no date) was a Basran traditionist deemed unreliable; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 6:431–432.

<sup>3238</sup> Unidentified.

<sup>3239</sup> Ibn Ḥajar lists two possible traditionists of this name: Yūsuf b. ‘Aṭīya b. Thābit al-Ṣaffār (d. 187/802–803) was a Basran *mawlā* traditionist generally deemed unreliable; Yūsuf b. ‘Aṭīya al-Bāhili (no dates) was another Basran traditionist generally deemed unreliable. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 11:418 ff.

<sup>3240</sup> ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. ‘Abd al-Ṣamad (d. after 187/802–803) was a blind Basran Qur‘ān reader and traditionist generally deemed reliable; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 6:346–347.

<sup>3241</sup> Virtually all of the Umayyad mothers were free, non-Hāshimite women. Most, though not all, of the ‘Abbāsid mothers were slave concubines.

<sup>3242</sup> February 20, 809; as usual, the date and the day of the week do not coincide.

were present. Raja' al-Khādim<sup>3243</sup> came to Muḥammad (al-Amīn) in Baghdad on Wednesday, 12 nights remaining in Jumādā I, corresponding to the non-Arab month of Ādhār (March).<sup>3244</sup>

On that day the Sun was in Aries, 3° 53'; Saturn in Sagittarius, 6° 20', retrograde; Jupiter in Sagittarius, 6° 20', retrograde; Mars in Aquarius, 26° 30'; Venus in Pisces, 7° 30'; and the Ascending Node in Cancer, 22°.

The notables<sup>3245</sup> gave their oath of allegiance on this day in Baghdad. Ishāq b. Īsā b. ‘Alī b. ‘Abdallāh b. al-‘Abbās came out and ascended the pulpit. Having praised God and invoked blessings upon (the Prophet) Muḥammad, he said:<sup>3246</sup>

We are people who have suffered the greatest loss, but we are people who have been blessed with the finest successors.<sup>3247</sup> We have lost the Messenger of God, and no one has ever suffered greater loss than we; but we have been compensated with God's caliphs,<sup>3248</sup> and who has compensation equal to ours?

He announced the death to the people, reminded them of the succession agreement, and then descended. The next Friday, Muḥammad (al-Amīn) ascended the pulpit. Having praised and extolled God, having invoked blessings upon the Prophet Muḥammad, and having mentioned all that God had bestowed upon him, he said:

God's caliphate and His Prophet's legacy devolved upon the Commander of the Faithful al-Rashīd. He acted righteously and ruled justly; he performed the pilgrimage to the House of God,<sup>3249</sup> strove mightily in the path

<sup>3243</sup> *Khādim* literally means “servant.” Although Arabic has an explicit term (*khaṣī*) for “eunuch,” *khādim* was used as a euphemism. After a proper name as part of the person’s title, it is generally not ambiguous. See the articles by A. J. Wensinck in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Khādim*, and by Ch. Pellat in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Khaṣī*.

<sup>3244</sup> That is, 18 Jumādā I, 193 (March 9, 809).

<sup>3245</sup> Arabic *al-nās*.

<sup>3246</sup> Cf. the parallel version of the speech in al-Tabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:771.

<sup>3247</sup> Arabic *baqīyya*, literally, a remnant, in the sense of survivor or survivors (collective); the context points to the latter sense.

<sup>3248</sup> Reading with M: *khulafā['] Allāh*; ed. Leiden, *khalafan ibnahu* (with, as successor, his son).

<sup>3249</sup> In M the word *bi-l-nās* has been deleted; if it is kept, the translation would be, “he led the people in pilgrimage to the House of God.”

of God, and gave his utmost in obedience to God. Seeking to please God—may He be exalted and glorified—he waged jihād personally, so that God strengthened his religion, confirmed him as ruler, and upheld his right. He repelled the enemy, made the roads safe, counseled the faithful, and brought prosperity to the land. God has chosen for him what lies with Him, and has honored him by having him meet Him. | To God we now entrust him, asking God for a good caliphate after him and for assistance with all your affairs with which God has charged me. I entreat God for guidance and for success in achieving for you that which pleases Him.

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Having exhorted to obedience and the giving of good counsel, he descended.

On the first day of Jumādā II,<sup>3250</sup> al-Faḍl b. Rabī‘ presented (al-Amīn) with the imperial depots, treasuries, and al-Rashīd’s will. Muḥammad b. [Hārūn] had announced his intention to lead the pilgrimage, but al-Faḍl b. Rabī‘ said to him: “Your father commanded me to say to you, ‘No caliph of the ‘Abbāsids shall (lead) the pilgrimage after me.’” Al-Amīn therefore stayed behind. His mother, Umm Ja‘far, performed the minor pilgrimage (*‘umra*) in the month of Ramadān. Earlier, in the days of al-Rashīd, she had ordered the digging of the well of al-Mušāsh, and by the time she reached Mecca the project was complete. There she had cisterns constructed, as well as watering troughs and water-wheels.<sup>3251</sup> Muḥammad (al-Amīn) sent twenty thousand *mithqāls*<sup>3252</sup> of gold which were made into plates for the door of the Ka‘b and nails for the door and lintel.

Al-Amīn had ‘Abd al-Malik b. Ṣalih released from prison. He appointed him over the regions he had previously governed: the Jazīra, the district of Qinnasrīn, al-‘Awāsim, and al-Thughūr.<sup>3253</sup> He returned to him his money and estates, and ordered that his son, ‘Abd al-Rahmān, and his secretary, Qumāma, be delivered to him. Qumāma had been imprisoned in a bathhouse that was shut tight and heated as hot as possible, and cats had been sealed in with him; there he remained until he expired. His son had also been imprisoned, and

<sup>3250</sup> March 22, 809.

<sup>3251</sup> Umm Ja‘far’s name was Zubayda (literal meaning, “Little Butterball”). She died in 210/831. The system of wells and other water works built along the pilgrimage route and around Mecca on her instructions came to be known as the Darb Zubayda (Zubayda’s Way). See the article by Renate Jacobi in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Zubayda bt. Dja‘far.

<sup>3252</sup> The *mithqāl* was the weight of the dinar (20 *qirāts* of 0.2125 grams). Thus, 850 kg of gold were sent.

<sup>3253</sup> The fortresses along the Byzantine frontier.

he remained so.<sup>3254</sup> Upon his release from prison, recalling al-Rashīd's unjust treatment of him, 'Abd al-Malik said:<sup>3255</sup>

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By God, kingship is something I never aimed for, desired, pursued, or requested. But had I sought it, it would have come to me faster than water rushing downstream or flames consuming the driest | brush. Instead, I was accused of a transgression I did not commit, and charged with a misdeed about which I had no knowledge. By God, al-Rashīd perceived me to be worthy of rule and a rival to the caliphate; he saw that my hand could snatch it had I exerted myself, and gain mastery over it had I proffered it; he saw in my soul the perfect qualities and the best disposition for rule, though I had never cultivated those qualities nor sought to improve those traits, neither had I ever secretly plotted to seize the caliphate or announced such intentions publicly; and he recognized that the caliphate yearned for me as would a mother and inclined to me as would a dutiful wife. So, fearing that it longed for me dearly and yearned for me deeply, he meted out to me punishment fit for one who sought the caliphate without rest, made every sacrifice to attain it, struggled single-mindedly to achieve it, and prepared for it with all that he possessed. Now if he imprisoned me only because I was best suited for it and it best suited for me, and because I was best qualified to fill it and it most worthy to be filled by me, then this is not a crime for which I should repent, or something to which I had the temerity to aspire, or a matter about which I should be ashamed. If, however, he claims that his punishment of me was unavoidable and his retribution inescapable unless I renounced to him my authority, wisdom, prudence, and determination, (I would reply that) as a profligate cannot be frugal, so a man of intellect cannot become a fool. It makes no difference whether he punished me because of my wisdom or because of the people's devotion to me. Had I desired the caliphate, I would have acted swiftly enough to deny him the opportunity to deliberate or take stock of the matter. It would have required but a brief announcement and a moment of effort.<sup>3256</sup>

Al-Amīn had 'Alī b. 'Isā b. Māhān released from prison and had his property returned to him. He appointed him to head his security force, promoted him, and showed him preference.

<sup>3254</sup> Ed. Leiden suggests supplying "until he died" or a similar phrase.

<sup>3255</sup> The translator wishes to thank Tayeb El-Hibri for his help with this passage.

<sup>3256</sup> Parallel with variants in Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, *al-Iqd al-farīd*, 2:125.

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Al-Amīn appointed Asad b. Yazīd b. Mazyad over Armenia; the latter proceeded there. An area of the province had fallen to Yahyā b. Sa‘īd, who was known as the Morning Star,<sup>3257</sup> and Ismā‘il b. Shu‘ayb, a client (*mawlā*) of Marwān b. Muḥammad b. Marwān. The two men were in the area of Jurzān.<sup>3258</sup> Ibn Mazyad, through a clever stratagem, finally captured them. He then forgave them and granted their release as he was by nature a generous man. Muḥammad (al-Amīn) then dismissed him and appointed over Armenia in his stead Ishaq b. Sulaymān al-Hāshimī. The latter dispatched his son, al-Faḍl, to the province as his deputy. Al-Faḍl retained the post throughout the days of the Deposed One.<sup>3259</sup>

Muḥammad (al-Amīn) appointed Sa‘īd b. al-Sarḥ al-Kinānī over Yemen.<sup>3260</sup> A man from Palestine, he remained in Yemen for three years. Then, dismissing him, al-Amīn appointed Jarīr b. Yazīd al-Bajalī. Sa‘īd b. al-Sarḥ departed Yemen with a large quantity of money and made his way to Palestine, where he acquired houses and estates. Jarīr b. Yazīd remained in charge of Yemen until allegiance was sworn to al-Ma’mūn.

[Al-Rashīd]<sup>3261</sup> had sent Harthama b. A‘yan with an army to Samarcand to fight Rāfi‘ b. al-Layth. He found that Rāfi‘s following had grown enormous: he had won over the people of al-Shāsh and Farghāna, the people of Khujanda, Ushrūsana, al-Şaghāniyān,<sup>3262</sup> Bukhārā, Khwārazm, Khuttal, and other districts of Balkh, Tukhāristān, Soghdia, and Transoxania, as well as the Turks, the Kharlukhs,<sup>3263</sup> the Toghuz-ghuz, the forces of Tibet, and others. He relied on their backing to fight against the governing authority (*sultān*) and to kill Muslims. He made his way to the city of Samarcand and fortified himself there. Harthama pressed the war against him, killing a number of Rāfi‘s followers. Rāfi‘ then sought help from Jabbūya<sup>3264</sup> of the Kharlukhs. This Jabbūya, who had converted to Islam | under al-Mahdī, sought to deceive Harthama by leading him

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<sup>3257</sup> Arabic *Kawkab al-Šubḥ*.

<sup>3258</sup> Jurzān is roughly the area of modern Georgia in the Caucasus.

<sup>3259</sup> Arabic *al-Makhlū‘*, meaning both “the Deposed One” and “the Wanton One,” was a nickname given to al-Amīn by his detractors.

<sup>3260</sup> Ed. Leiden has “Muḥammad [b.] Sa‘īd” (though no reference to such a person is in the index). M (167r) seems to indicate the correct reading: Sa‘īd b. al-Sarḥ.

<sup>3261</sup> Houtsma is probably correct in this addition, since all other sources indicate that Ibn al-Layth rose up late in al-Rashīd’s reign.

<sup>3262</sup> The reading is uncertain.

<sup>3263</sup> Arabic, Kharlukh, later Qarluq: a Turkish tribal group in central Asia. See the article by C. E. Bosworth in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Քարլուկ.

<sup>3264</sup> An Arabic version of the title of the ruler of the Kharlukhs, more often given as Yabghu.

to believe that he was his ally, when in truth his support and leaning were for Rāfi'. Now he openly declared his determination to revolt and depose the caliph, and Rāfi's position was greatly strengthened. Rāfi' set fire to the black banner,<sup>3265</sup> declared himself free of all ties to its supporters, and called for a non-Hāshimite leader. Harthama moved to suppress the movement, until Rāfi' requested a settlement, which Harthama granted to him. Rāfi' presented himself to him, along with his sons, his household, and his property in Muḥarram 194.<sup>3266</sup> Al-Ma'mūn<sup>3267</sup> wrote to Muḥammad (al-Amīn) with news of the victory. He informed them of his careful planning and determined effort that had led to his God-given victory.

Certain men poisoned Muḥammad al-Amīn's heart against al-Ma'mūn and sowed malice between the two brothers. Those who incited him were 'Alī b. Ūṣā b. Māhān and al-Faḍl b. Rabī'. They caused him to decide<sup>3268</sup> to have the oath of allegiance sworn to his son as his heir apparent and to remove al-Ma'mūn (from the succession). He did so and had the oath of allegiance sworn to his son Mūsā—this took place on 3 Rabī' II 194.<sup>3269</sup> He gathered together the documents of agreement between himself and al-Ma'mūn that al-Rashīd had drafted and had them burned, and the estrangement between the two brothers took its course. Muḥammad (al-Amīn) wrote to al-Ma'mūn, ordering him to come to him with all of his commanders. Al-Ma'mūn wrote back informing him that he would neither harken nor obey him in the matter. Al-Amīn then wrote to the commanders in Khurāsān, but they replied in the same manner, saying, "We are obliged to be loyal to you only if you fulfill your agreement with your brother; you, however, have broken the agreements, introduced innovations, and made light of the oaths and covenants." Muḥammad (al-Amīn) sent a message to al-Ma'mūn's wife Umm ūṣā bt. Mūsā l-Hādī, demanding from her a jewel belonging to al-Ma'mūn that was in her possession. She refused, saying, "There is nothing in my possession that I own." Al-Amīn sent someone who raided her residence, plundered the entire house, and seized the jewel. When word of this reached al-Ma'mūn, he assembled the commanders who were with him and said to them: "You know the terms that my father imposed on me | and on Muḥammad. Now he has violated and broken the agreements. He

<sup>3265</sup> Or "raiment," black being the symbol of the 'Abbāsid house.

<sup>3266</sup> Muḥarram 194 began on October 15, 809.

<sup>3267</sup> Al-Ma'mūn, as governor of Khurāsān, had assumed responsibility for the campaign following the death of al-Rashīd in 193/809.

<sup>3268</sup> Reading with M, *wa-arayā lahu*; ed. Leiden emends to *wa-zayyanā lahu* (they suggested to him).

<sup>3269</sup> January 14, 810.

has provided ground for removing him because of his violation and breach, his interference with my property, family ties and duties, his burning of the documents and covenants that bound him, his disdain for God's right by his violation, and his preoccupation with eunuchs." They decided to write to al-Amīn; if he did not back down, they would depose him.

When Muḥammad (al-Amīn) received word of this, he assembled his commanders. He told them about al-Ma'mūn's deposing of him, and he called on them to set out against him. They chose Iṣma b. Abī Iṣma al-Sabīr<sup>3270</sup> and dispatched a large force under his command. He set out and reached the border of Khurāsān, at which point he stopped. Al-Amīn wrote urging him to continue, but he refused, saying: "The terms of the oath of allegiance administered to us do not permit us to enter Khurāsān, and on the same grounds you yourself are not to enter or send anyone into the province. If anyone comes to me at this very place from al-Ma'mūn, I will fight him; otherwise I will not cross the border." Muḥammad (al-Amīn) then dispatched 'Alī b. Iṣā b. Māhān as governor of Khurāsān, ordering him to bring back al-Ma'mūn and those in his company. He assigned him forty thousand stipendiary<sup>3271</sup> commanders and troops and saw that the necessary funds were provided to him. Al-Amīn handed him a silver shackle, saying, "When you reach Khurāsān, bind al-Ma'mūn with this shackle and bring him before me."

When news of this reached al-Ma'mūn, he placed Tāhir b. al-Husayn b. Muṣ'ab al-Būshanjī in the charge of the campaign, having previously appointed him over the district of Būshanj and met his needs for livestock and funds. Tāhir set out and encountered 'Alī b. Iṣā at Rayy in 195.<sup>3272</sup> 'Alī b. Iṣā was at the head of a large force, while Tāhir b. al-Husayn had but five thousand under his command. 'Alī b. Iṣā set out with a small band of men to circle round the army. Tāhir b. al-Husayn, spotting him, galloped toward him with a group of | his men. He engaged 'Alī, who was seated on a pale destrier,<sup>3273</sup> wearing a black hooded cloak and a tall hat. Those who had accompanied 'Alī defended him, and a number of them were killed. 'Alī galloped away, but Tāhir on his own chased him down and struck him with his sword. Badly weakened, 'Alī fell to the

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<sup>3270</sup> Probably to be identified with the Iṣma b. Ḥammād b. Sālim cited by al-Tabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 3:794. The MSS read *al-Shīrī* (the Shī'ite); *al-Sabīrī* is the Leiden editor's correction.

<sup>3271</sup> Arabic *murtaziq*. Apparently referring to soldiers issued military stipends although not registered in the dīwān; see al-Balādhurī, *Futūh*, *Glossary*, 45.

<sup>3272</sup> The parallel in al-Tabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 3:801, places the fighting in Sha'bān of 195, between April 29 and May 27, 811.

<sup>3273</sup> Arabic *birdhawn*, a war horse capable of carrying a man in full armor, as opposed to the lighter-limbed and fleeter Arabian horse. See Lane, *Lexicon*, 1:186.

ground, whereupon Tāhir dismounted and cut off his head.<sup>3274</sup> Returning to his camp, he mounted the head upon a lance and proclaimed to ‘Alī b. Ḥasan’s army, “The commander has been killed!” When ‘Alī’s companions found out what had happened to him, they fled, abandoning the stores of cash and livestock, so that by day’s end Tāhir was able to take possession of everything in ‘Alī’s camp. Many of ‘Alī’s men sought promises of safe-conduct from Tāhir.

Tāhir wrote of the victory to al-Ma’mūn, who was in Marw, and sent the head to him with one of his men. When the man came before Dhū l-Ri’āsatayn<sup>3275</sup> and the latter asked after his news, the man became so confused and tongue-tied that he could not answer him. This unsettled al-Faḍl; so, opening the satchel, he read the letters and asked, “Where is the head?” The man’s belongings were searched, but it was not there, and, when he was queried about it, he did not respond. Sent to find it, he discovered that it had fallen some two miles back. It was retrieved and brought into Marw. The announcement of the victory was read in public, following which the oath of allegiance was sworn to al-Ma’mūn as caliph, and he announced the deposition of Muḥammad (al-Amīn). All the people of Khurāsān gave their obedience to al-Ma’mūn.

Aḥmad b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān al-Kalbī related to me: “After al-Ma’mūn was greeted as caliph, he ascended the pulpit. He praised and extolled God and invoked blessings on Muḥammad. Then he said:

People, I have pledged myself before God that if He entrusts me with your affairs, I will obey Him with regard to you. I will not intentionally shed blood not permitted by His stipulations (*hudūd*) or mandated by His precepts; I will not seize anyone’s wealth, properties, or valuables forbidden to me; I will not pass judgment rashly, whether out of anger or pleasure, but only as devotion to God requires.<sup>3276</sup> | I have pledged all this as an indissoluble pact and inalterable trust that I will fulfill out of desire that He increase my well-being and out of fear that He will call me to account regarding His law and creation. If I change or alter, I will

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<sup>3274</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:801, identifies ‘Alī’s slayer as Tāhir b. al-Tājī, an otherwise obscure member of Tāhir’s army. Al-Ya’qūbī (or his source) apparently conflated the two Tāhirs.

<sup>3275</sup> That is, al-Faḍl b. Sahl, al-Ma’mūn’s chief advisor. The significance of the title (Possessor of Two Primacies) and its formal bestowal on al-Faḍl b. Sahl by al-Ma’mūn are explained in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:841. The two primacies refer to al-Faḍl’s primacy in war and primacy in civil administration. According to al-Ṭabarī, the title was not bestowed until 196, which makes its use here a possible anachronism.

<sup>3276</sup> Arabic *illā mā kāna fi-llāhi lahu*. The meaning of the phrase is unclear. Possibly a word is missing.

deserve admonition and be liable to censure.<sup>3277</sup> I take refuge with God from His wrath; I seek His help in obeying Him and ask that He prevent me from disobeying Him.”

Muhammad (al-Amīn) received word that ‘Alī b. ‘Isā b. Māhān had been slain, that his troops had been defeated and had retreated to Ḥulwān, and that the people of Khurāsān had repudiated his caliphate and were united in supporting al-Ma’mūn. He also received word that Tāhir had been strengthened by the funds, weapons, and livestock that had fallen into his hands and that al-Ma’mūn had written to Tāhir urging him to not tarry, but to march directly on Baghdad. In response, al-Amīn [dispatched ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Jabala against him],<sup>3278</sup> ordering him to join to his forces the commanders and troops in Ḥulwān who had been with ‘Alī b. ‘Isā. Ibn Jabala encountered Tāhir at Hamadhān in Dhū l-Qa’da in the year 195.<sup>3279</sup> Tāhir killed him and plundered everything in his camp. Muhammad (al-Amīn) then sent out ‘Abdallāh b. Ḥumayd b. Qaḥṭaba al-Tā’ī, but he retreated from Ḥulwān.

A man named ‘Alī b. ‘Abdallāh b. Khālid b. Yazīd b. Mu‘āwiya rose up in Syria claiming the caliphate for himself.<sup>3280</sup> Muhammad (al-Amīn) sent al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī b. Māhān against him; however, when al-Ḥusayn reached al-Raqqa, he stopped there and did not set out to fight him.

Dāwūd b. Yazīd al-Muhallabī, governor of al-Sind, died. (Al-Amīn) appointed his son to succeed him.

Mālik b. Labīd al-Yashkūrī rebelled in the Sawād and announced his support for al-Ma’mūn.

Muhammad b. Abī Khālid—he was the senior commander of al-Ḥarbiyya<sup>3281</sup> | and a person with a strong local following—received word that Muhammad (al-Amīn) was set on his death and ruin. He gathered to himself the people of al-Ḥarbiyya and the Abnā’,<sup>3282</sup> and they rose up against Muham-

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<sup>3277</sup> The text is uncertain.

<sup>3278</sup> The words in brackets, absent from the MSS, were added by the Leiden editor on the basis of the parallel in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:826.

<sup>3279</sup> The month began on July 26, 811.

<sup>3280</sup> For what can be gleaned from the sources about the revolt of this descendant of Mu‘āwiya (and, through his mother, of ‘Alī), usually called Abū l-Umaytir al-Sufyānī, see Cobb, *White Banners*, 55–62.

<sup>3281</sup> Al-Ḥarbiyya quarter of Baghdad was located to the northwest of the Round City, beyond the Syrian Gate (*Bāb al-Shām*). It was occupied mainly by participants in the original ‘Abbāsid revolution from Khurāsān. See Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 107 ff.

<sup>3282</sup> Short for *Abnā’ al-Dawla* (Sons of the Dynasty): Arabs and Iranians of Khurāsānian

mad (al-Amīn). Muḥammad (al-Amīn) sent [...]<sup>3283</sup> against them, and they clashed at a place in Baghdad known as Bāb al-Shām. This was the first fighting to take place in Baghdad in that year.<sup>3284</sup>

Muḥammad (al-Amīn's) governor in Egypt was Ḥātim b. Harthama b. A'yan. Al-Amīn dismissed him and appointed Jābir b. al-Ash'ath al-Khuzaī in 195.<sup>3285</sup> When Jābir b. al-Ash'ath arrived in Egypt, he did not have al-Ma'mūn's name proclaimed from the pulpits after that of Muḥammad (al-Amīn) as had been customary. When the soldiers rioted and said they would not obey, Ibn al-Ash'ath had them paid a double stipend. Yahyā b. Muḥammad al-Madīnī arrived with a letter from al-Ma'mūn. Jābir b. al-Ash'ath refused to swear allegiance to al-Ma'mūn and remained loyal to Muḥammad (al-Amīn). Al-Sarī b. al-Ḥakam al-Balkhī, one of the commanders of Egypt, and a group of supporters rebelled. They called on the soldiers to swear allegiance to al-Ma'mūn, promising them two years' pay; they responded favorably by ousting Jābir b. al-Ash'ath from the governor's residence and replacing him with 'Abbād b. Muḥammad. 'Abbād had been Harthama b. A'yan's deputy (*khalifa*) in the province.<sup>3286</sup> He proclaimed al-Ma'mūn as caliph in Rajab 196.<sup>3287</sup>

[...] a group.<sup>3288</sup> 'Abbād sent [...]<sup>3289</sup> b. Ḥakīm b. Kūr<sup>3290</sup> and Muḥammad b. Ṣu'ayr<sup>3291</sup> against them. They clashed but were subsequently reconciled, and

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origin who had come to Iraq with the 'Abbāsid revolution, settled in Baghdad, and formed the dominant force in the army of al-Amīn. See the article by John P. Turner in *EI*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. Abnā'. To the bibliography listed there, one may add Kennedy, *Early Abbasid Caliphate*, 104; Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 66; Lassner, *The Shaping of 'Abbāsid Rule*, 133–136; and Bosworth, *The History of al-Tabari*, xxx, xvii and 4.

3283 The wording implies that the commander's name originally occurred here and has dropped out of the text.

3284 The Arabic might also mean: "And that fighting, the first fighting to occur in Baghdad, took place in that year."

3285 According to al-Kindī, *Kitāb al-Umarā'*, 147–148, this took place in Jumādā II of 195 (began March 1, 811).

3286 Cf. al-Kindī, *Kitāb al-Umarā'*, 148–149, where he is called the agent (*wakil*) for Harthama's estates (*dīyā'*) in Egypt.

3287 Rajab 196 began on March 18, 812.

3288 There apparently is a lacuna in the mss. The sense is that a group loyal to al-Amīn refused to obey 'Abbād.

3289 A name has fallen out of the mss.

3290 Sic M; ed. Leiden, *Kūn*.

3291 Or Ṣa'ir (the vocalization is uncertain); he appears in al-Kindī, *Kitāb al-Umarā'*, 148, as one of the first in Egypt to shift his allegiance to al-Ma'mūn.

they swore the oath of allegiance.<sup>3292</sup> Muḥammad (al-Amīn) then wrote to a man named Rabī'a b. Qays al-Ḥarashī, appointing him governor of Egypt, and he gathered the people of al-Ḥawf and others to his side. Rabī'a fought against ‘Abbād b. Muḥammad, marching against him until he came near al-Fustāt, where clashes occurred between them. Rabī'a seized control over the province from ‘Abbād, until al-Ma'mūn dispatched al-Muṭṭalib b. ‘Abdallāh al-Khuzaī as governor of Egypt.

‘Abd al-Malik b. Ṣalih died in al-Raqqa in this year, that is, the year 196. He had been Muḥammad b. [Hārūn's] governor over the Jazīra, the district of Qinnasrīn, al-‘Awāṣim, and al-Thughūr. After his death, the region became unsettled, with each tribal chief asserting control over his people. The people divided into two parties: one supporting Muḥammad (al-Amīn), the other supporting al-Ma'mūn. There remained not a single area where people were not fighting each other, with no authority (*sultān*) to prevent them or disperse them. Tāhir (b. al-Ḥusayn) seized control of the area from al-Jabal to al-Ahwāz, killing Muḥammad b. Yazīd b. Hātim, Muḥammad (al-Amīn's) governor,<sup>3293</sup> and Jaylawayh<sup>3294</sup> al-Kurdī. Zuhayr b. al-Musayyab al-Dabbī set out for Fārs, seized the area, and exacted the oath of allegiance (to al-Ma'mūn) there. Tāhir proceeded to Wāsiṭ, on the third of Rajab,<sup>3295</sup> after he had the oath of allegiance to al-Ma'mūn administered to the people of Basra by Manṣūr b. al-Mahdī; in Kufa by al-Fadl b. Mūsā b. ‘Isā; in Mosul by al-Muṭṭalib b. ‘Abdallāh; and in Egypt by ‘Abbād b. Muḥammad.

Meanwhile, al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī b. [‘Isā b.] Māhān was in al-Raqqa,<sup>3296</sup> but he was expelled by the Zawāqīl<sup>3297</sup> and others there, and so he arrived in Baghdad on 8 Rajab 196.<sup>3298</sup> He denounced Muḥammad (al-Amīn's) conduct after learning about it something hateful to him. He called on the army in

<sup>3292</sup> Presumably to al-Ma'mūn, though the episode is somewhat obscure. See al-Kindī, *Kitāb al-Umarā'*, 148–151.

<sup>3293</sup> That is, al-Amīn's governor of al-Ahwāz; cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 3:851–855.

<sup>3294</sup> The reading of the name, undotted in the MSS, is conjectural.

<sup>3295</sup> 3 Rajab 196 = March 20, 812.

<sup>3296</sup> The translation follows M. The Leiden editor mistakenly inserted the phrase '*alā yad* (by) after the words *wa-bi-l-Raqqa* (and in al-Raqqa), yielding, “and in al-Raqqa by al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī b. [‘Isā b.] Māhān.” Al-Ḥusayn was the son of ‘Alī b. ‘Isā b. Māhān, whose death fighting on behalf of al-Amīn has been reported above, ed. Leiden, 2:531.

<sup>3297</sup> The term Zawāqīl refers to certain Arab tribal elements in Syria and the Jazīra, identifiable from other sources as belonging to the northern or Qaysī tribes and having a reputation for lawlessness and brigandage. See the article by P. M. Cobb in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Zawāqīl.

<sup>3298</sup> March 25, 812.

Baghdad to swear allegiance to al-Ma'mūn; the troops responded favorably, and he rose up against Muḥammad (al-Amīn), imprisoning him, his mother, and his sons. Following his imprisonment of them, the soldiers demanded that he pay their salaries. When he offered only excuses, they seized him, freed Muḥammad (al-Amīn), [his mother,] and his sons from prison, swore allegiance to him, and beheaded al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī. They asked Muḥammad (al-Amīn) for their salaries, and he paid them each five hundred (dirhams) and a flask of perfume. He assembled four hundred contingents of troops under various commanders  
2:535 and put them all under the command of ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. [Īsā b.]<sup>3299</sup> | Nahik, ordering them to march against Harthama, who was then encamped at al-Nahrawān. The two armies clashed in the month of Ramaḍān.<sup>3300</sup> Harthama defeated them, capturing ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. Īsā b. Nahik, whom he sent on to al-Ma'mūn. Harthama proceeded with his army until he reached a place called the Bīn Canal,<sup>3301</sup> one or two farsakhs from Baghdad. Ṭāhir, for his part, made his way to the Şarsar Canal about four farsakhs from Baghdad; Ṭāhir was on the west bank (of the Tigris), Harthama on the east bank. Fighting in Baghdad took place on both banks, although the marketplaces remained open and the merchants went about their business undisturbed. A group of al-Ma'mūn's men and a group of Muḥammad (al-Amīn's) men would gather around the same merchant with no strife between them.

The Abnā' and (the people of) al-Harbiyya rose up against Muḥammad (al-Amīn); they proclaimed their allegiance to al-Ma'mūn and wrote to Ṭāhir with their pledges of support.<sup>3302</sup> Ṭāhir entered Baghdad and took the west bank up to al-Anbār Gate. Muḥammad (al-Amīn) had imprisoned Sulaymān b. Abī Ja'far and Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī on a matter about which he had been informed. When Harthama reached the gate of Baghdad, al-Amīn released the two men from prison and sent them with a group of Hāshimites to Harthama to summon him to obedience to al-Amīn and that the latter would provide him with whatever

<sup>3299</sup> Added by the Leiden editor.

<sup>3300</sup> Between May 16 and June 14, 812.

<sup>3301</sup> The Bīn Canal (Nahr Bīn) branched from the main Nahrawān Canal that flowed east of the Tigris and roughly parallel to the river. The Bīn Canal left the Nahrawān Canal at Jisr Nahrawān, where the main Khurāṣān road crossed the canal, and flowed into the Tigris at Kalwādhā. See Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 59.

<sup>3302</sup> Arabic *rahā'in* (pledges) could also refer to persons to be kept as hostages. Cf. the parallel in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 3:866–867, where the mutiny is portrayed as a revolt of senior officers against the new officers appointed by al-Amīn, the so-called “perfume commanders,” with reference to the flask of perfume that al-Amīn bestowed on each of them.

goods and estates he desired. Harthama replied to them, “Were it not that messengers are not to be slain, I would have your heads.” The two men returned to Muḥammad (al-Amīn), who let them go free.

The people of the eastern part of Baghdad rose up against Muḥammad (al-Amīn) and declared their support for al-Ma’mūn. They [...]<sup>3303</sup> Khuzayma b. Khāzim al-Tamīmī, who made his way to the bridge and cut it loose. Zuhayr b. al-Musayyab approached from the direction of Kalwādhā<sup>3304</sup> with boats bearing *manjanīqs* and *‘arrādas*.<sup>3305</sup> Muḥammad (al-Amīn) withdrew to his palace known as al-Khuld in the western part of Baghdad and fortified himself there. Zuhayr bombarded it | with the *manjanīqs*. Harthama, for his part, entered by the Khurāsān Gate from ‘Askar al-Mahdī,<sup>3306</sup> located on the east bank of Baghdad, and Tāhir from his camp entered Madīnat Abī Ja‘far.<sup>3307</sup> They surrounded al-Khuld. Muḥammad (al-Amīn) left through the Khurāsān Gate and made his way to the Tigris, intending to go to Harthama.<sup>3308</sup> When Tāhir’s men got word of this, they attacked Harthama, who was aboard a bark (*harrāqa*) of his,<sup>3309</sup> causing him to fall into the water, but they fished

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<sup>3303</sup> The text is corrupt. The MSS read *wa-awhalū* (and they mired), which makes no sense. A plausible emendation is *wa-awjalū* (and they frightened), which fits with the parallel in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:904, where Khuzayma’s friends and family say to him, “By God; it seems to us that this man (viz., Tāhir) has our master (viz., al-Amīn) by the nape of the neck; so make an arrangement for yourself and for us.” (Trans. M. Fishbein, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, XXXI, 173.) The Leiden editor emended to *wa-ajallū* (and they magnified), possibly to be read *wa-ajlaw* (and they drove out). In any case, Khuzayma, who had been a trusted member of al-Amīn’s court, went over to al-Ma’mūn’s side and cut loose the pontoon bridge over the Tigris connecting east and west Baghdad.

<sup>3304</sup> Town and district on the east bank of the Tigris River.

<sup>3305</sup> The *manjāniq* and the *‘arrāda* were stone-hurling machines of the traction trebuchet type. An asymmetrically positioned beam was rotated swiftly around a funcrum by several men pulling ropes attached to the beam’s shorter end. The projectile was attached to a sling on the beam’s longer end. The *manjāniq* was larger, with two trestles supporting a horizontal beam that served as fulcrum for the arm. In the *‘arrāda*, a single upright beam with a U-shaped socket at its upper end supported the arm. See P. Chevedden et al., “The Traction Trebuchet: A Triumph of Four Civilizations.”

<sup>3306</sup> Later known as al-Ruṣāfa.

<sup>3307</sup> That is, the City of Abū Ja‘far (al-Manṣūr), the Round City, site of al-Manṣūr’s original settlement.

<sup>3308</sup> For detailed accounts of al-Amīn’s last days, his desperate decision to entrust himself to Harthama’s mercy, rather than to Tāhir, and Tāhir’s thwarting of this plan, see al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:911 ff.

<sup>3309</sup> The referent of “his” is ambiguous; it could be either al-Amīn or Harthama, but the parallel in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:917, makes it clear that the bark belonged to Harthama,

him out after a short while. Muḥammad (al-Amīn) emerged wearing only an undergarment and drawers and sat on the bank. The troops passed by without recognizing him. Finally a client (*mawlā*) of Shakla<sup>3310</sup> passed by, recognized him, and took him to his home. Then word of what had happened to al-Amīn was brought to Tāhir b. al-Ḥusayn. A quarrel ensued between Tāhir on the one side and Harthama and Zuhayr on the other. Tāhir finally ordered his client (*mawlā*) Quraysh al-Dandānī<sup>3311</sup> to behead al-Amīn. Tāhir mounted the head on a spear which he took with him to his encampment in the gardens. Then he sent it to al-Ma'mūn. The killing of al-Amīn took place on a Sunday in Muḥarram 198. I have heard some say that it took place on the 5th of Ṣafar.<sup>3312</sup>

Tāhir wrote the following letter to al-Ma'mūn in his own hand:

Although the Deposed One was the partner of the Commander of the Faithful<sup>3313</sup> in lineage and kinship, the judgment of the Book<sup>3314</sup> has distinguished between them as regards the duty of friendship<sup>3315</sup> and sanctity, because he<sup>3316</sup> has severed the bond of religion and departed from that which unites the Muslims. God, who is mighty and exalted, in relating to us the story of Noah, says: *Noah, he is not of thy family; it is a deed not righteous.*<sup>3317</sup> No obedience is due to anyone in disobedience to God, nor are the obligations of kinship violated if the violation is done for the sake of God. I send this letter of mine to the Commander of the Faithful after God has killed the Deposed One and abandoned him because of his treachery and perfidy. He has consolidated the rule of the Commander of the Faithful and carried out on his behalf His awaited | promise. Praise be to God, who has returned to the Commander of the Faithful what was

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who himself was aboard and fell into the Tigris along with al-Amīn when Tāhir's men attacked the bark. Tāhir's men pulled Harthama out of the water, but al-Amīn eluded them by swimming for the shore.

<sup>3310</sup> The mother of Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī, a leading member of the 'Abbāsid house.

<sup>3311</sup> Thus in al-Ṭabarī, followed by ed. Leiden; M apparently reads al-Daydānī.

<sup>3312</sup> For a discussion of the various dates given for the death of al-Amīn, see Fishbein, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, XXXI, 210, note 718. Muḥarram 198 began on September 1, 813; Ṣafar, the following month, began on October 1, 718.

<sup>3313</sup> That is, of al-Ma'mūn.

<sup>3314</sup> That is, the Qur'ān.

<sup>3315</sup> Arabic *walāya*; echoing Qur'ān 8:72.

<sup>3316</sup> That is, al-Amīn.

<sup>3317</sup> The Qur'anic verse (11:46) concerns Noah's son who refused to embark on the Ark. By rejecting the warning of his father, the Prophet Noah, he severed the ties of kinship and was, so the verse implies, no longer a member of Noah's family.

rightfully his and who has devised on his behalf concerning the one who betrayed his oath and violated his trust. So, through the Commander of the Faithful, He has restored harmony after division, united the community after it had been fragmented, and restored the banners of the faith after their true meaning had been obliterated.<sup>3318</sup>

Ṭāhir then composed a letter concerning the victory, describing his exploits from the day he departed Khurāsān and his achievements, province by province and day by day. We have placed the letter in a separate book.<sup>3319</sup>

Al-Amīn's caliphate, from the day of al-Rashīd's death to his own murder, lasted four years, seven months, and twenty-one days; there were three years between the death of Hārūn (al-Rashīd) and al-Amīn's deposition. On the day of his murder he was twenty-seven years and three months old, although some have said that he was twenty-eight years old. He left two sons: Mūsā and ‘Abdallāh. The persons with the greatest influence over him were Ismā‘il b. Ṣubayḥ al-Harrānī and al-Faḍl b. al-Rabī‘. Muḥammad b. al-Musayyab was in charge of his security forces (*shurat*), whom al-Amīn subsequently removed, appointing him governor of Armenia and replacing him (as head of security) with Muḥammad b. Ḥamza b. Mālik. Afterward he dismissed the latter and appointed in his place ‘Abdallāh b. Khāzim al-Tamīmī. Iṣma b. Abī Iṣma was in charge of his palace guard (*haras*) and his chamberlain was al-Faḍl b. al-Rabī‘, whose sons<sup>3320</sup> carried out the day-to-day duties of the post.

Those who led the pilgrimage during his rule:

- in the year 193, Dāwūd b. Īsā b. Mūsā;
- in the year 194, ‘Alī b. Hārūn al-Rashīd;
- in the year 195, Dāwūd b. Īsā;
- in the year 196, al-‘Abbās b. Mūsā b. Īsā, who was governor of Mecca;<sup>3321</sup>
- in the year 197, al-‘Abbās.<sup>3322</sup>

<sup>3318</sup> Curiously, al-Ṭabarī, who cites a virtually identical text in *Tārīkh*, 3:950, attributes its composition not to Ṭāhir, but to al-Ma’mūn's secretary, Aḥmad b. Yūsuf, who is reported to have ghost-written the text at the urging of al-Faḍl b. Sahl, who feared that the death of al-Amīn might draw down people's wrath on al-Ma'mūn. For parallel translations, see El-Hibri, *Reinterpreting Islamic Historiography*, 70–71, and Fishbein, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, XXXI, 224–225.

<sup>3319</sup> The text of the letter can be found in al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, 3:926–930.

<sup>3320</sup> M: “whose son al-Faḍl carried out ...”

<sup>3321</sup> Probably on behalf of al-Ma'mūn; see the notice in al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, 3:868.

<sup>3322</sup> That is, al-‘Abbās b. Mūsā b. Īsā, who, according to al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, 3:903, was loyal to al-Ma'mūn.

The leaders of campaigns during his caliphate:

- in the year 194, al-Ḥasan b. Muṣ‘ab on behalf of Thābit b. Naṣr;
- in the year 195, Thābit b. Naṣr al-Khuza‘ī;
- in the year 196, Thābit b. Naṣr;
- in the year 197, Thābit b. Naṣr.

2:538 The religious scholars (*fuqahā'*) during his days were:

- Muḥammad b. ‘Umar b. Wāqid,<sup>3323</sup>
- Yaḥyā b. Sulaymān al-Ṭā’ifi,<sup>3324</sup>
- Abū Mu‘āwiya Muḥammad b. Ḥāzim al-Makfūf,<sup>3325</sup>
- Asbāṭ, a client (*mawlā*) of Quraysh,<sup>3326</sup>
- ‘Awn b. ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Utba b. Mas‘ūd,<sup>3327</sup>
- ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Mushir,
- Muḥammad b. Kathīr al-Kūfi, author of the *Tafsīr*,<sup>3328</sup>
- Sufyān b. ‘Uyayna,
- Wakī‘ b. al-Jarrāḥ,
- ‘Abdallāh b. Numayr,<sup>3329</sup>
- Yazīd b. Ishqāq,

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3323 Usually known as al-Wāqidī; al-Ya‘qūbī has already cited him as one of his sources; see above, ed. Leiden, 2:3, and the note there.

3324 Probably the same as Yaḥyā b. Salīm/Sulaym al-Qurashī al-Ṭā’ifi (d. c. 193/808–809), a traditionist from al-Ṭā’if active in Mecca; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 11:226–227.

3325 Probably to be identified as Abū Mu‘āwiya Muḥammad b. Khāzim al-Darīr (*darīr* and *makfūf* both mean blind), a Kufan traditionist known as a *Murji‘ī* who died in 195/810–811; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 9:137–139.

3326 Asbāṭ b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān was a Kufan traditionist who died early in 200/815; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 1:211.

3327 A Kufan traditionist and ascetic (*zāhid*) named ‘Awn b. ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Utba b. Mas‘ūd is mentioned by Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 8:171–173, but the date of his death between 110 and 120 makes the identification doubtful.

3328 Muḥammad b. Kathīr al-Qurashī has been mentioned as a source by al-Ya‘qūbī (ed. Leiden, 2:4, and note), but since the date of Muḥammad b. Kathīr al-Qurashī’s death is 120/737, he could scarcely be the person meant here. Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 9:415–420, mentions five traditionists with the name Muḥammad b. Kathīr, but none is both Kufan and an author of a *tafsīr* (Qur’ān commentary).

3329 ‘Abdallāh b. Numayr al-Hamdānī (d. 199/814–815) was a Kufan traditionist; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 6:57–58.

- Ismā‘il b. ‘Ulayya,<sup>3330</sup>
- ‘Abd al-Wahhāb al-Thaqafī,<sup>3331</sup>
- Yahyā b. Sa‘id al-Qaṭṭān,<sup>3332</sup>
- Yazīd b. Mālik,
- al-Walīd b. Muslim, the associate of al-Awzā‘ī,<sup>3333</sup>
- Iṣhāq al-Azraq,<sup>3334</sup>
- Zayd b. Hārūn,
- ‘Alī b. ‘Āsim,<sup>3335</sup>
- Ḥammād b. ‘Amr,
- Salm b. Sālim al-Tamīmī.

### The Days of al-Ma'mūn

‘Abdallāh al-Ma’mūn b. Hārūn al-Rashīd, whose mother was a slave concubine (*umm walad*) from Bādhghīs named Marājil, was given the oath of allegiance in 195 in the days of Muḥammad (al-Amīn), as we have described in our account of the events between him and Muḥammad (al-Amīn). Most of the people of the provinces swore allegiance to him in 196. By Muḥarram 198<sup>3336</sup> and with the murder of Muḥammad (al-Amīn), the people of the provinces had rallied to him; no one remained who had not given his obedience, and everyone anywhere who had held back now claimed that he had supported al-Ma’mūn and inclined to him all along.

On that day, the Sun was in Libra,  $1^\circ\ 53'$ ; the Moon [...] ; [Saturn]<sup>3337</sup> in Leo,  $26^\circ\ 20'$ , retrograde; Jupiter in Aries,  $| 18^\circ\ 10'$ , retrograde; Mars in Leo,  $4^\circ\ 40'$ ; 2:539

<sup>3330</sup> Ismā‘il b. ‘Ulayya (really Ismā‘il b. Ibrāhīm b. Miqsam, known as Ibn ‘Ulayya) was a Basran traditionist who died in 193/809; see Ibn Ḥajar, 1:275–279.

<sup>3331</sup> ‘Abd al-Wahhāb b. ‘Abd al-Majīd al-Thaqafī (d. 194/809–810) was a Basran traditionist; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 6:449–450.

<sup>3332</sup> Yahyā b. Sa‘id b. Farrūkh al-Qaṭṭān (d. 198/814–815) was a Basran traditionist; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 11:216–220.

<sup>3333</sup> Abū l-‘Abbās al-Walīd b. Muslim al-Umawī (d. 195/810–811) was a Damascus traditionist and historian, a pupil of al-Awzā‘ī; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 11:151–155; Fuat Sezgin, *GAS*, 1:293.

<sup>3334</sup> Iṣhāq b. Yūsuf al-Azraq is mentioned by Khalīfa b. Khayyāt, *Ta’rīkh*, 466, as having died in 195/810–811.

<sup>3335</sup> ‘Alī b. ‘Āsim b. Ṣuhayb (d. c. 200/815–816) was a traditionist from Wāsiṭ; see Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, 7:344–347; Fuat Sezgin, *GAS*, 1:97.

<sup>3336</sup> Muḥarram 198 began on September 1, 813.

<sup>3337</sup> The text in the MSS and ed. Leiden reads, “the moon in Leo,  $26^\circ\ 20'$ , retrograde.” This is

Venus in Leo,  $24^{\circ}$ ; Mercury in Virgo,  $23^{\circ} 10'$ ; and the Ascending Node in Aries,  $24^{\circ} 50'$ .

Al-Ma'mūn sent al-Mu'talib b. 'Abdallāh al-Khuzā'ī to Egypt as governor of the province in 198. He remained there for seven months. Al-Ma'mūn then appointed al-'Abbās b. Mūsā b. Īsā al-Hāshimī over Egypt in 199. The latter sent his deputy<sup>3338</sup> 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās. 'Abdallāh imprisoned al-Mu'talib b. 'Abdallāh, deputed Ibrāhim b. Tamīm to be in charge of taxation (*kharāj*), and entrusted his security forces (*shurṭa*) to 'Abd al-'Azīz b. al-Wazīr al-Jarawī. When 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās comported himself badly, al-Sarī b. al-Ḥakam rose in revolt and won support from the army. He fought 'Abdallāh, drove him from the area,<sup>3339</sup> and freed al-Mu'talib from prison. Al-Sarī swore allegiance to him, and the latter settled in the governor's residence. He then tortured<sup>3340</sup> 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās and seized from him all that was in his possession. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Jarawī went to Tinnīs, remaining in control there and over the adjoining districts of Lower Egypt, while al-Sarī b. al-Ḥakam took control of the central district of al-Fusṭāṭ and Upper Egypt. Al-'Abbās b. Mūsā b. Īsā controlled the al-Ḥawf region among the Qays.<sup>3341</sup> They subsequently abandoned him, and so he remained in Bilbays (only) thirty-five days and then died.<sup>3342</sup>

In the year 198, al-Ma'mūn<sup>3343</sup> sent al-Ḥasan b. Sahl as governor of Iraq and  
2:540 other regions. Al-Asfar, usually known | as Abū l-Sarāyā<sup>3344</sup>—his real name

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impossible, as the moon never displays retrograde motion. The text can be restored by assuming that a copyist skipped from the word *qamar* (moon) to  $26^{\circ} 20'$ , *retrograde*, omitting the figure for the position of the moon and the word *zuhal* (Saturn), which regularly comes between the moon and Jupiter in al-Yāqūbi's horoscopes. A similar mistake occurs at ed. Leiden 2:351.

3338 Following M (*nā'iḥahu*); ed. Leiden reads the undotted text of C as *bi-bnihi* (his son). 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās b. Mūsā was indeed his son, so either reading makes sense.

3339 Arabic *al-balad*, which might also mean “the country/province”; however, the text implies that al-Mu'talib was able to get hold of 'Abdallāh, and so he could hardly have left Egypt.

3340 Following M, *wa-'adhdhaba*; ed. Leiden, *wa-bayyata* (and he raided/attacked by night).

3341 The text is uncertain and there may be a lacuna (cf. the more detailed account in al-Kindī, *Kitāb al-Umarā'*, 154–155). M reads *fi Tinnīs* (in Tinnīs); the translation follows ed. Leiden in emending to *fi Qays*.

3342 Ed. Leiden (apparently following C) omits *wa-tuwuffya* (and he died). According to al-Kindī, loc. cit., he was poisoned by the Qays at the instigation of al-Mu'talib.

3343 He was still in Khurāṣān; according to al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 3:1037, he did not arrive in Baghdad until 15 Ṣafar 204 (August 11, 819).

3344 On Abū l-Sarāyā and his revolt see the article by John P. Turner in *EI*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. Abū l-Sarāyā al-Shaybānī. In addition to the bibliography cited there, one should add the article by A. Arioli, “La rivolta di Abū Sarāyā: appunti per una tipologia del leader islamico.”

was al-Sarī b. Manṣūr al-Shaybānī—had rebelled in Kufa and with him was the ‘Alid Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, who was known as Ibn Ṭabāṭabā.<sup>3345</sup> When Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm died, Abū l-Sarāyā replaced him with Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Zayd.<sup>3346</sup> Al-‘Abbās b. Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Ja‘farī took control of Basra. Zayd b. Mūsā b. Ja‘far b. Muḥammad came [from] Kufa,<sup>3347</sup> where he had rejected (his allegiance to the caliph)<sup>3348</sup> and made his way to Basra to join al-‘Abbās b. Muḥammad al-Ja‘farī. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan, known as al-Salaq,<sup>3349</sup> took Wāsiṭ; Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā b. Ja‘far took Yemen; Muḥammad b. Ja‘far took the Ḥijāz. [Ahmad b.]<sup>3350</sup> Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb al-Rabaī took control of Niṣibīn and its hinterland; al-Sayyid b. Anas in Mosul; Mūsā b. Mubārak al-Yashkūrī in Mayyāfāriqīn; ‘Abd al-Malik b. al-Jahhāf al-Sulamī and Muḥammad b. ‘Attāb in Armenia; Muḥammad b. al-Rawwād al-Azdī, Yazīd b. Bilāl al-Yamanī, Muḥammad b. Ḥamīd<sup>3351</sup> al-Hamdānī, ‘Uthmān b. Afkal, and ‘Alī b. Murr al-Ṭā’ī in Azerbaijan; Abū Dulaf al-‘Ijlī, Murra b. Ubayy al-Rudaynī, ‘Alī b. al-Bahlūl, Muḥammad b. Zuhra, Sinān, and Zayd b. ...<sup>3352</sup> in al-Jabal; Bisṭām b. al-Salās al-Rabaī in [ ] and [ ]<sup>3353</sup> and environs; | Ḥabīb b. al-Jahm in Kafartūthā and Ra’s ‘Ayn; Naṣr b. Shabath al-Naṣrī,<sup>3354</sup> who was the most powerful and formidable of these individuals, in Kaysūm and the surrounding area of Diyār Muḍar; al-‘Abbās b. Zufar al-Hilālī in Qūrus and the outlying villages of al-‘Awāṣim; ‘Uthmān b. Thumāma al-‘Absī in al-Ḥiyār and the outlying villages of Qinnasrīn; and Manī‘ al-Tanūkhī in al-Ḥādir, which lies near Aleppo. Ya‘qūb b. Ṣalīḥ al-Ḥāshimī campaigned against al-Ḥādir, and so none of the inhabitants remained; they dispersed in all directions, with most of them making their way to the city of Qinnasrīn. Ya‘qūb destroyed al-Ḥādir and razed it to the

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<sup>3345</sup> His full name was Abū ‘Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Ismā‘il al-Dībāj b. Ibrāhīm al-Ghamr b. al-Ḥasan al-Muthannā; see the article by B. Scarcia Amoretti in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ibn Ṭabāṭabā.

<sup>3346</sup> His full name was Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Zayd b. ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī b. Abī Tālib. Cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh*, 3:978 (trans. Bosworth, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, XXXII, 15).

<sup>3347</sup> The translation follows the emendation proposed by the Leiden editor. The MSS read, “Muḥammad al-Kūfi came.”

<sup>3348</sup> Or perhaps, “where he had been rejected.” But this translation seems better, given Zayd’s conduct against the Abbasids in Kufa.

<sup>3349</sup> Following the reading of ed. Leiden. The MSS here have *al-s-lf*.

<sup>3350</sup> Addition suggested by the Leiden editor on the basis of Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 6:223.

<sup>3351</sup> Or possibly Ḥumayd.

<sup>3352</sup> A lacuna is visible in the MSS.

<sup>3353</sup> As the Leiden editor notes, “the names are badly corrupted.” His conjectures do not seem supported by M.

<sup>3354</sup> Usually appears with the *nisba* “al-‘Uqaylī”.

ground. There had been twenty thousand fighters there, but it remains a ruin to this day. Al-Hawārī b. Ḥanṭān<sup>3355</sup> al-Tanūkhī was in Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān, Tall Mannas, and the surrounding area around Ḥimṣ; Ḥarāq<sup>3356</sup> al-Bahrānī<sup>3357</sup> in Hama and its hinterland; the Banū Bisṭām in Shayzar and its hinterland; the Banū l-Simṭ in the city of Ḥimṣ; and in al-Maṣṣīṣa, Adana, and the outlying areas of al-Thughūr was Thābit b. Naṣr al-Khuzaī. He had been Muḥammad (al-Amīn)'s governor, but when matters turned out for al-Amīn as they did, al-Khuzaī asserted control over the region. A number of disparate tribes settled in Damascus, Jordan, and Palestine.

In Egypt, al-Sarī (b. al-Ḥakam) was in the central region of al-Fustāt and Upper Egypt; 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Jarawī was in Lower Egypt; the Qaysiyya and Yamāniyya were in the two al-Ḥawf districts; the Lakhm and Banū Mudlij gained control over Alexandria—the head of the Lakhm was a man named

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Aḥmad b. Raḥīm al-Lakhmī—but afterward the Andalusians took control. | The affair of the Andalusians began when they arrived from al-Andalus in four thousand ships and anchored in the harbor of Alexandria at al-Raml. Numbering around three thousand men, they remained along the coast for a time.<sup>3358</sup> Then one of the officials of the government (*al-sulṭān*) assaulted one of their number, which sparked factional violence. The Andalusians rose up against al-Faḍl b. 'Abdallāh, the brother of al-Muṭṭalib b. 'Abdallāh, killing the head of his security force. They proceeded to the citadel and attacked the people of Alexandria until they drove them from their homes. The inhabitants abandoned their homes and property as a result. The Andalusians chose a certain Abū 'Abdallāh al-Šūfī to lead them, a man who shed blood and killed Muslims. Then, removing him, they followed a man named al-Kinānī and drove the Banū Mudlij and Lakhm from the area. The entire city fell to their control. In Barqa, Muslim b. Naṣr al-A'war al-Anbārī was in control.

After al-Ma'mūn appointed al-Ḥasan b. Sahl over Iraq, the latter sent as his deputy Dhū l-'Alamayn<sup>3359</sup> 'Alī b. Abī Sa'īd. Al-Ma'mūn also wrote to Tāhir b.

3355 Sic MSS, but the reading is dubious. Cobb, *White Banners*, 94, reads al-Hawārī b. Ḥiṭān, a reading supported by al-Ya'qūbī, *Mushākala*, 26.

3356 Sic MSS, but perhaps to be read as "al-Ḥaraq."

3357 Although M reads al-Nahrānī, ed. Leiden's reading al-Bahrānī is preferable.

3358 The translation follows M, *zam[an]an* (for a time). C reads *wa-mā* (and what), which led the Leiden editor to assume that a lacuna followed. The reading of M does not require the assumption.

3359 The title, if read in this way, means "He of the Two Banners/Standards." According to Wiet, *Les Pays*, 135, note 5, and Sourdel, *Vizirat*, 1:202 and note 7, the name should be read as *Dhū l-Qalamayn* (He of the Two Pens/Bureaus), referring either to administra-

al-Ḥusayn, directing him to proceed to the Jazīra to wage war against Naṣr b. Shabath. The arrival of Dhū l-‘Alamayn in Iraq angered Ṭāhir, who said, “The Commander of the Faithful has not treated me fairly.” However, he did march to the Jazīra and wage war against Naṣr. Al-Ḥasan b. Sahl reached Iraq and settled at Nahrawān. Harthama set out against Abū l-Sarāyā; their forces met near Kufa on 10 Jumādā II 199<sup>3360</sup> in a series of clashes before Harthama withdrew. [Zuhayr b. al-Musayyab al-Ḍabbī then set out against him. When Abū l-Sarāyā defeated him, | Zuhayr retreated to Qaṣr Ibn Hubayra. Al-Ḥasan b. Sahl then sent ‘Abdūs b. Muḥammad b. Abī Khālid against Abū l-Sarāyā]<sup>3361</sup> with a formidable army. He met Abū l-Sarāyā at a place called al-Jāmi‘, located between Baghdad and Kufa, with twelve nights remaining in Rajab of this year.<sup>3362</sup> Abū l-Sarāyā killed him and captured his brother, Hārūn [b. Muḥammad]<sup>3363</sup> b. Abī Khālid, and a number of his men. When word of this reached Zuhayr, he left Qaṣr Ibn Hubayra for Baghdad. Harthama then returned with a large number of troops and encountered Abū l-Sarāyā, pushing him back as far as Kufa, where he thoroughly defeated him, killing most of Abū l-Sarāyā’s following in the process. When Harthama entered Kufa, Abū l-Sarāyā fled the city in defeat, making his way first to Wāsiṭ and then to al-Ahwāz, where al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī al-Bādhghīsī, known as al-Ma’mūnī, met and defeated him. Abū l-Sarāyā, soundly defeated, beat his retreat to Rūstuqbādh, very sick with a stomach disease.<sup>3364</sup> Word reached Ḥammād al-Khādim, known as al-Kundughūsh,<sup>3365</sup> of his whereabouts. Moving quickly against him, he seized Abū l-Sarāyā and with him Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-‘Alawī and his client (*mawlā*) Abū l-Shawk. He delivered them to al-Ḥasan b. Sahl, who was in al-Nahrawān. When he was brought before Ibn Sahl, Abū l-Sarāyā said to him, “Spare my life!—may God make the governor prosper.” Ibn Sahl replied, “May God not spare me if I spare you!” and passed sentence on him. Abū l-Sarāyā was beheaded, his corpse cut

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tion of the army and of taxation or to his mastery of two sorts of script. The reading Dhū l-‘Alamayn, however, is clear in the mss. Note that M here reads Dhū l-‘Ālamayn (He of the Two Worlds), the significance of which is not readily apparent, but reads Dhū l-‘Alamayn in the next line.

<sup>3360</sup> January 26, 815.

<sup>3361</sup> The Leiden editor supplied the bracketed passage based on al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:978.

<sup>3362</sup> 18 Rajab 199 = March 4, 815.

<sup>3363</sup> Added by the Leiden editor; cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:978.

<sup>3364</sup> But cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:985, where he is said to have been “severely wounded” (*wa-juriḥa jirāḥatan shadīdatan*). Al-Ya’qūbī’s wording (*wa-huwa ‘alīlun shadīdu l-‘illati min baṭnīn/baṭanīn bihi*) clearly points to disease.

<sup>3365</sup> A provisional reading of the name.

in twain, and the halves gibbeted on the two bridges of Baghdad. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-‘Alawī was brought in, and Ibn Sahl showed kindness, compassion, and graciousness, and said to him, “Have no fear; and may God curse anyone who would do evil to you.”<sup>3366</sup>

2:544 Al-Ma’mūn appointed Khālid b. Yazīd b. Mazyad over Kufa. Al-Ḥasan | b. Sahl proceeded to al-Madā’īn, sending ‘Abdallāh b. Sa’īd al-Ḥarashī against Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Salaq. Their forces met near Wāsiṭ on the east bank of the Tigris. Al-Ḥarashī defeated al-Salaq and scattered his following. (Ibn Sahl) sent Ḫsā b. Yazīd al-Julūdī against Muḥammad b. Ja’far al-‘Alawī, who had taken control of Mecca and had ousted Dāwūd b. Ḫsā al-Hāshimī. When al-Julūdī approached Mecca, Muḥammad b. Ja’far did not fight him but rather asked him for a safe-conduct. Al-Julūdī seized him and personally took him to al-Ma’mūn, who was still in Marw, leaving his son to represent him in Mecca. Upon reaching Jurjān, Muḥammad b. Ja’far died. A message arrived from al-Ma’mūn, ordering al-Julūdī to return to the Ḥijāz, which he did.

Al-Ma’mūn sent Ḥamdayah b. ‘Alī b. Ḫsā b. Māhān to Yemen, where Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā b. Ja’far al-‘Alawī had assumed control. Ibrāhīm fought him with the backing of those supporting him in Yemen. Dreadful clashes reduced both forces. Ḥamdayah had appointed Yazīd b. Muḥammad b. Ḥanzala al-Makhzūmī as his deputy in Mecca; Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā set off from Yemen heading for Mecca. Alerted, Yazīd b. Muḥammad fortified Mecca against him with ditches. He also sent a message to the guardians (of the Ka’ba) and took the golden throne<sup>3367</sup> that al-Ma’mūn had sent from Khurāsān along with the statue from the king of Tibet. These he minted into dinars and dirhams, with which he paid Bedouin tribesmen whom he enrolled as troops.<sup>3368</sup> When Ibrāhīm (b. Mūsā) reached Mecca, Yazīd (b. Muḥammad) and his supporters resisted him. Ibrāhīm sent one of his men who entered from the mountain; Yazīd was defeated, and one of Ibrāhīm’s men overtook him and killed him. Ibrāhīm entered Mecca, took control of the city, and remained there, [while] Ḥamdayah was in an area of Yemen.<sup>3369</sup>

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3366 Reading with M, *man ‘arraka*; ed. Leiden reads, *man gharraka* (whoever misled you).

3367 Reading the singular (*al-sarīr*) with M, rather than the plural (*al-sarā’ir*) of ed. Leiden.

3368 Reading *wa-faraḍla farḍan*, rather than ed. Leiden’s *wa-qaraḍa qardan* (he struck an agreement).

3369 The MSS and ed. Leiden read: “and Ḥamdayah remained there (viz. in Mecca) in an area of Yemen.” The illogic can be avoided by emending by inserting *wa-* (and/while) before Ḥamdayah.

Al-Ma'mūn brought al-Riḍā 'Alī b. Mūsā b. Ja'far from [Medina]<sup>3370</sup> to Khurāsān. His envoy to al-Riḍā was Rajā' b. [Abī] l-Ḏahhāk, a relative of al-Faḍl b. Sahl.<sup>3371</sup> He went to Baghdad and then brought al-Riḍā along the road to [Māh] al-Basra<sup>3372</sup> until he reached Marw. Al-Ma'mūn had the oath of allegiance sworn to him as heir apparent. This occurred on Monday, 7 Ramadān 201.<sup>3373</sup> Al-Ma'mūn had the people wear green instead of black<sup>3374</sup> and sent letters announcing the decision to all corners of the realm. The oath of allegiance was sworn to al-Riḍā, his name was proclaimed from the pulpits, and dinars and dirhams were struck in his name. Everyone now donned green, except Ismā'il b. Ja'far b. Sulaymān b. 'Alī al-Hāshimī, al-Ma'mūn's governor of Basra, who refused to wear green, saying, "This is a breach with the revolution (*dawla*),"<sup>3375</sup> and calling publicly for the deposition (of al-Ma'mūn). Al-Ma'mūn sent 'Isā b. Yazid al-Julūdī against him. When he drew near Basra, Ismā'il fled without show of force or opposition. Al-Julūdī entered Basra and established authority there. Ismā'il went to al-Hasan b. Sahl, who, after imprisoning him, wrote concerning him to al-Ma'mūn, who wrote back ordering that he be brought to Marw. He was taken, but on his arrival at the outskirts of Marw, al-Ma'mūn ordered that he be taken back to Jurjān and confined there. Ismā'il was confined in Jurjān and prevented from meeting him,<sup>3376</sup> until, some time later, al-Ma'mūn forgave him.

Al-Ma'mūn sent (the document requiring) the oath of allegiance to al-Riḍā to Mecca with 'Isā (b. Yazid) al-Julūdī. Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā b. Ja'far remained in the city and continued to receive its support despite having declared his backing for al-Ma'mūn. Al-Julūdī arrived with (the documents concerning the wearing of) green and the oath of allegiance to al-Riḍā, and Ibrāhīm rode out to receive him. The notables took the oath of allegiance to al-Riḍā in Mecca and donned

<sup>3370</sup> Added by ed. Leiden.

<sup>3371</sup> Cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 3:993: "the son of al-Faḍl's paternal uncle."

<sup>3372</sup> The Leiden editor has added *Māh* as necessary for the sense. Māh al-Baṣra (the Media of Basra) referred to the district of Nihāwand, whose taxes contributed to the support of the military population of Basra. See the article by M. Morony in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Māh al-Baṣra.

<sup>3373</sup> March 29, 817.

<sup>3374</sup> Black had been the official color of the 'Abbāsid dynasty to that point, while green stood for the Prophet's family.

<sup>3375</sup> Reading with M, *hādhā naqḍun li-l-dawla*; ed. Leiden follows the inferior reading of C, *hādhā naqḍun li-llāh wa-lahu* (this is a breach toward God and to him).

<sup>3376</sup> That is, al-Ma'mūn.

green. Ḥamdayah b. ‘Alī b. Ṭsā, following Ibrāhīm (b. Mūsā’s) departure for Mecca, had won a following among the people | of Yemen and withdrawn his allegiance (to al-Ma’mūn). Al-Ma’mūn wrote to Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā appointing him over Yemen, and he ordered al-Julūdī to go out and assist Ibrāhīm in fighting Ḥamdayah. Ibrāhīm set out and reached Yemen, but al-Julūdī did not accompany him. One of Ḥamdayah’s sons challenged Ibrāhīm, who fought him off, killing a number of his men. Ḥamdayah’s son withdrew in defeat. Ibrāhīm proceeded to Ṣan‘ā’, and Ḥamdayah rode out and attacked him with great force, killing a great many of Ibrāhīm’s followers. Ibrāhīm, defeated, made his way back to Mecca without stopping. Al-Julūdī departed for Basra, where Zayd b. Mūsā, had taken control and had seized houses and much property from its inhabitants with the backing of a group of the Qaysiyya and others. When al-Julūdī drew near, they fought him that day, but then they were routed and Zayd (b. Mūsā) was defeated. Ṭsā (b. Yazid al-Julūdī) arrested him and carried him off to al-Ma’mūn. The latter behaved graciously toward him and released him.

Harthama journeyed from Iraq to Marw in 201—according to some accounts he set out without permission from al-Ma’mūn. When he entered al-Ma’mūn’s presence [...],<sup>3377</sup> he said [\_\_],<sup>3378</sup> and he addressed al-Ma’mūn with harsh words. Yahyā b. Āmir b. Ismā‘il al-Hārithī, who had entered with him, said (to al-Ma’mūn), “Peace be upon you, Commander of the Unbelievers!”<sup>3379</sup> Swords were unsheathed against him in al-Ma’mūn’s court and he was killed. Harthama said, “You have promoted these Magians<sup>3380</sup> over your true friends and supporters.” Al-Ma’mūn ordered a man to drag Harthama away and imprison him. He died after three days of imprisonment.

3377 The Leiden editor deduces a lengthy lacuna here, although the MSS show none. The parallel in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:996–998, is longer, but worded differently.

3378 The Arabic in ed. Leiden (*min niqrīs wa-lā yumkinunī amshī fi miḥaffa*) is puzzling. It apparently means, “from gout, and I cannot go in a *miḥaffa* (a kind of camel saddle for women).” The parallel in al-Ṭabarī does not help. In M, the one can read, *man bi-faras* (Who will bring a horse?), followed by *wa-lā yumkinunī umassī fi miḥaffa* (I cannot offer an evening greeting while in/on a *miḥaffa*). This solution is quite conjectural.

3379 Arabic *amīr al-kāfirīn*, a distortion of the usual form of address to the caliph, *amīr al-mu’minīn* (Commander of the Faithful).

3380 Arabic *hādhīhi l-majūs*. Arabic *majūs* is collective and need not refer to a single individual, although the parallel in al-Ṭabarī makes it clear that Harthama was particularly angry at al-Faḍl b. Sahl, whose father was indeed a Zoroastrian convert to Islam.

Manṣūr b. ‘Abdallāh b. Yūsuf al-Barm<sup>3381</sup> rebelled in Khurāsān. Al-Ma'mūn sent [...]<sup>3382</sup> against him; he took [Manṣūr b.]<sup>3383</sup> ‘Abdallāh by surprise and killed him.

Muhammad b. [Abī] Khālid and the inhabitants of al-Ḥarbiyya rose up against al-Ḥasan b. Sahl and forced him out of Baghdad. They captured Zuhayr b. al-Musayyab al-Ḍabbī because he supported Muhammad b. Abī Khālid. [...]<sup>3384</sup> They went to<sup>3385</sup> Muhammad b. Ṣalīḥ b. al-Manṣūr and said: “We are partisans of your revolution (*dawlatikum*), and we fear that this revolution will perish because of all that the Magians are plotting.”<sup>3386</sup> Al-Ma'mūn has had the oath of allegiance taken to ‘Alī b. Mūsā al-Riḍā; come then, let us pledge our allegiance to you, for we fear that this entire affair could slip from your (family's) hands.” He replied to them, “I have pledged my allegiance to al-Ma'mūn”—Muhammad b. Ṣalīḥ was the first Hāshimite to swear allegiance to al-Ma'mūn in Baghdad—“and so I will not lead you.” (Meanwhile) al-Ḥasan b. Sahl had gone to Wāsit, and Muhammad b. Abī Khālid followed him, accompanied by (the people of) al-Ḥarbiyya and the Abnā'. The two sides met at the village of Abū Quraysh just outside Wāsit, and a violent clash ensued. Muhammad b. Abī Khālid was struck by an arrow and badly wounded. He was carried to Jabbul, where he died a few days later—his body was carried to Baghdad—and ‘Isā b. Abī Khālid assumed control of the army. Muhammad b. Abī Khālid had captured Zuhayr b. al-Musayyab al-Ḍabbī; when Muhammad b. Abī Khālid's body was brought into Baghdad, the Abnā' turned on Zuhayr b. al-Musayyab, who was a prisoner, and killed him. They fastened a rope to his legs, dragged him through the main thoroughfare<sup>3387</sup> of Baghdad, and mutilated his corpse.

The commanders of al-Ḥarbiyya assembled to swear allegiance to Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī, who was known as Ibn Shakla.<sup>3388</sup> This occurred on 5 Muḥarram

<sup>3381</sup> He was the grandson of Yūsuf b. Ibrāhīm al-Barm, who has been mentioned above (ed. Leiden, 2:478–479) as leading a revolt during the caliphate of al-Mahdī.

<sup>3382</sup> The name has dropped out of the text.

<sup>3383</sup> Addition suggested by the Leiden editor.

<sup>3384</sup> The Leiden editor assumes a lacuna, although there is no break in the MSS.

<sup>3385</sup> Reading *ataw* with ed. Leiden and C (undotted), rather than M's *abaw* (they rejected which seems to be a copyist's error).

<sup>3386</sup> The parallel in al-Ṭabarī implies that the reference is to al-Ḥasan ibn Sahl and his brother, al-Faḍl ibn Sahl.

<sup>3387</sup> Accepting the reading of the MSS, *bi-tarīq Baghdād*; the Leiden editor emends to *bi-turuq Baghdād* (in the main throughfares/streets of Baghdad).

<sup>3388</sup> For an overview of this episode and a bibliography of the parallel sources, see the article by D. Sourdel in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī.

202.<sup>3389</sup> He was proclaimed caliph and given the title al-Mardī.<sup>3390</sup> He took up residence in al-Ruṣāfa, led the people in prayer in Baghdad in the mosque of the (Round) City, and established his encampment at Kalwādhā. He was  
 2:548 accompanied | by al-Faḍl b. al-Rabi‘, Īsā b. Muḥammad b. Abī Khālid, Sa‘id b. al-Sājūr, and Abū al-Baṭṭ. Ibn al-Mahdī issued letters of appointment<sup>3391</sup> and affixed military standards,<sup>3392</sup> and matters came under his control. The Abnā’ and the people of al-Ḥarbiyya and adjacent neighborhoods accepted his authority, except for those who were loyal to al-Ma’mūn. The latter group fought him, rallying behind Ḥumayd b. ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Ṭā‘ī al-Ṭūsī. They would shout, “O Bunch of Grapes, O Singer!” This was because Ibrāhīm was very dark and had an unsightly mole in the middle of his face—they used to call him Bunch of Grapes because of it.<sup>3393</sup> Then Asad al-Ḥarbī, formerly one of Ibrāhīm’s commanders, rebelled at the head of a group from al-Ḥarbiyya. They withdrew their allegiance to Ibrāhīm and announced their backing for al-Ma’mūn. Īsā b. Abī Khālid seized Asad al-Ḥarbī and one of his sons, killed both of them, and gibbeted their bodies. Ḥumayd b. ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd lived in an area known as Khān al-Ḥakam along the Ṣarṣar Canal. He sent a message to Īsā b. Abī Khālid, proposing that they join forces at Khān al-Ḥakam.<sup>3394</sup> Ḥumayd made his way to Baghdad, where he took part in the Friday prayer led by the *qādī* Ibn Abī Rajjā'; then he returned to his encampment.

Mahdī b. ‘Alwān the Khārijite (*al-shārī*) rose in rebellion in the area of ‘Ukbarā.<sup>3395</sup> Al-Muṭṭalib b. ‘Abdallāh went out against him and fought him in one clash after another. Mahdī routed him, and al-Muṭṭalib returned to Baghdad in defeat. Abū Ishāq b. al-Rashīd<sup>3396</sup> set out against Mahdī. He engaged Mahdī, defeated him, and captured him after a pursuit. Al-Ma’mūn showed favor to Abū Ishāq, made him a member of the court,<sup>3397</sup> and clothed him

3389 July 24, 817.

3390 That is, “the One Approved (namely, by God)”; note that in al-Ṭabarī, *Taṛīkh*, 3:1015, his regnal name is given as al-Mubārak (the Blessed One).

3391 That is, of governors and provincial officials].

3392 That is, he appointed military commanders.

3393 Ibn al-Mahdī was also famous as a poet and singer; hence his other nickname.

3394 Following M; the words “at Khān al-Ḥakam” are absent from C and ed. Leiden.

3395 Located about 10 farsakhs (60 km / 37 miles) north of Baghdad; see the article by C. E. Bosworth in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. ‘Ukbarā.

3396 The future caliph al-Mu’tasim.

3397 Arabic *alzamahu bābahu* (kept him at his gate)—“gate” being a frequent metonymy for the caliphal court. However, al-Ma’mūn presumably was still in Marw at this point and there is no evidence that Abū Ishāq ever traveled to Khurāsān. Either the phrase

in black.<sup>3398</sup> Abū Ishāq remained a member of al-Ma'mūn's court until the latter's death.

Al-Ma'mūn left Marw for Iraq in 202. With him were | al-Ridā, who was his heir apparent, and Dhū l-Ri'āsatayn al-Faḍl b. Sahl, his vizier. He had drafted for al-Faḍl the document that he entitled *The Letter of Stipulation and Favor*.<sup>3399</sup> In it he described (al-Faḍl's) obedience and sincere counsel; his admonition and solicitude; his renunciation<sup>3400</sup> of the world; and his refusal of what he had been offered in the way of funds, estates, precious stones, and prefectures. (Al-Ma'mūn) himself stipulated that whenever al-Faḍl requested or sought anything he would not refuse him or withhold it. Al-Ma'mūn signed the document in his own hand and had it witnessed. Then, when al-Ma'mūn reached Qūmis, al-Faḍl b. Sahl was killed while in the bathhouse—Ghālib al-Rūmī and Sirāj the Eunuch (*al-khādim*) attacked him with swords. Al-Ma'mūn had both of them executed, along with some others. He killed Dhū l-'Alamayn 'Alī b. Abī Sa'īd, the son of al-Faḍl b. Sahl's maternal aunt, who, it was said, was the one who had plotted the killing of al-Faḍl, and he sent 'Alī's head to al-Hasan b. Sahl in Iraq. He also killed Khalaf b. 'Umar al-Baṣrī, known as al-Haff,<sup>3401</sup> Mūsā<sup>3402</sup> al-Baṣrī, and 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Imrān al-Tā'i along with Ghālib al-Rūmī and Sirāj the Eunuch. He dismissed a group of commanders who were known as "the Gloaters" (*al-Shāmita*) and made his great sorrow apparent. Al-Faḍl was found to have possessed no money, estates, horses, or housewares save for five slaves, a mare, and a hackney.

Ghassān b. 'Abbād said: "One day I said to al-Faḍl, 'My lord, why do you not command that estates and prefectures be assigned to you?' He replied: 'Why, you silly fellow? As long as things remain for me as they are, the whole world is my estate and at my command. If things change, whatever I have will not cease to be uprooted.'"

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is being used in a general sense, or the campaign described may have been completed roughly at the time of al-Ma'mūn's return to Iraq.

<sup>3398</sup> That is, in the official color of the court.

<sup>3399</sup> Arabic *Kitāb al-Shart wa-l-Hibā*. Its text is preserved in Ibn Babuya; see W. Madelung, "New Documents Concerning al-Ma'mūn, al-Faḍl b. Sahl and 'Alī al-Ridā."

<sup>3400</sup> Arabic (ed. Leiden) *wa-dhahābahu bi-nafsihi 'an il-dunyā* (and his taking of his soul away from this world); however, the text is uncertain: M reads *wa-wahānahu ...*, an otherwise unattested word derived from a root meaning "to be weak."

<sup>3401</sup> Perhaps, "the Hairless."

<sup>3402</sup> Sic ed. Leiden, apparently following C and agreeing with al-Ṭabarī, *Tarikh*, 3:1026; however, M gives the name as Mu'nīs.

Abū Samīr reported: ‘I often heard al-Faḍl b. Sahl say, in the days of al-Ma’mūn:

2:550 ‘If I or my mounts escape  
Ghālib and Ghālib’s rabble,  
I shall indeed be one who always escapes from troubles.’

He did not know who *Ghālib* was and assumed it referred only to the Quraysh<sup>3403</sup>—until the day that *Ghālib al-Rūmī*, al-Ma’mūn’s stable master, came in and killed him. Al-Faḍl said to Ghālib, ‘Take one hundred thousand dinars.’ Ghālib replied, ‘The time for flattery and bribes is over,’ and then he killed him.

Whenever al-Ma’mūn passed through a district, he remained there long enough to set its affairs in order and see to the needs of its inhabitants. At the time of his departure, he appointed Rajā’ b. Abī l-Ḍahhāk, a relative of al-Ḥasan b. Sahl, as his successor over Khurāsān. The situation in Khurāsān was stable, its princes all having sworn loyalty to al-Ma’mūn. The king of Tibet, having converted to Islam, had journeyed to meet al-Ma’mūn at [...],<sup>3404</sup> bringing a golden statue of his<sup>3405</sup> atop a golden throne inlaid with jewels. Al-Ma’mūn sent the statue to be placed in the Ka’ba to make known to all men God’s guidance of the king of Tibet.<sup>3406</sup> There remained not a single region of Khurāsān from which disobedience was feared. However, after al-Ma’mūn left Khurāsān, Rajā’ b. Abī l-Ḍahhāk became less tactful. He was a poor administrator and was not decisive concerning the province’s affairs. Fearing disorder in Khurāsān, al-Ma’mūn dismissed him and appointed Ghassān b. ‘Abbād, who conducted himself well and won over the princes of all the regions.

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3403 The great-great-grandfather of Quṣayy, the progenitor of the Quraysh, was named Ghālib.

3404 Lacuna in both MSS.

3405 The Arabic is ambiguous: either a golden statue (*ṣanam*) *belonging to him*, or a golden statue *of himself*. The word *ṣanam* is also the regular word for pagan idols.

3406 That is, how God had guided the king to Islam. Needless to say, placing a statue of a living man in the Ka’ba, let alone a pagan idol, would be strange by later Islamic standards.

### [The Death of 'Alī al-Ridā]<sup>3407</sup>

Following al-Ma'mūn's arrival at Tūs, al-Ridā 'Alī b. Mūsā b. Ja'far b. Muḥammad died in a village known as al-Nūqān at the beginning of 203.<sup>3408</sup> His illness lasted | only three days. Some have said that 'Alī b. Hishām fed him poisoned pomegranates. Al-Ma'mūn showed deep grief over his death. Abū l-Ḥasan b. Abī 'Abbād recounted to me: "I saw al-Ma'mūn walking in al-Ridā's funeral procession bareheaded and wearing a white garment."<sup>3409</sup> Standing between two supports of the bier, he said: 'To whom shall I turn after you, Abū l-Ḥasan?' He remained by his grave for three days, and on each day a loaf of bread and some salt were brought to him, which he ate. He departed on the fourth day." Al-Ridā was forty-four years old.

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Abū l-Ḥasan b. Abī 'Abbād said: "I heard al-Ridā say, 'When men walk in step with a man, it is a temptation for the one who is followed, a humiliation for those who follow.' I also heard him say, 'Contained in the Books of Abraham<sup>3410</sup> are the words: *O deluded king, I did not send you to erect monuments or to bring the world under your sway, but to avert from me the cry of the oppressed, for I will not ignore it even if it comes from an unbeliever.*' He also said to al-Ma'mūn: 'Whenever two parties come together, God bestows His aid on the one greatest in forgiveness.' And he said: 'A true believer need only be commanded to do right and forbidden to do wrong and he takes heed, but not the master of sword and lash!' [And he said:]<sup>3411</sup> 'Whoever seeks the favor of an unjust ruler and suffers tribulation for his effort will receive no recompense for it and will not be granted the patience to endure it.'"<sup>3412</sup>

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Al-Ma'mūn arrived in the City of Peace<sup>3413</sup> in the month of Rabī' I 204.<sup>3414</sup> His clothing and that of his commanders, soldiers, and all his retinue was green.

<sup>3407</sup> The subtitle, which is not in the MSS, was supplied by the Leiden editor.

<sup>3408</sup> 203 A.H. began on July 9, 818; al-Tabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 3:1030, dates his death to the end of Ṣafar, the second month of that year (ended on September 7, 818).

<sup>3409</sup> Ed. Leiden suggests *mubaṭṭanah* rather than the term apparently used in both MSS (*s-t-n-ah*). Dozy, *Supplément*, 1:98, has "fur-lined garment" for *mubaṭṭanah*.

<sup>3410</sup> Cf. Qur'ān 87:19, which refers to "the ancient books, the books of Abraham and Moses."

<sup>3411</sup> A conjectural addition by the Leiden editor.

<sup>3412</sup> This echoes a saying attributed to the Prophet; see above, ed. Leiden 2:108.

<sup>3413</sup> Arabic *Madīnat al-Salām*, the official name of Baghdad.

<sup>3414</sup> Rabī' I 204 began on August 26, 819.

He remained in green for a week, then removed it and returned to wearing black. Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī disappeared from view and no one knew of his whereabouts. He had left his residence accompanied by his secretary ‘Abdallāh b. Sā‘id and a kinswoman. Along the way, he said to ‘Abdallāh b. Sā‘id, “Go back to | my mother and ask her to hand over the jewels that she has.” ‘Abdallāh went back, while Ibn al-Mahdī continued on, his whereabouts a secret.

Al-Faḍl b. al-Rabī‘ fled to Basra and went into hiding in the household of Yazīd b. al-Minjāb al-Muhallabī. Al-Ma’mūn ordered the confiscation of his estates, funds, and landed properties. Then al-Faḍl made his way to al-Ma’mūn’s court, seeking a guarantee of safety. Al-Ma’mūn had received word that al-Faḍl had died, and a number of people had testified to this in his presence. Therefore, when it was announced to al-Ma’mūn that al-Faḍl b. al-Rabī‘ was on hand, he said, “If he has been resurrected from the next world, al-Rashīd has been resurrected with him!” When al-Faḍl was ushered in, al-Ma’mūn granted his request for a guarantee of safety and was generous to him. One night he summoned him and said: “Granting that you could excuse yourself regarding Muḥammad (al-Amīn) by the fact that allegiance to him was incumbent upon you because of al-Rashīd, what excuse do you have regarding Ibn Shakla?”<sup>3415</sup> Although his place was among the singers and jesters, you encouraged him to press for my deposition even after the oath of allegiance to me had become incumbent upon you.” Al-Faḍl replied: “Commander of the Faithful, my heart is troubled;<sup>3416</sup> my offense is inexcusable, and my guilt too great to be forgiven. My only hope for life is from your great mercy. Spare my blood because of my reverence for your forefathers!” Al-Ma’mūn therefore desisted from him and restored to him one of his estates, whose (annual) income was 360,000 dirhams, a sum deemed sufficient for his and his dependents’ upkeep.

Al-Ma’mūn assigned al-Faḍl b. al-Rabī‘s residence to Muḥammad b. Ṣalīh b. al-Manṣūr; he married him to Khadija, the daughter of al-Rashīd, and ordered that he be given one million dirhams for the alacrity with which he had taken the oath of allegiance to him, extended his fealty, and refused to take the oath of allegiance to Ibrāhīm (b. al-Mahdī). He excused him from having to present himself before him and from making a personal appearance at the public audience hall. His secretary, Ja‘far b. Wahb, appeared in his stead.

Al-Ma’mūn married Muḥammad, the son of (‘Ali) al-Riḍā, to his daughter Umm | al-Faḍl, and ordered that he be given two million dirhams, saying, “I

<sup>3415</sup> That is, Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī, referring to him as ‘Son of Shakla’ (his mother).

<sup>3416</sup> Reading with M, *mā ajidu qalbī qārran makānahu* (literally, “I do not find/feel my heart quiet/still/at rest in its place”). Ed. Leiden (apparently following C) omits *qārran*, spoiling the sense.

should like to become the grandfather of one born to the Prophet and to 'Alī b. Abī Tālib.' But she bore Muhammad no children.

Al-Ma'mūn appointed Ṣāliḥ b. al-Rashīd over Basra. Ṣāliḥ in turn appointed Abū l-Rāzī Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd as his deputy. Al-Ma'mūn appointed [Abū]<sup>3417</sup> ʻIsā b. al-Rashīd over Kufa; the latter appointed Muḥammad b. al-Layth as his deputy.

At this time, Tāhir b. al-Ḥusayn was on campaign in the Jazīra against Naṣr b. Shabath. Al-Ma'mūn sent him his document of appointment over the Jazīra, Syria, and Egypt. He also appointed Dīnār<sup>3418</sup> b. 'Abdallāh over al-Jibāl. Al-Ḥasan b. Sahl, acting on al-Ma'mūn's orders, had appointed<sup>3419</sup> al-Ḥasan b. 'Umar al-Rustamī over al-Jibāl, but the latter also had renounced his oath of allegiance and had risen in revolt. When Dīnār arrived, he fought him and captured him. He also captured 'Alī b. al-Bahlūl.

Al-Ma'mūn sent Naṣr b. Ḥamza b. Mālik al-Khuzā'ī to the frontier (*al-thughūr*). [Al-Rashīd had appointed Thābit b. Naṣr b. Mālik al-Khuzā'ī to it]<sup>3420</sup> and it was feared that he might rebel. Naṣr b. Ḥamza assumed the position from him and took over administration of the frontier districts. Less than a week later, Thābit b. Naṣr died. It was said that Naṣr b. Ḥamza b. Mālik had served him a poisoned drink.

Al-Ma'mūn sent ʻIsā b. Yazīd al-Julūdī to be governor of Yemen, which was under the control of Ḥamdawayh b. 'Alī b. ʻIsā. The latter had started a rebellion sometime after the revolt of the 'Alid Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā b. Ja'far. As soon as ʻIsā reached Mecca, he sent Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā off to Baghdad and appointed in his place the 'Alid 'Ubaydallāh b. al-Ḥasan with a document sent by al-Ma'mūn. When al-Julūdī went on to Yemen, | Ḥamdawayh marched out against him. Their forces met on 5 Jumādā I 205.<sup>3421</sup> Al-Julūdī called on Ḥamdawayh to declare his obedience, but the latter refused and fighting commenced between them. Many of Ḥamdawayh's men were killed, and Ḥamdawayh, defeated, entered the city of Ḫanā'. Al-Julūdī pursued him until he came to the house in which he resided. Having seized Ḥamdawayh, who was wearing the gown of one of his slave-girls, al-Julūdī said to him: "Shame on you!—that you, an officer and an officer's son, should fight against the caliph and then flee from

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<sup>3417</sup> Added by the Leiden editor in the *Addenda* on the basis of the list of al-Rashīd's children, above, ed. Leiden 2:521.

<sup>3418</sup> Both MSS read "Ziyād" here, but have the correct name (Dīnār) below.

<sup>3419</sup> Text possibly corrupted here.

<sup>3420</sup> The Leiden editor has added the bracketed text on the basis of al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 3:732.

<sup>3421</sup> October 17, 820.

death in this way! God has spared your life so that you might appear before the Commander of the Faithful. He will judge you as he sees fit." And he sent him to al-Ma'mūn.

The army rose up against Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn, who was then in al-Raqqa on campaign against Naṣr b. Shabath. He returned to Baghdad, and in his stead he<sup>3422</sup> appointed Yaḥyā b. Mu'ādh, who remained in al-Raqqa until his death. Al-Ma'mūn appointed Ṭāhir over the security forces (*shurāt*), a post he retained for a year. He then complained to Aḥmad b. Abī Khālid al-Aḥwal, al-Ma'mūn's secretary, that he was tired of staying at court and that he desired to leave Baghdad. A deep and sincere friendship existed between the two men. After Ṭāhir arranged for Aḥmad b. Abī Khālid to receive three million dirhams, the latter devised a stratagem: he sent a letter purportedly from Ghassān b. 'Abbād, the governor of Khurāsān, to al-Ma'mūn in which he asked to be relieved of his post over Khurāsān. Al-Ma'mūn said: "By God, I know of nothing in the realm better than Khurāsān. I don't understand what has driven this simpleton to submit his resignation unless it is that he no longer feels up to the job." Whereupon Aḥmad b. Abī Khālid said to him, "Then appoint Ṭāhir!" So he appointed Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn over Khurāsān, at the beginning of 206,<sup>3423</sup> in place of Ghassān b. 'Abbād, and Ṭāhir went to the province. Ḥamza the Khārijite (*al-shārī*) had rebelled in Khurāsān, and one army after another had been sent against him. Then Ḥamza had died, and his son Ibrāhīm b. al-Naṣr<sup>3424</sup> | al-Tamīmī took his place and continued to be active throughout Ṭāhir's governorship. Ghassān b. 'Abbād came from Khurāsān, but al-Ma'mūn refused to see him for a month. Then al-Ḥasan b. Sahl wrote on his behalf, and al-Ma'mūn agreed to meet him. "Commander of the Faithful," he said, "may God make me your ransom! What is my offense?" (Al-Ma'mūn) replied: "You ask me to relieve you of your post in Khurāsān, when it is the very empire itself!" (Ghassān) swore to him about it.<sup>3425</sup> Thus (al-Ma'mūn) discovered the machinations of Aḥmad b. Abī Khālid.<sup>3426</sup>

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Al-Ma'mūn appointed 'Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir over the Jazīra, Syria, Egypt, and the Maghrib. He put all the offices of these provinces under his control and ordered

<sup>3422</sup> It is unclear whether the pronoun refers to Ṭāhir or al-Ma'mūn.

<sup>3423</sup> 206 A.H. began on June 6, 821.

<sup>3424</sup> Sic M; C similar ductus (letter shapes), but undotted. The text may be disturbed, as Ḥamza's son ought to be named Ibrāhīm b. Ḥamza.

<sup>3425</sup> That is, he swore that he had never written asking to be relieved of his governorship. The Leiden editor suggests a lacuna before this sentence; none is visible in M.

<sup>3426</sup> At this point M notes the end of "Part 9" and the beginning of "Part 10 of the History of Wāqīḥ the Secretary."

him to campaign against those who had taken control in them. ‘Abdallāh set out in 206, two months after the departure of his father for Khurāsān. He went to al-Raqqa and attacked Naṣr b. Shabath al-Naṣrī, who was then in control of Kaysūm and the surrounding areas of the Jazīra. He wrote to the others who had taken control of districts of the Jazīra and the regions of Syria. He sent them messengers concerning the supplementary imposts,<sup>3427</sup> and, to a man, they wrote back with assurances of their obedience. They requested that he send them guarantees of safe-conduct, which he agreed to do.

Al-Ma'mūn sent Khālid b. Yazīd b. Mazyad al-Shaybānī to Egypt and with him ‘Umar b. Faraj al-Rukhkhaṭī at the head of an army. He ordered the two men to work in tandem to secure the province.<sup>3428</sup> Once they had established order, ‘Umar b. Faraj al-Rukhkhaṭī was to be responsible for the land tax (*kharāj*), while Khālid was to be responsible for the supplementary imposts (*ma'āwin*) and the Friday prayers. They set out from Iraq, taking the desert route until they reached Palestine; then they made their way to Egypt. In Lower Egypt, ‘Alī b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Jarawī was in control. When they drew near him, he wrote to assure them of his loyalty and obedience, that he and his father had never ceased to be loyal and obedient, and that that their letters | had constantly demonstrated this.<sup>3429</sup> Khālid b. Yazīd and ‘Umar b. Faraj proceeded to the region of Lower Egypt and remained there for several months while exchanging letters with ‘Ubaydallāh b. al-Sarī. Finally Khālid marched against him, while ‘Umar remained in place. ‘Ubaydallāh marched out from al-Fustāṭ against Khālid. When the fighting began, the troops that al-Jarawī had dispatched to accompany Khālid deserted him. Khālid fought for a time alongside his clients (*mawālī*) and kinsmen, but ‘Ubaydallāh outnumbered him and took him prisoner. Khālid remained his prisoner, but was treated<sup>3430</sup> generously and kept in the best and most comfortable of conditions. ‘Ubaydallāh then

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<sup>3427</sup> Arabic *al-ma'āwin* (plural of *ma'ūna*), literally, “assistances.” Originally these were extraordinary contributions, imposed when the public treasury was exhausted. However, even in Umayyad times, they tended to become a fixed impost, and the word could be extended to cover all sorts of taxes beyond the normal *kharāj* and *jizya*, to payments made from these imposts, and to forces (often police forces) supported by such imposts. The exact meaning here is therefore ambiguous. See Dozy, *Supplément*, 2:192; and the article by P. Crone in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Ma'ūna*.

<sup>3428</sup> Arabic *yatakānafā al-naẓar*; see Dozy, *Supplément*, 2:502.

<sup>3429</sup> Reading with M, *wa-anna kutubuhumā lam tazal muttaṣilatan bi-hādhā*. Ed. Leiden, apparently following C, omits *muttaṣilatan* (constant, uninterrupted).

<sup>3430</sup> The MSS are corrupt; the translation follows the emendation suggested by ed. Leiden.

put him on a boat, provided him with supplies, and permitted him to return to Iraq. Afterward Khālid used to say: "I never was so grateful to anyone as I was to 'Ubaydallāh b. al-Sarī. He showed me every kindness—if only he had not shipped me off by sea!" 'Umar b. al-Faraj remained in Lower Egypt until the time for the pilgrimage arrived. Ibn al-Jarawī then escorted him to Mecca.

The head of intelligence (*sāhib al-khabar*) in Khurāsān wrote to report that Tāhir b. al-Ḥusayn had ascended the pulpit on Friday and addressed the congregation without invoking God's blessing on the Commander of the Faithful. Al-Ma'mūn summoned Aḥmad b. Abī Khālid by night and said to him, "You sold me for three million dirhams that you received from Tāhir." He replied, "I will go out to him and take care of him for you." Al-Ma'mūn ordered him to make ready. Then Tāhir's letter to Aḥmad b. Abī Khālid arrived in which he asked him to send on Muḥammad b. Farrukh al-'Umraqī,<sup>3431</sup> who was among the people dearest and most closely tied to Tāhir. Aḥmad b. Abī Khālid said to al-Ma'mūn, "Commander of the Faithful, Muḥammad b. Farrukh will do just what I was going to do." Muḥammad assigned a number of land grants, gathered up large sums of money, and then proceeded to Khurāsān. He stayed with Tāhir less than a month before the latter died. It was said that al-'Umraqī's nephew slipped him poison which killed him. Tāhir b. al-Ḥusayn died in Khurāsān in the year 207 at the age of forty-eight.<sup>3432</sup> Al-Ma'mūn appointed his son Ṭalḥa b. Tāhir over Khurāsān. He also sent Aḥmad b. Abī Khālid with the army that he had assigned to him. Ibn Abī Khālid marched to Khurāsān accompanied by al-Afshīn Ḥaydar b. Kāwūs al-Ushrūsanī<sup>3433</sup> and a number of the princes of Khurāsān.

Word reached al-Ma'mūn that Bishr b. Dāwūd al-Muhallabī, the governor of al-Sind, had become disobedient, so he sent Hājib b. Ṣalīḥ as governor in his stead. When the latter reached Makrān, he found Bishr b. Dāwūd's brother there and said to him: "Give up your office! The letter of (my) appointment is meant to be read to Bishr so that he can reply with a letter acknowledging the transfer of duties."<sup>3434</sup> The other replied: "But I am here on behalf of Bishr, who is in

<sup>3431</sup> The reading of the *nisba* is provisional.

<sup>3432</sup> 207 A.H. = May 27, 822 – May 15, 823; cf. the parallel account, al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 3:1063–1066 (trans. Bosworth, 131–135).

<sup>3433</sup> Usually known simply as al-Afshīn (the title borne by the native princes of Ushrūsanā in Central Asia), he went on to a celebrated military career under al-Ma'mūn and al-Mu'tashīm; see the article by W. Barthold and H. A. R. Gibb, updated by Matthew Gordon in *EI*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. Afshīn.

<sup>3434</sup> The text of the sentence is corrupt in the MSS; the translation is conjectural.

al-Manṣūra. You are two days' journey from him. When you<sup>3435</sup> have met with him and he has written me of his surrender of authority, I will surrender (my office) to you." A dispute ensued between them. Ibn Ṣāliḥ wrote to al-Ma'mūn informing him that Bishr had renounced his allegiance and had taken up arms against him. Al-Ma'mūn summoned Muḥammad b. 'Abbād al-Muhallabī, the leader of the people of Basra at that time, saying: "Bishr has become disobedient." "God forbid!" exclaimed Ibn 'Abbād. Al-Ma'mūn said, "Set out with Ghassān b. 'Abbād." With Ghassān he sent a number of commanders and Mūsā b. Yaḥyā b. Khālid al-Barmakī, ordering him to install Mūsā as governor of the province. When Ghassān reached the province of al-Sind, Bishr came out to meet him and submitted to him without fighting or conflict. He dispatched him (back to Iraq) and placed Mūsā b. Yaḥyā in charge of the province. Mūsā remained in the province until his death, whereupon his son 'Imrān b. Mūsā succeeded him. | When Bishr b. Dāwūd and the Muhallabī family members accompanying him reached Iraq, al-Ma'mūn released them all and treated them well.

Al-Ma'mūn apprehended Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī—Ibn Shakla—early in the year 208.<sup>3436</sup> He apprehended him by night, and on the same night he held a session of open court. He imprisoned him unshackled in the care of Aḥmad b. Abī Khālid, and ordered the latter to treat him well. Ibrāhīm wrote to al-Ma'mūn from his cell, not doubting that the caliph was going to execute him.<sup>3437</sup>

He who is charged with exacting vengeance, Commander of the Faithful, is given discretion with regard to retaliation, *but forgiveness is nearer to piety.*<sup>3438</sup> He who is led astray by what is extended to him of comfort and ease visits upon himself the misfortunes of fate. God has placed you above all others who are charged with mercy, just as He has placed every other sinner beneath me. If you forgive, it is by your graciousness; if you go forward, it is by your right.

3435 The unvocalized Arabic verb can be read as second person, as translated, or as first person (when I have met).

3436 208 A.H. = May 16, 823 – May 3, 824; note that al-Yā'qūbī dates these events two years earlier than al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 3:1073–1074.

3437 Cf. the parallels with significant variants in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 3:1076 (trans. Bosworth, 149) and al-Mas'ūdī, *Murij*, 4:325–326 (§ 2750–2751).

3438 Cf. Qur'ān 2:237.

Al-Ma'mūn wrote his reply on the back of Ibrāhīm's letter: "Power removes resentment, contrition is repentance, and between them is God's mercy, which is the greatest thing we can ask of Him." Al-Ma'mūn set Ibn al-Mahdī free and forgave him. He said: "I consulted all my advisors regarding you; I even consulted my brother Abū Ishāq and my son al-'Abbās. They all advised me to execute you, but I refused to do anything but forgive you." Ibn al-Mahdī replied:<sup>3439</sup> "As for advising you sincerely with respect to the authority of the caliphate and the administration of the realm, this they did; but you refused to seek God's support in the manner that they counseled." Al-Ma'mūn had consulted all his companions about him, and although each had recommended his execution, he said to them, "If I execute him, I shall be following the example of the kings who came before me as regards their treatment of those who opposed them and rose up against them; but if I forgive, I shall be a nation unto myself."<sup>3440</sup>

2:59 Ibn 'Ā'išha—that is, Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb | b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās<sup>3441</sup>—rose in revolt with a group of followers, among them Mālik b. Shāhī al-Niffarī from the people of the Sāwād, and Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ifriqī. They established pay registers, recorded names of fighters, and designated governors. Al-Ma'mūn apprehended him, imprisoning him in al-Maṭbaq.<sup>3442</sup> Ibrāhīm b. 'Ā'išha won over the denizens of al-Maṭbaq and convinced them to rise up and revolt; they converted to Christianity and tied belts around their waists and crosses around their throats.<sup>3443</sup> Muḥammad b. Imrān, the head of intelligence (*ṣāhib al-barīd*) brought word of their activities. Al-Ma'mūn rode at night to al-Maṭbaq when the news was confirmed to him and brought a group of his commanders. He had Ibrāhīm brought forward and ordered him beheaded and his followers executed—they were al-Ifriqī and Faraj al-Baghwārī. Ibn 'Ā'išha was gibbeted in Baghdad and left for three days before being taken down. This took place in the year 210.<sup>3444</sup>

3439 The translation follows the emendation suggested by the Leiden editor.

3440 Arabic *kuntu ummatan waḥdī. Ummah* (nation, people) here has the extended sense of "religious group, kind" (a bit like the Latin *sui generis*). See Lane, *Lexicon*, 1:90.

3441 He was known as Ibn 'Ā'išha after his grandmother, 'Ā'išha bt. Sulaymān b. 'Alī; see the article by Ch. Pellat in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ibn 'Ā'išha.

3442 Described as a subterranean dungeon, this was the principal prison in early Baghdad.

3443 The Arabic (*tanaṣṣarū*) is ambiguous: either "they converted to Christianity" or "they pretended to be Christians."

3444 210 A.H. = April 24, 825 – April 12, 826.

Al-Ma'mūn went from Baghdad to Fam al-Şilh, the home of al-Hasan b. Sahl, and married Bürān, the daughter of al-Hasan b. Sahl.<sup>3445</sup> He celebrated her wedding there, a wedding the like of which had never been seen. Al-Hasan b. Sahl paid the expenses of al-Ma'mūn and his entire entourage—family, officials, companions, and camp followers—for the days that al-Ma'mūn was there, showering them with estates and villages, male and female slaves, horses and mounts. The names of these items were written on slips of paper that were inserted into balls of musk and strewn over the guests. Each person, on receiving a ball, read the slip of paper in it and collected the item from al-Hasan's deputies. He also showered the guests with dirhams and dinars, pieces of musk, and slivers of amber. Al-Ma'mūn remained there for forty days before departing.

In this year, 210, 'Abdallāh b. Tāhir overran Kaysūm, defeated Naṣr b. Shabath, and had him sent to al-Ma'mūn. Ibn Manṣūr b. Ziyād, who as head of 'Abdallāh b. Tāhir's intelligence and postal service (*barīd*) reported on 'Abdallāh's affairs to al-Ma'mūn, recounted that 'Abdallāh b. Tāhir would leave his encampment every evening; Naṣr b. Shabath would come out to meet him, and the two men would meet and talk. Al-Ma'mūn summoned 'Amr b. Mas'ada and ordered him to feign an illness that required him to remain at home. Unbeknownst to anyone, he was to take fifteen horses of the postal service, make his way to 'Abdallāh b. Tāhir, and say to him: "You son of a whore! The Commander of the Faithful has a mind to order the purchase<sup>3446</sup> of a black slave, send him to fill your post, and have you serve as his groom." He ordered 'Amr not to greet 'Abdallāh or listen to his reply. So 'Amr set out. When he met with 'Abdallāh, he did not greet him until he had conveyed the message to him publicly before the people. Then he departed without listening to any reply from 'Abdallāh. On the fortieth day after 'Amr's mission, Naṣr b. Shabath arrived.

'Abdallāh set out methodically through the provinces of Syria, making certain in each one to round up the heads of the tribes and clans, the vagabonds (*şa'ālīk*) and the brigands (*zawāqīl*).<sup>3447</sup> He razed fortresses and city walls,

3445 The copyist of M omitted the words "and married Bürān, the daughter of al-Hasan b. Sahl," apparently by homoeoteleuton. The words were added in the margin of C and therefore appear in ed. Leiden. For a list of other accounts of the wedding celebrations, see the article by Katherine H. Lang in *EI*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. Bürān.

3446 The translation follows the apparent reading of M, *an ya'mura bi-shirā* (the last word is unclear); ed. Leiden emends the reading of C to *an yu'amira* (to appoint as commander), noting in the apparatus that another word follows, but implying that it has been miscopied and makes no sense.

3447 On the *şa'ālīk* and *zawāqīl* (translated here as 'vagabonds' and 'brigands,' although the

issued guarantees of safe-conduct to the Black, the White, and the Red,<sup>3448</sup> and brought all of them together.<sup>3449</sup> He saw to the needs of the provinces, in some cases lowering the land tax. There remained not one opponent or rebel who did not come down from his citadel and fortress. ‘Abdallāh proceeded with all these forces to Egypt, where ‘Alī b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Jarawī, who was in control of Lower Egypt, met him and told him that he, along with his father, had never ceased | to be obedient. ‘Abdallāh accepted his assurances and included him in his party; finally, having encamped at Bilbays, ‘Abdallāh fought several battles against ‘Ubaydallāh b. al-Sarī. One by one, ‘Ubaydallāh’s men requested safe-conduct, until not one of his original supporters remained at his side. Seeing this, ‘Ubaydallāh sought a guarantee of safe-conduct, on condition that he be allowed to keep what he had collected, along with permission to collect two months’ revenue from Upper Egypt. ‘Abdallāh granted the request and the guarantee of safety, saying: “Even if he had demanded that I lay my cheek on the ground for him to tread on, I would have done it. It would have been a small price to pay for my preferred course of preventing bloodshed.” ‘Ubaydallāh surrendered to him ten (nights) remaining in the month of Ṣafar in the year 211.<sup>3450</sup>

‘Abdallāh b. Tāhir entered al-Fustāṭ and wrote (to al-Ma’mūn) of his victory. ‘Abdallāh b. Tāhir retained ‘Ubaydallāh b. al-Sarī as governor of Upper Egypt for two months. He then sent him to Iraq and appointed al-‘Abbās b. Hāshim [b.] Bātijūr<sup>3451</sup> over the region.

A group of Andalusians had gained control over Alexandria. ‘Abdallāh marched against them and imposed a strict siege on the city. Then he gave them a guarantee of safe-conduct and took Alexandria in the year 212.<sup>3452</sup> He appointed Ilyās b. Asad al-Khurāsānī over the city and went back to al-Fustāṭ.

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terms may be synonymous), see the article by P. M. Cobb in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Zawākīl*, and the article by A. Arazi in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Şu'lük*; also the general article by C. E. Bosworth in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Naṣr b. Shabath*.

3448 The Black refers to the partisans of the ‘Abbāsids; the White refers to partisans of the Umayyads; and the Red refers to the Qaysī Arabs, each group designated by the colors of its banners or garments.

3449 The suggestion seems to be that elements from the various groups were incorporated into ‘Abdallāh’s army, although it is also possible that he held individuals from each group as hostages as a means to win compliance from each group.

3450 20 Ṣafar 211 = June 1, 826.

3451 The Leiden editor has added *ibn* before *Bātijūr*; the reading of the name is uncertain.

3452 212 A.H. = April 2, 827 – March 21, 828.

Then he returned to Iraq, taking with him ('Alī b. 'Abd al-'Azīz) al-Jarawī and a number of people from Egypt and Syria. He appointed Īsā b. Yazīd al-Julūdī as his deputy for Egypt.

Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-'Umarī, a descendent of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, had risen up in Yemen, expelling Muḥammad b. Nāfi' and seizing the treasury. Al-Ma'mūn appointed Abū l-Rāzī Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd over Yemen. When he arrived, al-'Umarī pleaded for a guarantee of safe-conduct, which he gave him. But then Abū l-Rāzī tricked him and arrested him, along with a group of his family members and his sons. He bound them in irons and sent them to al-Ma'mūn, and he required the people of Yemen to pay two years of land tax that had been collected by Ibn al-'Umarī. He summoned Ibrāhīm b. Abī Ja'far al-Ḥimyarī, who was known as al-Munājī,<sup>3453</sup> from his fortified mountain redoubt, ordering him to come to him. When al-Munājī did not come, Abū l-Rāzī marched against him, seeking him out. When Abū l-Rāzī reached the mountain, he traveled along a narrow trail where Ibn Abī Ja'far attacked him, killing him and a number of his men and capturing others. He cut off their hands and feet and released them. Ibrāhīm b. Abī Ja'far took control of Yemen and sacked the capital. This took place in the year 212.

'Abdallāh b. Mālik al-Khuzaī died in Dhū l-Hijja of this year.<sup>3454</sup> In the same year many fires occurred in al-Karkh.<sup>3455</sup>

Al-Ma'mūn had appointed Tāhir b. Muḥammad al-Ṣan'ānī over Armenia and Azerbaijan—others say rather that Harthama b. A'yan had sent him from<sup>3456</sup> Hamadhān while he was making his way to Iraq. Al-Ṣan'ānī went to Warthān, a district of Azerbaijan. After he wrote to the commanders of Armenia and the notables of its army, they swore allegiance to al-Ma'mūn. The official there who had been appointed by the Deposed One<sup>3457</sup> was Ishāq b. Sulaymān. With him were 'Umar, al-Ḥazūn, Narsī, 'Abd al-Rahmān (the chief [*bitrīq*] of Arrān), and a number of other local notables (*batāriqa*). He approached, hoping to reach Bardha'a in order to punish its inhabitants for having driven out his son. Tāhir, al-Ma'mūn's governor, sent Zuhayr b. Sinān al-Tamīmī against them at the head of a large force. The armies met and fought | for the greater part of a day. Ishāq b. Sulaymān and his companions were defeated, and his son Ja'far b. Ishāq b.

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3453 This is the apparent reading of M; ed. Leiden, *al-Munākhī* (but with note that the word is written without dots in C).

3454 Dhū l-Hijja 212 = February 21, 828 – March 21, 828.

3455 A Baghdad neighborhood west of the Tigris and south of the Round City.

3456 The MSS read *ilā* (to); *min* (from) is the Leiden editor's emendation.

3457 That is, al-Amīn.

Sulaymān was captured. [Tāhir sent him]<sup>3458</sup> and the others taken prisoner with him to al-Ma'mūn.

Tāhir al-Şan'ānī had been there only a few days when 'Abd al-Malik b. al-Jahhāf al-Sulamī rebelled against him, rising up among<sup>3459</sup> the people of al-Baylaqān. They trapped Tāhir in the city of Bardha'a, where he remained besieged for a number of months. When word of this reached al-Ma'mūn, he appointed Sulaymān b. Aḥmad b. Sulaymān al-Hāshimī, who arrived in the province while Tāhir was under siege. He brought him out, dismissed him, and granted a guarantee of safety to 'Abd al-Malik.<sup>3460</sup> Order in the region was restored. Al-Ma'mūn then appointed Ḥātim b. Harthama b. A'yan over Armenia. He arrived in the province after strife had broken out between the Mu'tazila and the Jamā'a,<sup>3461</sup> with members of each faction killing one another. The factions nearly destroyed each other before a settlement was reached between them. Ḥātim b. Harthama was in the province for only a few days before he received word of the death of his father Harthama and the circumstances in which he perished. He left Bardha'a and settled in Kisāl,<sup>3462</sup> where he built a fortress and took steps to renounce (his allegiance). He wrote to the leaders (*baṭāriqa*) and notables of Armenia and to Bābak and the Khurramiyya,<sup>3463</sup> disparaging the rule of the Muslims in their eyes.

3458 Added by the Leiden editor.

3459 Accepting the emendation of the Leiden editor (*fī*); the MSS read *min* (from).

3460 The referents of the pronouns in this very terse sentence are unclear. It is quite possible that they do not all refer to the same subject, Sulaymān, but rather that *Sulaymān* brought *Tāhir* out of siege, whereupon *Tāhir* dismissed *Sulaymān* and granted a guarantee of safety to 'Abd al-Malik. This, however, is not the obvious sense of the Arabic.

3461 That is, between those who adhered to the theological positions of the Mu'tazilite school and those who adhered to the Jamā'a (Consensus, Unity). The central point of difference between the two groups at this time was the question of whether the Qur'ān had been created or whether it was eternal. Over this question al-Ma'mūn would institute a test (*mīhnā*) for judges in 218/833, requiring judges to swear to the Mu'tazilite position that the Qur'ān was created, not eternal. See the article by M. Hinds in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Mīhnā*.

3462 As corrected by the Leiden editor. The MSS here read "Kaysān," but subsequently refer to the place as Kisāl. Al-Balādhuri, *Futūh*, 207, refers to a place named Kisāl 40 farsakhs from Bardha'a and 20 farsakhs from Tiflīs.

3463 On this religious movement with roots in the teachings of Mazdak and on the major anti-Arab rebellion led by Bābak in its name, see the articles by W. Madelung in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Khurramiyya*, and by Patricia Crone in *EI*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. Bābak; also, Crone, *Nativist Prophets of Early Islamic Iran*, 46–76.

Bābak and the Khurramiya became active, and Bābak gained control in the province of Azerbaijan. When news of this reached al-Ma'mūn, he appointed Yahyā b. Mu'ādh b. Muslim, a client (*mawlā*) of the Banū Dhuhl, over Armenia. [...]<sup>3464</sup> and he did so. Yahyā b. Mu'ādh launched a series of attacks but failed each time to defeat Bābak. Al-Ma'mūn had given safe-conduct to<sup>3465</sup> Īsā | b. Muḥammad b. Abī Khālid, the officer who had taken part in the fighting in the days of the Deposed One (al-Amin). When Yahyā (b. Mu'ādh's) efforts came to nothing, al-Ma'mūn appointed Īsā over Armenia and Azerbaijan, ordering him to equip the men and pay their salaries from his own funds. Īsā b. Muḥammad therefore equipped them using his own funds. These were the forces whose district was located in the City of Peace (Baghdad); when he marched out, there remained in Baghdad not a single member of the army of al-Harbiyya who had participated in the civil war.

When Īsā b. Muḥammad reached the province, Muḥammad b. al-Rawwādī<sup>3466</sup> b. al-Muthannā<sup>3467</sup> and all of the chiefs of the region joined him. He set out energetically against Bābak, but he took a route through a narrow pass where Bābak attacked him and defeated him. Īsā retreated quickly, stopping for nothing, whereupon one of the toughs<sup>3468</sup> from al-Harbiyya shouted to him, "Where are you headed, Abū Mūsā?" He replied, "We have no luck fighting these people; we are feared only when we fight the Muslims." He withdrew from Azerbaijan to Armenia, where Sawāda b. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Jahhāfi had risen in revolt. Īsā proposed appointing him as governor of Armenia but al-Jahhāfi refused, choosing instead to do battle. So Īsā fought and defeated him, though with some difficulty. Armenia came under the control of Īsā b. Muḥammad.

The affair of Bābak reached formidable proportions<sup>3469</sup> in al-Badhdh. Al-Ma'mūn appointed Zurayq b. 'Alī b. Ṣadaqa al-Azdī, but he accomplished nothing. He then appointed Ibn Ḥumayd al-Tūsī. When Zurayq learned that he had been stripped of his post, he renounced his allegiance and rose in rebellion. When Muḥammad b. Ḥumayd reached the province, Zurayq fought him, but

<sup>3464</sup> Text has apparently dropped out of the MSS, although there is no visible lacuna.

<sup>3465</sup> Reading with M, *ammana*; ed. Leiden (following C), reads *amara* (had ordered), adding in a note: "The context requires: to bring him aid with al-Harbiyya."

<sup>3466</sup> Suggested reading.

<sup>3467</sup> Sic apparently M.

<sup>3468</sup> Arabic *shuṭṭār*. On the term, see Bosworth, *The History of al-Tabari*, xxxii, 55 and note 178.

<sup>3469</sup> The MSS read *ista'mala* (he/it used), which makes no sense; ed. Leiden emends to *ista'zama* (he deemed great, weighty). A more likely emendation based on the graphic similarity of the two words is *istafhala* (it became great, formidable).

Muhammad killed his men. Zurayq sought a guarantee of safety, which Ibn Ḥumayd granted him and then sent him to al-Ma'mūn. Muḥammad b. Ḥumayd remained until | he had rid the province of all whose malevolence he feared. When he was in a position to make war on Bābak, he readied his forces to fight him. He marched against him and engaged Bābak in heavy fighting, in all of which he gained victory. Then, however, he ventured into a narrow, rugged place, and so Ibn Ḥumayd and a contingent of his troops went on foot.<sup>3470</sup> At this point Bābak's men attacked them, killing Muḥammad (b. Ḥumayd) and a number of his officers, and the army was routed.

Mahdī b. Aṣram, a relative of Ibn Ḥumayd, assumed command of the army—this was early in the year 214.<sup>3471</sup> When Muḥammad b. Ḥumayd was killed, al-Ma'mūn appointed 'Abdallāh b. Ṭahir, entrusting him with the regions of al-Jibāl, Armenia, and Azerbaijan. The caliph wrote to the judges and tax officials, ordering them to carry out 'Abdallāh's orders. 'Abdallāh set out and stayed at al-Dīnawar. He wrote to Mahdī b. Aṣram, Muḥammad b. Yūsuf, and 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥabīb, the commanders who had been with Muḥammad b. Ḥumayd, asking them to remain where they were.

When Ṭalha b. Ṭahir died in Khurāsān, al-Ma'mūn appointed 'Abdallāh (b. Ṭahir) to succeed him and sent him his document of appointment with Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm and Yaḥyā b. Aktham, the chief judge (*qāḍī al-quḍāt*).<sup>3472</sup> 'Abdallāh proceeded to Khurāsān in this year, and al-Ma'mūn appointed 'Alī b. Hishām over Azerbaijan and the campaign against Bābak. He appointed 'Abd al-A'lā b. Aḥmad b. Yazīd b. Asīd al-Sulamī over Armenia. He arrived in the province after Muḥammad b. 'Attāb had wrested control over Jurzān and had won the backing of the Ṣanāriyya. 'Abd al-A'lā fought him, but since he had no discipline or knowledge of warfare Ibn 'Attāb defeated him. Al-Ma'mūn then appointed Khālid b. Yazīd b. Mazyad. He led out those of his kinsmen who had been in the army<sup>3473</sup> in Iraq and marched to the Jazīra, where a large number of Rabi'a tribesmen joined him. | Then he proceeded to the province.

When Khālid reached Khilāṭ, Sawāda b. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Jahḥāfi came to him and Khālid granted him a guarantee of safe-conduct. Khālid then pro-

<sup>3470</sup> Reading with M, *tarajjala*; ed. Leiden (following C) has *tarahhalā* (journeyed).

<sup>3471</sup> 214 A.H. = March 11, 829 – February 27, 830.

<sup>3472</sup> According to the parallel in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 3:1102: "They offered him the choice between Khurāsān on the one hand, and Jibāl, Armenia, Azerbaijan and the conduct of the war against Bābak on the other; 'Abdallāh chose Khurāsān, and set off towards it." (Trans. Bosworth, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, XXXII, 182).

<sup>3473</sup> Reading with M, *al-jaysh*, although the first and last letters are undotted and ambiguous; ed. Leiden (apparently following C) reads *al-habs* (imprisonment).

ceeded to al-Nashawā, where Yazīd b. Ḥiṣn, a client (*mawlā*) of the Banū Muḥārib, had taken control, but Yazīd b. Ḥiṣn fled from him. Having arrived at Kisāl, he encamped there and sent a message to Muḥammad b. ‘Attāb, who, feigning submission, came to him seeking a guarantee of safe-conduct. Khālid [...]<sup>3474</sup> and then said to him, “The Ṣanāriyya are obedient to you!” Muḥammad b. ‘Attāb replied, “They have no obedience to me!” Khālid therefore marched against them. He fell on them near Jurzān, defeated them, and seized their herds. He then offered a settlement, which he granted them for a tribute of three thousand stud-mares and twenty thousand sheep. Only a short time later they [...].<sup>3475</sup> The Qaysiyya rebelled with them and made trouble for Khālid. Among them was ‘Alī b. Yaḥyā al-Armanī. Khālid captured him and some others and dispatched them to al-Ma'mūn, who sent them on to Abū Iṣhāq al-Mu'taṣim, placing them under his command and assigning them a regular stipend.

Afterward, al-Ma'mūn replaced Khālid with ‘Abdallāh b. Maṣād al-Asadī. He summoned Khālid, who feared he had fallen into disgrace<sup>3476</sup> with the caliph, but when he arrived, al-Ma'mūn joined him to his brother al-Mu'taṣim. ‘Abdallāh b. Maṣād al-Asadī arrived in the province but died shortly thereafter, and (al-Ma'mūn)<sup>3477</sup> appointed his son ‘Alī to succeed him. The province grew unstable, and al-Ma'mūn appointed al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī al-Bādhghīsī, who was known as al-[Ma'mūn]ī.<sup>3478</sup> When he arrived, the province was in turmoil. He fought the people of Qal'at [\_\_],<sup>3479</sup> which he overran. He proceeded to Dabīl, where he set up camp. He wrote to Iṣhāq b. Ismā'il b. Shu'ayb al-Tiflīsī, requesting the delivery of funds. Iṣhāq rebuffed him | and sent his messengers back. Al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī therefore marched on Tiflis, but when he drew near to him, Iṣhāq came out and gave him some money, and so al-Ḥasan withdrew.

In 214, al-Ma'mūn appointed his brother Abū Iṣhāq governor of Egypt and the Maghrib and his son al-‘Abbās governor of the Jazīra. When al-‘Abbās arrived in the Jazīra, Bilāl the Khārijite (*al-shārī*) had risen in rebellion. Al-

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<sup>3474</sup> Both MSS show a lacuna here. The Leiden editor conjectured that the missing word is *fa-āmanahu* (so he granted him a safe-conduct).

<sup>3475</sup> Both MSS show a lacuna here.

<sup>3476</sup> Reading with M *shānu'a*; ed. Leiden emends unnecessarily to *su'iya* (had been slandered).

<sup>3477</sup> The subject of the verb is unclear, but the syntax makes al-Ma'mūn likely.

<sup>3478</sup> Both MSS show a lacuna, with only the last two letters of the name (... *nī*) being written. The Leiden editor restored the name on the basis of al-Balādhurī, *Futūh*, 211.

<sup>3479</sup> The name is undotted in both MSS. One possibility is *Dābiqayn*; cf. Yāqūt, s.v. *Dābiq*.

‘Abbās and Abū Ishāq, along with a number of their commanders, joined forces against him, defeated him, and killed him.

The Qaysiyya and Yamāniyya rebelled in the Ḥawf region of Egypt. ‘Isā b. Yazid al-Julūdī fought them, but they defeated him several times. Abū Ishāq (al-Mu’tashim) sent ‘Umayr b. al-Walīd as governor of Egypt to replace al-Julūdī. ‘Umayr fought the tribal forces with great brutality, but then was killed. Al-Ma’mūn ordered Abū Ishāq to proceed in person against them, so he set out from al-Raqqa. He offered them a guarantee of safe-conduct, but when they rejected his offer he attacked and defeated them. He captured ‘Abdallāh b. Julays<sup>3480</sup> al-Hilālī, the head of the Qaysiyya, and ‘Abd al-Salām al-Judhāmī, the head of the Yamāniyya. He beheaded both men and hung their bodies from the Egypt Bridge. He also captured a large number of others, whom he transported to Baghdad. Then Yahyā b. Aktham<sup>3481</sup> slandered al-Mu’tashim to al-Ma’mūn, saying to him, “I have received word that he is working to depose you.” Al-Ma’mūn sent for Abū Ishāq, ordering him to proceed to him and saying he would not move until (Abū Ishāq) appeared before him. Abū Ishāq set out with two hundred mules that he had purchased and whose tails he had clipped. As his deputy in al-Fustāṭ he appointed ‘Abdawayh b. Jabala.

Al-Ma’mūn set out for the land of the Byzantines in Muḥarram of the year 215.<sup>3482</sup> Leading the summer campaign, he seized Ankara, partly through a negotiated agreement, partly by the sword; he laid it waste, and the Patricius Manuel fled from it. Al-Ma’mūn took the fortress of Shamāl,<sup>3483</sup> then withdrew and set up residence | in Damascus. There he received word that the people of al-Basharūd, a district in Egypt, had risen in rebellion. He ordered his brother Abū Ishāq to send out al-Afshīn Ḥaydar b. Kāwūs. He therefore dispatched al-Afshīn, who put an end to their mischief and then marched on to Barqa, whose people had become disobedient. He took Barqa, captured Muslim b. Naṣr b. al-A’war, and returned to Egypt in the year 216.<sup>3484</sup> When the people of the Ḥawf and al-Basharūd resumed their disobedience, he marched against them.

Al-Ma’mūn led an expedition into the land of the Byzantines in the year 216, overrunning twelve fortresses and a number of underground storehouses.<sup>3485</sup>

<sup>3480</sup> On this form of the name, see Morimoto, *Fiscal Administration*, 159.

<sup>3481</sup> The chief judge (*qādī al-quḍāt*) of Baghdad.

<sup>3482</sup> Began February 28, 830.

<sup>3483</sup> Sic MSS; possibly to be identified with the fortress Sinān mentioned in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:1103 (trans. Bosworth, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, XXXII, 186).

<sup>3484</sup> 216 A.H. = February 18, 831 – February 6, 832.

<sup>3485</sup> Arabic *maṭāmīr* (singular, *maṭmūra*). See Bosworth, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, XXXII, 188, n. 580.

Then he received word that the Byzantine emperor (*tāghiyat al-Rūm*) was on the march, so he sent out his son al-'Abbās, who met him and routed him, and God rewarded the Muslims with victory. Theophilus, the Byzantine king (*malik al-Rūm*), dispatched his companion al-Astabaq<sup>3486</sup> to al-Ma'mūn with a letter which he began with his own name. Al-Ma'mūn said: "I will not read a letter from him that he begins with his name," and he sent it back. Then Theophilus, the son of Michael, wrote: "To the Servant of God, the Most Noble of Men, the King of the Arabs, from Theophilus, the son of the late Michael, King of the Romans (*malik al-Rūm*)."<sup>3487</sup> He asked al-Ma'mūn to accept from him 100,000 dinars and the (Muslim) prisoners, 7,000 in number, who were in his possession; he would leave to the Muslims the Byzantine towns and fortresses that (al-Ma'mūn) had conquered, and he would cease hostilities against them for five years. Al-Ma'mūn did not accept this from him. He departed for Kaysūm in the province of the Jazīra in Diyār Muḍar.

Umm Ja'far [bt. Ja'far]<sup>3488</sup> b. al-Manṣūr died on Monday, four (nights) remaining in Jumādā I in the year 216.<sup>3489</sup> The announcement of the death of 'Amr b. Mas'ada in Adhana arrived on the same day. Ṭawq b. Mālik al-Rabaī also died in this year in the month of Ramadān.<sup>3490</sup>

The strength of those fighting al-Afshīn in Egypt—the people of the Hawf, al-Biyamā, and al-Basharūd, all of which are areas of Lower Egypt—increased. Having sent al-Afshīn ahead to fight the people of the Hawf, al-Ma'mūn set out for the lands of Egypt and marched against them in person. He slew and took prisoners at al-Biyamā—they were Copts from al-Basharūd. Al-Ma'mūn sought the opinion of a Mālikī jurist (*faqīh*) in Egypt named al-Ḥārith b. Miskīn<sup>3491</sup> on the matter. He declared: "If they rebelled because of some wrong done to them, their lives and property may not be harmed." Al-Ma'mūn replied: "You are a jackass and Mālik<sup>3492</sup> is even more of a jackass. These are unbelievers (*kuffār*) who have a right to protection (*dhimma*). When they are wronged, they are to

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<sup>3486</sup> This is the apparent reading of M; ed. Leiden, *al-Uṣquf* (the bishop) is unlikely.

<sup>3487</sup> There may be a lacuna in the text.

<sup>3488</sup> Added by ed. Leiden; this was Zubayda, the mother of al-Amīn and stepmother of al-Ma'mūn.

<sup>3489</sup> 26 Jumādā I 216 = July 11, 831.

<sup>3490</sup> Ramadān 216 = October 12 – November 10, 831.

<sup>3491</sup> Al-Ḥārith was among the Egyptian scholars persecuted later in the Miḥna. See, for example, al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, 12:54–58. Also El-Hibri, *Reinterpreting Islamic Historiography*, 140 and note 117, and Morimoto, *Fiscal Administration*, 164–165.

<sup>3492</sup> That is, Mālik b. Anas, the founder of the Mālikī legal school.

appeal to the Imam;<sup>3493</sup> they do not have the right to seek support by [...]<sup>3494</sup> or to shed the blood of Muslims in their own homes.” Al-Ma’mūn seized their leaders and had them transported to Baghdad.

Muhammad b. Abī l-Abbās al-Ṭūsī<sup>3495</sup> and Aḥmad b. Abī Du’ād<sup>3496</sup> slandered Yahyā b. Aktham to al-Ma’mūn in order to curry favor with Abū Ishāq (al-Mu’tasim). Al-Ma’mūn therefore turned against him; he ordered him banished from his camp and stripped of his black garments, and he sent him back to Baghdad and commanded him not to leave his house. Ibn Aktham was escorted out of Egypt by deputies assigned to guard him. Al-Ma’mūn also turned against the commander Ḥasan b. Manṣūr al-Rāfiqī,<sup>3497</sup> whom he banished from his camp. His turning against both men took place on the same day.

Al-Ma’mūn’s stay in Egypt lasted forty-seven days: he arrived on 10 Muḥarram and left with three (nights) remaining in Ṣafar of the year 217.<sup>3498</sup> He went to Damascus on his way back from Egypt and remained there for a number of days. He then proceeded to the Byzantine frontier (*al-thaghr*) and stayed at Adhana, where he established his camp. Abū Sa’id Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Ṭā’ī, ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Ḥabīb, and other associates of Muḥammad b. Ḥumayd al-Ṭūsī who had been in Azerbaijan came to al-Ma’mūn’s court and denounced ‘Alī b. Hishām, charging him with disloyalty and rebelliousness. Al-Abbās b. Sa’id al-Jawharī, ‘Alī b. Hishām’s intelligence chief (*ṣāḥib barīd*), wrote in the same vein. Al-Ma’mūn dispatched ‘Ujayf b. ‘Anbasa, one of his highest commanders, and Aḥmad b. Hishām. ‘Ujayf escorted ‘Alī to Adhana, where al-Ma’mūn ordered him and his brother, al-Ḥusayn b. Hishām, to be beheaded. The person charged with carrying out the deed with his own hand was their nephew, Aḥmad b. al-Khalil b. Hishām. ‘Alī b. Hishām’s head was impaled on a lance for several days, then sent to Barqa, where it was placed in a catapult (*manjanīq*) and hurled into the sea.

2:570 3493 That is, the head of the Muslim community.

3494 There is a lacuna in both mss; the Leiden editor suggested filling it with *bi-asyāfihim* (by their swords) or *bi-anfusihim* (by themselves).

3495 A Khurāṣānian commander in al-Ma’mūn’s army, from a family which had been prominent in the ‘Abbāsid revolution, and brother-in-law of Tāhir b. al-Ḥusayn; see Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 174.

3496 Aḥmad b. Abī Du’ād (the name is pointed as Duwād in the text of ed. Leiden, but as Du’ād in the index; M wrongly writes Dāwūd) was a Mu’tazili scholar who later served as chief judge for al-Mu’tasim; see the article by John P. Turner in *EI*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. Aḥmad b. Abī Du’ād.

3497 Al-Kindī, *Kitāb al-Umarā'*, has “al-Rāfi‘ī.”

3498 That is, from February 16 to April 3, 832.

Al-Ma'mūn invaded Byzantine territory in this year, 217<sup>3499</sup>—as far as a Byzantine fortress known as Lu'lū'a.<sup>3500</sup> He besieged it for a time but was unable to capture it. He had two fortresses built there, to which he assigned Abū Ishāq and the infantry. Then he turned back to a village called Salaghūs.<sup>3501</sup> Over his fortress he assigned Aḥmad b. Bisṭām; Abū Ishāq (al-Mu'taṣim) assigned Muḥammad b. Faraj b. Abī l-Layth b. al-Faḍl over his fortress. Al-Ma'mūn provided them with a year's worth of supplies. Al-Ma'mūn appointed 'Ujayf b. 'Anbasa over the entire army.<sup>3502</sup> But the Byzantines defending Lu'lū'a outwitted 'Ujayf and captured him, and he remained in their hands for a month. They sent a letter to their emperor, who set out toward them, but God routed him without a fight. The Muslims in the two fortresses took possession of his camp and seized all it contained. When the defenders of Lu'lū'a saw this, and given the toll the siege was exacting upon them, their chief sought a way out. He said to 'Ujayf, "I will let you go provided that you get me a safe-conduct from al-Ma'mūn." 'Ujayf gave him his word that he would do so. | The Byzantine chief added, "I want a hostage," to which 'Ujayf replied, "I will have my sons brought to you." He ordered his deputy to send him two Christian houseboys clad in breastplates<sup>3503</sup> and mounted on horses and to send with them a group of young Christian slaves dressed as Muslims. His deputy carried out the order. 'Ujayf gave the hostages to the Byzantines and left. When he reached camp, he wrote back: "The hostages in your hands are Christians and you can do what you like with them." The Byzantine chief wrote back to 'Ujayf: "Keeping faith is a good thing, better than *your* religion!" 'Ujayf got them the safe-conduct; then he took the fortress and settled Muslims there.

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In the year 218,<sup>3504</sup> al-Ma'mūn went to Damascus, where he tested people concerning God's justice and unity.<sup>3505</sup> He sent letters to have jurists from Iraq

3499 217 A.H. = February 7, 832 to January 26, 833.

3500 Greek Loulon, a fortress whose site is marked today by Ulu Kisla northwest of Adana (Bosworth, *The History of al-Tabarī*, XXXXII, 194, note 603).

3501 The name is corrupt in both MSS; the Leiden editor restored it on the basis of al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 3:111, and other citations of the name. Salaghūs was a fortress beyond Tarsus (Bosworth, *The History of al-Tabarī*, XXXXII, 197, note 614).

3502 Arabic *jami'a al-nās* (all the men) is a bit cryptic.

3503 The reading is uncertain.

3504 218 A.H. = January 27, 833 – January 15, 834.

3505 Arabic *imtaḥana l-nās fī l-'adl wa-l-tawḥīd*. Thus al-Ya'qūbī begins his account of the episode usually referred to as the Miḥna. The verb *imtaḥana* (he tested) is related to the word *mihna* (a testing), which is used to describe this attempt to enforce uniformity, particularly among holders of judicial office (*al-nās*, 'the people' here should be taken

and elsewhere sent to him, and he interrogated them about the createdness of the Qur'ān and condemned as an unbeliever anyone who abstained, saying that the Qur'ān was uncreated.<sup>3506</sup> He wrote that such a person's testimony should not be accepted.<sup>3507</sup> All but a small handful affirmed this position. In the headings of his letters al-Ma'mūn wrote: "In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate." He was the first caliph to affix the formula to documents issued by the caliphs and to pronounce the formula "God is great" at the close of every canonical prayer, which henceforth became customary practice (*sunna*). He also altered (the hanging of) banners at the times of prayer and removed the enclosures<sup>3508</sup> from the congregational mosques, declaring this to have been a practice introduced by Mu'āwiya.

Bishr b. al-Walid al-Kindī, al-Ma'mūn's judge in Baghdad, had ordered that a man charged with having cursed Abū Bakr and 'Umar be beaten and paraded around on camelback in public.<sup>3509</sup> When al-Ma'mūn arrived (in Baghdad), he assembled the jurists and declared, "I have looked into your ruling,<sup>3510</sup> Bishr, and I find that you committed fifteen errors in it." He then turned to the jurists and asked, "Is there any among you who has realized this?" They replied, "What are they, Commander of the Faithful?" | Al-Ma'mūn asked, "Bishr, on what

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in the sense of officials, not the populace generally), on certain theological questions. The question of God's justice ('*adl*) was raised by the Mu'tazilite school to defend man's free will; for if God predestined human actions and then punished the sinner, He would be acting unjustly, and it would be blasphemous to attribute injustice to God. The question of the Qur'ān's creation had implications for God's unity and uniqueness (*tawhīd*); for if the Qur'ān was uncreated, it would be coeternal with God, and this, according to the Mu'tazilite school, would violate the principle of *tawhīd*. See the article by M. Hinds in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Mihna*, and the article by Richard C. Martin in *EI*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. Createdness of the Qur'ān.

<sup>3506</sup> The Arabic as it reads now appears to mean "those who abstained from saying the Qur'ān was uncreated." Various emendations have been proposed, but the above translation, taking the clause "saying ..." as in apposition to the verb "abstained," not as its object, is possible and avoids the need to emend.

<sup>3507</sup> In other words, such a person, being an unbeliever, was unqualified to deliver trustworthy testimony in court and *a fortiori* unqualified to be a judge of others.

<sup>3508</sup> Arabic *maqāṣir*, plural of *maqṣira*: the enclosure meant to screen the caliph from the eyes of ordinary worshippers.

<sup>3509</sup> The cursing of Abū Bakr, 'Umar (and 'Uthmān) as usurpers of the leadership of the community that ought to have devolved immediately on 'Alī b. Abī Tālib was a mark of the Shī'a.

<sup>3510</sup> Reading with M, *qadā'i ka*; ed. Leiden, *qadiyyatika* (your case).

grounds did you carry out the punishment of this man?"<sup>3511</sup> Bishr replied, "For his having cursed Abū Bakr and 'Umar." Al-Ma'mūn asked, "Did the parties aggrieved by him<sup>3512</sup> appear before you?" "No," he replied. Al-Ma'mūn asked, "Did they appoint you as their agent?" "No," he replied. Al-Ma'mūn asked, "Is it permissible for a judge to carry out the punishment for slander<sup>3513</sup> without a plaintiff in attendance?" "No," replied Bishr. Al-Ma'mūn asked, "Were you sure that some member of the family would not yield what he was entitled to, so that the punishment would be cancelled?" "No," he replied. Al-Ma'mūn asked, "And were the mothers of the parties in question unbelievers or Muslims?"<sup>3514</sup> "No," he replied, "they were unbelievers." Al-Ma'mūn asked, "Is the punishment regarding (slandering) a Muslim woman to be imposed for (slandering) an unbelieving woman?"<sup>3515</sup> "No," he replied. Al-Ma'mūn asked, "Suppose that you carried out the punishment in accordance with the rightful claims of Abū Bakr and 'Umar, did two sound witnesses testify before you?" Bishr replied, "The good standing of one of the two witnesses was attested." Al-Ma'mūn asked, "But can such a sentence be imposed in the absence of *two* reliable witnesses?" "No," replied Bishr. Al-Ma'mūn asked, "Furthermore, you executed the sentence during Ramadān: Are *hadd* punishments carried out during the month of Ramadān?" "No," replied Bishr. Al-Ma'mūn asked, "Also, you had the defendant flogged while he was standing: Is the person who receives the *hadd* to be punished while standing?" "No," replied Bishr. Al-Ma'mūn asked, "Then you had him suspended between two posts: Is the person who receives the *hadd* to be thus suspended?" "No" replied Bishr. Al-Ma'mūn asked, "Furthermore, you had him flogged while naked: Is the person who receives the *hadd* to be stripped naked?" "No," replied Bishr. Al-Ma'mūn asked, "Then you had him put on a camel and paraded around: Is the person who receives the *hadd* to be paraded around?" "No," replied Bishr. Al-Ma'mūn asked, "Then you imprisoned him after carrying out the *hadd* punishment against him: Is the person who receives the *hadd* punishment to be jailed after receiving the *hadd*?" "No," replied Bishr. Al-Ma'mūn declared: "God shall not see me assume the burden of your sin

<sup>3511</sup> Literally, "impose the *hadd* punishment," specifically, the punishment prescribed for slander (*qadhf*).

<sup>3512</sup> That is, Abū Bakr and 'Umar.

<sup>3513</sup> Reading with M *firyā*, common synonym in *fiqh* works for *qadhf*.

<sup>3514</sup> That is, the mothers of Abū Bakr and 'Umar. Apparently their mothers died before they had a chance to accept Islam.

<sup>3515</sup> From this one can infer that the alleged insult against Abū Bakr and 'Umar was that their mothers were adulteresses.

and be party to your crime. Take off his clothes, and bring out the one he had flogged,<sup>3516</sup> so that he can exact his due from him."

The jurists in attendance said to al-Ma'mūn: "All praise be to God who has led you to exact His justice and to know His law. You speak the truth and act in accordance with it; you command justice and chastise those who would stray from it. This man, Commander of the Faithful, is a judge who used his judgment but erred. Do not impugn the magistrates because of him or shame the judges because of him." Al-Ma'mūn therefore ordered that Bishr be kept under house arrest until his death.

2:573 A group of the descendants of al-Hasan and al-Husayn petitioned al-Ma'mūn, saying that Fadak<sup>3517</sup> had been given to Fātīma by the Messenger of God and that Fātīma had asked Abū Bakr, following the death of the Prophet, to hand over the property to her; Abū Bakr had asked that she bring witnesses to support her claim, and she had brought 'Alī, al-Hasan, al-Husayn, and Umm Ayman.<sup>3518</sup> Al-Ma'mūn assembled the jurists and asked them about ...<sup>3519</sup> They reported that Fātīma had indeed said this and that the persons in question had testified on her behalf, but that Abū Bakr had not accepted their testimony. Al-Ma'mūn asked them, "What do you say regarding Umm Ayman?" They replied, "A woman to whom the Messenger of God promised Paradise!" Al-Ma'mūn spoke at great length on the matter, pressing his argument on them, until they granted that 'Alī, al-Hasan, and al-Husayn never testified except truly. Once they had reached consensus about this, al-Ma'mūn returned Fadak to the descendants of Fātīma and put it in writing. Fadak was handed over to Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. al-Husayn b. Zayd b. 'Alī b. al-Husayn b. 'Alī b. Abī Tālib and Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Hasan b. 'Alī b. al-Husayn b. 'Alī b. Abī Tālib.

Al-Ma'mūn invaded the land of the Byzantines in the year 218. He had made preparations to lay siege to Amorion,<sup>3520</sup> declaring, "I will send messengers to

3516 Reading with M, *al-majlūd*; ed. Leiden, *al-mahdūd* (the person subjected to the *hadd*).

3517 Fadak was a small town in the northern Ḥijāz, two or three days' journey from Medina. The lawsuit described here was part of a long controversy going back to the days of Abū Bakr and extending beyond the reign of al-Ma'mūn. For a summary of it, see the article by L. Veccia Vaglieri in *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Fadak.

3518 Umm Ayman (Baraka) was an Abyssinian woman who had been Muḥammad's nurse and who became the wife of his adopted son Zayd b. Ḥāritha, to whom she bore Usāma b. Zayd. See Ibn Qutayba, *Kitāb al-Ma'ārif*, 70–71.

3519 Lacuna in both MSS.

3520 Arabic *Ammūriyya* (also known by the Latin form Amorium). This was a Byzantine stronghold in Phrygia, situated on the great Byzantine military road from Constantinople to Cilicia, southeast of Dorylaeum, southwest of Ankara, and south of the Upper

the Arab tribes, bring them from the deserts, and settle them in each town that I conquer until I reach Constantinople itself." An envoy from the Byzantine ruler came to him to propose a cessation of violence and a truce and the handing over of the prisoners in his possession, but al-Ma'mūn did not accept. Having drawn near Lu'lū'a, he advanced.<sup>3521</sup> He remained there for a few days and then died at a place called al-Budnadūn between Lu'lū'a and Tarsus. His death occurred on Thursday, thirteen (nights) remaining [in Rajab in the year]<sup>3522</sup> 218. He was forty-eight years and four | months old. His brother Abū Ishāq (al-Mu'taṣim) prayed over him, and he was buried in the house of Khāqān the Eunuch (*al-khādim*). His caliphate from the day he was greeted as caliph during the lifetime of the Deposed One (al-Amīn) until his death had lasted twenty-two years, and from the slaying of the Deposed One twenty years, five months, and twenty-five days.

The persons with the greatest influence over al-Ma'mūn during his caliphate were Dhū al-Ri'āsatayn (al-Faḍl b. Sahl), then a number of others, including al-Ḥasan b. Sahl, Aḥmad b. Abī Khālid, and Aḥmad b. Yūsuf. Al-'Abbās b. al-Musayyab b. Zuhayr was in charge of his security services (*shurāṭ*); then he dismissed him and appointed Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn, then 'Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir. He<sup>3523</sup> appointed Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm as his deputy in Baghdad, and Ishāq in turn sent his brother [Ṭāhir] b. Ibrāhīm as his deputy over his security services (*shurāṭ*). In charge of his palace guard (*haras*) was Shabīb b. Humayd b. Qaḥṭaba; then he dismissed him and appointed him over Qūmis, and to replace him he selected Harthama b. A'yan, followed by 'Abd al-Wāhid b. Salāma al-Tahāwī,<sup>3524</sup> a relative of Harthama; then 'Alī b. Hishām, whom he later killed; then he appointed 'Ujayf b. 'Anbasa. The post of chamberlain (*hijāba*) was held by Aḥmad b. Hishām, and 'Alī b. Sāliḥ was the keeper of the prayer rug (*sāhib al-muṣallā*).

He left sixteen sons: Muḥammad, Ismā'il, 'Alī, al-Ḥasan, Ibrāhīm, Mūsā, Hārūn, Īsā, Aḥmad, al-'Abbās, al-Faḍl, al-Ḥusayn, Ya'qūb, Ja'far, Muḥammad

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Sangarios. The circumstances of its ultimate capture and destruction by the Muslims under al-Mu'taṣim in 223/838 will be described by al-Ya'qūbī below, ed. Leiden, 2:580–581.

<sup>3521</sup> Possible lacuna in the text.

<sup>3522</sup> The words in brackets have fallen out of the MSS and were restored by the Leiden editor on the basis of al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 3:218. 17 Rajab 218 = August 8, 833; other dates, all within the month of Rajab, are given by other sources.

<sup>3523</sup> Probably 'Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir.

<sup>3524</sup> Suggested reading for M; ed. Leiden gives the name as al-Tahlāzī.

the elder (whose mother was Mu'allala and who died during his lifetime), Muhammad the younger, and 'Ubaydallāh—the mother of the last two was Umm 'Isā, the daughter of Mūsā l-Hādī.

### The Days of al-Mu'taṣim Bi-llāh

Abū Ishaq Muhammad b. al-Rashid, whose mother was a slave concubine (*umm walad*) named Mārida, assumed office. The commanders and troops that had accompanied al-Ma'mūn swore allegiance to him, as did al-'Abbās b. al-Ma'mūn, on Friday, 12 nights remaining in Rajab of the year 218.<sup>3525</sup>

On that day the Sun was in Leo, 13° 40'; Saturn in Libra, 15° 40'; Jupiter in Sagittarius, 1° 10'; Mars in Sagittarius, 4° 35'; Mercury in Leo, 26° 20', retrograde; Venus in Virgo, 8° 20', retrograde; and the Ascending Node in Aries, 10°.

Some commanders held off from swearing allegiance because of the presence of al-'Abbās b. al-Ma'mūn.<sup>3526</sup> Al-'Abbās came out from his tent to meet them and addressed them with words on account of which they deemed him to be a fool; so they reviled him and swore allegiance to Abū Ishaq.

Al-Mu'taṣim left the frontier for Iraq. When he reached al-Raqqa, he appointed Ghassān b. 'Abbād over the Jazira, Qinnasrīn, and al-'Awāsim and went on to Baghdad, arriving on Saturday, the first day of the month of Ramadān.<sup>3527</sup> His troops were wearing gilded embroidery.<sup>3528</sup> He retained al-Ma'mūn's officials in their offices for three months before replacing them.

The Muhammira rose in revolt in al-Jabal.<sup>3529</sup> They murdered, committed highway robbery, terrorized travelers, and waylaid the pilgrimage caravan from Khurāsān, attacking the pilgrims and killing a number of them. Al-Mu'taṣim sent Hāshim b. Bānjūr<sup>3530</sup> against them, but in the ensuing clash they defeated

3525 18 Rajab 218 = August 9, 833.

3526 The implication is that although al-Ma'mūn had not formally designated his son al-'Abbās as heir, the general expectation was that he was to succeed his father. Cf. the parallel in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 3:1164 (trans. Bosworth, *The History of al-Tabari*, XXXIII, 1 and note 2).

3527 September 20, 833.

3528 The likely reference is to al-Mu'taṣim's Turkish troops (see below). Other Arabic sources contain references to their golden belts.

3529 Al-Ya'qūbi has already mentioned a revolt by this group of Iranian rebels ("wearers of red") during the reign of al-Mahdi (see above, ed. Leiden, 2:479, and the note there). Cf. the parallel in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 3:1165.

3530 The name of the man's father, who has been mentioned above (ed. Leiden 2:465), is

Hāshim. Al-Mu'tاشim therefore sent Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm at the head of an army. Ishāq appointed his brother<sup>3531</sup> Tāhir as his deputy over the police forces and set out. He met their forces in battle, killed a great number of them, | and stayed long enough to establish order in the province, but only after having considerable difficulty with them.

Muhammad b. al-Qāsim b. ‘Alī b. ‘Umar b. ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī stirred up trouble in al-Tālaqān and attracted a following.<sup>3532</sup> ‘Abdallāh b. Tāhir therefore sent one of his lieutenants against him. When the latter caught up with him, Muhammad b. al-Qāsim fled from al-Tālaqān to Nīshāpūr. According to some reports the people seized him and he had no choice in the matter. ‘Abdallāh b. Tāhir arrested him and took him to al-Mu'tاشim, who imprisoned him in his palace. He escaped from it on the eve of (the Feast of) al-Fiṭr in the year 219,<sup>3533</sup> and though they pursued him they could not capture him.

The Zuṭṭ<sup>3534</sup> rebelled in the marshlands (*al-baṭā’ih*) between Basra and al-Wāsiṭ and waylaid travelers. Al-Mu'tاشim sent Ahmād b. Saīd b. [Salm b. Qutayba]<sup>3535</sup> al-Bāhili against them, but they defeated him. Al-Mu'tاشim therefore assigned the task to ‘Ujayf (b. ‘Anbasa) in Jumādā I of the year 219.<sup>3536</sup> They sued for a guarantee of safety and made their way to him, having accepted the

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written without dots in the MSS, and various readings have been proposed. Ed. Leiden has Bātijūr, but Bānijūr is more likely; see the article by C. E. Bosworth in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Bānidjūrids.

3531 The MSS here read “his son,” but elsewhere correctly identify Tāhir as Ishāq’s brother (ed. Leiden, 2:574, and below 2:577). Mongi Kaabi provides a useful genealogical chart of the Tāhirid family in *Les Tāhirides*, 1:409.

3532 On the revolt of this ‘Alid, a descendant of al-Ḥusayn through the fourth Imam, ‘Alī Zayn al-Ābidīn, see the parallel in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:1165–1166 (where his grandfather’s name is omitted). He is known as *Šāhib al-Tālaqān* (the Master of al-Tālaqān) after the place of his revolt. For his genealogy, see Kaj Öhrnberg, *The Offspring of Fāṭima*, Table 47.

3533 I.e., the evening at the close of the last day of Ramaḍān 219 = the night of October 8–9, 834.

3534 Al-Yāqūbī has already mentioned this ethnic group as having caused difficulties for the governor of Sind during the caliphate of al-Mahdī (above, ed. Leiden, 2:479–480). Members of the same ethnic group had been transported to the marshes of lower Iraq as laborers as early as Sasanian times, and their numbers were increased during Umayyad times. Cf. the parallel in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:1166–1171 (trans. Bosworth, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, XXXIII, 7–14).

3535 The bracketed words were added by the Leiden editor.

3536 Jumādā I 219 began on May 14, 834.

authority of al-Mu'taṣim. He transported them to Baghdad, where al-Mu'taṣim sanctioned the guarantee of safe-conduct that had been given to them and then settled them in Khāniqīn.

Al-Mu'taṣim became angry with his vizier, al-Faḍl b. Marwān, and seized a number of his associates and confiscated their possessions.<sup>3537</sup> Al-Mu'taṣim sent al-Faḍl to Ishaq b. Ibrāhīm in Baghdad, ordering the latter to seize his possessions.<sup>3538</sup> Ishaq rode with al-Faḍl to the latter's residence, from which he extracted many valuables. Al-Faḍl was then exiled. Rāshid b. Ishaq said in reference to al-Faḍl:

Learn all you need to know of Time's vicissitudes  
from what Fortune's accidents did to al-Faḍl b. Marwān.

Al-Mu'taṣim interrogated Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal with regard to the createdness of the Qur'ān.<sup>3539</sup> Aḥmad said, "I am a man who has acquired knowledge, but in what I have acquired there is nothing concerning this." Al-Mu'taṣim therefore brought the jurists before him. He debated with 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Ishaq and others, but refused to declare that the Qur'ān was created. He was flogged with a number of stripes. Ishaq b. Ibrāhīm said, "Commander of the Faithful, put me in charge of debating him." He replied, "Do with him as you wish." Ishaq said to Aḥmad, "This knowledge that you have acquired, was it revealed to you by an angel or did you learn it from men?" Aḥmad replied, "No, I learned it from men." Ishaq asked, "Bit by bit, or all at once?" Aḥmad replied, "I learned it bit by bit." Ishaq asked, "And is there anything left that you have not learned?" Aḥmad replied, "Yes, there is." Ishaq said, "Then here is one thing you have not learned, and the Commander of the Faithful has taught it to you!" Aḥmad said, "I hold what the Commander of the Faithful holds." Ishaq asked, "Regarding the createdness of the Qur'ān?" Aḥmad replied, "Regarding the createdness of the Qur'ān." He was made to bear witness on the matter, a robe of honor was conferred upon him, and al-Mu'taṣim allowed him to return home.

<sup>3537</sup> Cf. the more detailed account in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 3:1182–1186 (trans. Bosworth, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, XXXIII, 28–35).

<sup>3538</sup> Following M; ed. Leiden has "their possessions."

<sup>3539</sup> The sufferings of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (the eponymous founder of the Ḥanbali school of jurisprudence) at the hands of the Miḥna became a frequent theme for Arabic historians and biographers (although curiously al-Ṭabarī does not mention the episode). For an overview of the literature, see the article by Livnat Holtzman in *EJ*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal.

Al-Mu'tاشim departed for al-Qāṭūl on 15 Dhū l-Qa'da 220.<sup>3540</sup> He mapped out the site of the city that he built and distributed land grants to the notables. He devoted himself to construction until the elite had built fine residences and homes and the marketplaces had been set up. He then departed from al-Qāṭūl for Surra-man-ra'ā.<sup>3541</sup> He stopped at the place where the Dar al-'Āmma now stands—there was a monastery belonging to the Christians there. He bought the land from the inhabitants of the monastery and mapped it out. Then he went to the site of the palace known as al-Jawsaq on the Tigris, and there he built a number of palaces for the commanders and secretaries, giving each site the name of its recipient. He had canals dug on the east side of the Tigris, lands cultivated, waterworks established along the canals, and date palms and other seedlings imported from other regions. Construction commenced in the year 221.<sup>3542</sup> Al-Mu'tاشim built villages to which he brought people from every region, ordering them to cultivate the crops of their native region. He brought in people from the land of Egypt to cultivate papyrus. They produced papyrus there, but it did not turn out to be of the same quality.

Bābak's strength increased—Muhammad b. al-Baīth had allied himself with him and 'Iṣma<sup>3543</sup> al-Kurdī, the lord of Marand,<sup>3544</sup> had become obedient to him. Al-Mu'tاشim sent out Tāhir b. Ibrāhīm, the brother of Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm, the governor of the region, ordering him to campaign against the hostile forces. When he reached the area, Ibn al-Baīth wrote back to al-Mu'tاشim, informing him of his obedience and that he was devising a plot against Bābak and his supporters. He tricked 'Iṣma al-Kurdī, the lord of Marand: he married 'Iṣma's daughter and made his way to Marand to join him. He invited 'Iṣma to his encampment, where he encouraged him and his retinue to drink. As soon as they were drunk, he had them carried at night to his fortress, called Shāhī, and then packed them off to al-Mu'tاشim.<sup>3545</sup> Al-Mu'tاشim rewarded him hand-

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<sup>3540</sup> November 10, 835.

<sup>3541</sup> That is, for Samarra, given here with its fanciful official spelling, which means 'De-lighted Is He Who Has Seen.' Al-Ya'qūbī devotes a long section of the *Geography* to its history and description (ed. Leiden, 255–268); see the article by A. Northedge in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Sāmarra'.

<sup>3542</sup> 221 A.H. = December 26, 835 – December 13, 836.

<sup>3543</sup> The MSS here and below read 'Uqba; corrected by the Leiden editor on the basis of al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 3:1172.

<sup>3544</sup> The MSS here and below read *Marthad*.

<sup>3545</sup> In the parallel in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 3:1172, most of the drunken guests are murdered on the spot or flee, with only 'Iṣma being sent on to al-Mu'tاشim.

somely, showed him special favor, and gave to him [...].<sup>3546</sup> That [was because he informed]<sup>3547</sup> Tāhir b. Ibrāhīm of what he had done and asked him to send him irons and mules, so that he might transport them to him. Tāhir did so, and so Ibn al-Baīth had them transported to al-Mu'taṣim and wrote to inform him about them.

Al-Mu'taṣim became angry with Ishāq (b. Ibrāhīm), saying, "Your brother has shown me nothing; I see daring<sup>3548</sup> on the part of no one except Ibn al-Baīth." He dispatched al-Afshīn Ḥaydar b. Kāwūs al-Uṣrūšanī, assigned him the entire region,<sup>3549</sup> and had funds and stores of weapons sent with him. Following his arrival in al-Jabal, al-Afshīn gathered together all the available irregulars<sup>3550</sup> and local chiefs and then marched on. Battles took place between him and Bābak. Al-Afshīn's<sup>3551</sup> camp was at a place called Barzand; then he made his way to a place called Sādrasb<sup>3552</sup> and continued to battle Bābak for a year, until the snows became great, whereupon he returned to Barzand. He then dispatched his deputy commander to Sādrasb while he himself marched off and sent into each area [...].<sup>3553</sup> [Al-Afshīn proceeded then to Rūdh]<sup>3554</sup> al-Rūdh, where he dug a trench, raised a defensive wall, and set ambushes. Then he marched toward al-Badhdh, on Thursday, 9 Ramadān 222.<sup>3555</sup>

<sup>2:579</sup> Bābak sent a message to al-Afshīn, requesting a parley, | and al-Afshīn agreed. They faced each other across a river. Al-Afshīn offered him a promise of safe-conduct, but Bābak asked for a day's delay. He replied: "You only want to fortify your city. If you want the safe conduct, cross the valley!" Bābak turned away, and the fighting became intense. The Muslims entered the town of al-Badhdh, and Bābak and six of his companions fled. Al-Afshīn released the Muslim prisoners,

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3546 A word may have fallen out.

3547 The bracketed words are the conjectural addition by the Leiden editor.

3548 Reading with M, *al-jur'a*; ed. Leiden, *al-rijla* (strength, vehemence).

3549 Literally, "all that he would pass through."

3550 Arabic *ṣa'ālīk*. See note 3447 above.

3551 The pronoun in al-Ya'qūbī's text ("his camp") is ambiguous, but the parallel in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 3:1172, makes it clear that al-Afshīn's camp is intended.

3552 Sic MSS (but undotted); the Leiden editor conjectures that it may be a copyist's corruption of the place name Hashtādsar ('Eighty Peaks' in Persian) that occurs in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 3:1187, as the site of one of Bābak's encampments.

3553 Lacuna in both MSS.

3554 Conjectural reading by the Leiden editor. Bosworth, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, XXXIII, 37, note 135, argues for a reading Dhū l-Rūdh, which is mentioned by the geographer Ibn Khurdādhbih as being one farsakh from al-Badhdh. In al-Ṭabarī, it appears in the form Darwadh, but elsewhere as Rūdh al-Rūdh.

3555 August 15, 837.

7,600 in number, who had been held in al-Badhdh. Bābak, wearing woolen garments, rode away on a she-mule.<sup>3556</sup>

In an effort to locate Bābak, al-Afshīn wrote to the local chiefs (*baṭāriqa*) in Armenia and Azerbaijan; he promised one million dirhams to anyone who turned him over and that he would forgive their region. Bābak made his way to one such local prince named Sahl b. Sunbāt,<sup>3557</sup> who seized him and wrote to al-Afshīn to tell him. Bābak then was sent on; al-Afshīn took possession of him and wrote (to al-Mu'tاشim) of his victory and of the strategies he had used.<sup>3558</sup> The victory letter was read out, and copies were dispatched to every province in [...],<sup>3559</sup> until (al-Afshīn) pacified the region.<sup>3560</sup> He departed after appointing Minkajūr al-Farghānī, the maternal uncle of his sons, as his deputy and presented himself to al-Mu'tاشim, who was at Samarra.<sup>3561</sup> Having been greeted by the commanders and notables at various stages along the way, he entered Samarra on 2 Ṣafar 223,<sup>3562</sup> with Bābak before him on an elephant. He came before al-Mu'tاشim, who ordered that Bābak's hands and feet be cut off, after which he had him killed and his body gibbeted in Samarra. He had Bābak's brother 'Abdallāh sent to Baghdad, where Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm executed him and gibbeted his body at the head of the bridge on the east side of Baghdad.

Al-Afshīn, upon his arrival in Azerbaijan, had appointed Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Azdī al-Samarqandī over Armenia. Al-Samarqandī arrived in the province with Sahl b. Sunbāt already in revolt in Arrān, over which he had taken control. When al-Samarqandī entered his territory, Sahl attacked him by night and defeated him.

Muḥammad b. 'Ubaydallāh al-Warthānī rebelled in Warthān. Al-Afshīn sent Minkajūr to subdue him, but 'Alī b. Yaḥyā al-Armanī intervened on his behalf; al-Mu'tاشim granted him safe-conduct, and 'Alī b. Yaḥyā brought him (to Samarra). Al-Afshīn then appointed Muḥammad b. Khālid, the Bukhārā-khu-

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<sup>3556</sup> Meaning, it seems, that he disguised himself as a mendicant.

<sup>3557</sup> On this figure see al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 3:1223 (trans. Bosworth, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, XXXIII, 76, n. 205).

<sup>3558</sup> Cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 3:1222–1226, for an extended account of the plot leading to Bābak's arrest.

<sup>3559</sup> Lacuna in both MSS.

<sup>3560</sup> Due to the lacuna, it is unclear whether the text is related to the letters announcing the victory.

<sup>3561</sup> On Minkajūr, see al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 3:1301–1302 (trans. Bosworth, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, XXXIII, 174–175).

<sup>3562</sup> January 3, 838.

dāh,<sup>3563</sup> over Armenia. Following his arrival, he campaigned against<sup>3564</sup> the Ṣanāriyya and got as far as Tiflīs. Ishāq b. Ismā‘il received him cordially and generously. Afterward, al-Afshīn appointed ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Sibā‘ al-Qaysī over Armenia. The inhabitants of the province held such a low view of him that he used to be called “the orphan” because of his ineffectiveness and inability. Al-Mu’taṣim then appointed Khālid b. Yazīd over Armenia and an area of Diyār Rabi‘a. When news of his appointment reached Armenia, each local chief strengthened his fortifications; their fear of him intensified, and they prepared to revolt. Maṇṣūr b. Ḫisāb al-Sabī‘ī, the head of the intelligence and postal service (*ṣāḥib al-barīd*) in Armenia, wrote of these developments to al-Mu’taṣim, who recalled Khālid and ordered that ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn retain his post. But only a few days later, the troops rioted against him in Bardha‘a demanding their pay from him. He replied, “I have nothing; the funds are in the hands of the local people.” He demanded payment from the local people, but they refused, took to their fortresses, exchanged messages with each other, and, joining forces, besieged him in Bardha‘a. Al-Mu’taṣim sent Ḥamdayah b. ‘Alī b. al-Faḍl to the region. He proceeded to al-Nashawā<sup>3565</sup> where Yazīd b. Ḥiṣn came out to him under guarantee of safe-conduct.<sup>3566</sup> He did not act rashly against them out of fear that they would overwhelm him.

The Byzantines entered Zibaṭra<sup>3567</sup> in the year 223,<sup>3568</sup> killing or carrying into captivity everyone in it. When word of this reached al-Mu’taṣim, he rose from his seat in agitation and sat down on the ground.<sup>3569</sup> Having issued a call to arms and prepared the pay roster, | he established his camp that very day at a place called al-‘Uyūn on the west bank of the Tigris. He put Ashnās al-

<sup>3563</sup> A Persian title (Lord of Bukhārā) borne by the hereditary rulers of Bukhārā. As his name indicates, his family had converted to Islam and now served the caliphate. On the role of similar eastern elements in the ‘Abbāsid armies of the time, see Bosworth, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, XXXIII, 49–50, note 159.

<sup>3564</sup> Reading *ḥārabā*, the emendation suggested by the Leiden editor; the MSS read *ṣārat* (they [the Ṣanāriyya] came/became).

<sup>3565</sup> On the reading of the name, see Yāqūt, *Mu’jam al-buldān*, s.v.

<sup>3566</sup> The Leiden editor assumed a lacuna between this sentence and the next, but there is no break in the MSS and the sense does not seem to require the assumption.

<sup>3567</sup> A town in southeastern Anatolia (Greek, Zapetra or Sōzopetra). For a parallel account of the taking of Zibaṭra and the campaign by al-Mu’taṣim that it provoked, see al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rikh*, 3:1234–1256 (trans. Bosworth, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, XXXIII, 93–121).

<sup>3568</sup> 223 A.H. = December 3, 837 – November 22, 838.

<sup>3569</sup> Al-Mu’taṣim’s reaction may have signaled that he would suspend normal activity until the Byzantine attack was avenged.

Turki<sup>3570</sup> in charge of his vanguard and marched off on Thursday, 6 Jumādā I 223,<sup>3571</sup> and entered Byzantine territory. He proceeded toward the region of Amorion, which was one of their greatest cities and well supplied with equipment and troops, and he imposed a tight siege on the city. When word reached the Byzantine monarch,<sup>3572</sup> he marched out at the head of a huge army. When he drew near, al-Mu'tاشim dispatched al-Afshīn with a large army. He met the Byzantine monarch, attacked him, defeated him, and slaughtered a great number of his men.

The Byzantine monarch dispatched a delegation to al-Mu'tاشim that was instructed to say: "Those who did what they did in Zibatra transgressed my command. I will rebuild the city with my own funds and men, return its inhabitants who were taken away, free all prisoners held in Byzantine territory, and send you the parties who acted against Zibatra, with the local nobles (*baṭāriqa*) held responsible."

Amorion was taken on Tuesday, 13 nights remaining in Ramaḍān of the year 223.<sup>3573</sup> Al-Mu'tاشim killed or took captive all who were in the town, and he seized Yātīs, the Byzantine monarch's maternal uncle.<sup>3574</sup> He visited destruction and fire upon all the lands that he passed through as he made his way out of Byzantine territory.

When al-Mu'tاشim reached Adana, he imprisoned al-'Abbās b. al-Ma'mūn because of what he had been told of al-'Abbās's disobedience and sedition and of the gathering of support for him among the commanders. In al-'Abbās's possession he discovered 116,000 dinars; these he ordered distributed to the troops, who were commanded to curse al-'Abbās. The troops were counted, and 80,000 were found to be on the rolls. Each of them was paid two dinars, with al-Mu'tاشim filling out the balance from his own funds. He handed al-'Abbās in shackles over to al-Afshīn for him to be taken away, but when he reached [...],<sup>3575</sup> he died. Some have said that al-Afshīn fed him highly salted food on a very hot day and then denied him water. He was taken to Manbij and buried | there. Al-Mu'tاشim became angry with 'Ujayf b. 'Anbasa, because he was responsible for al-'Abbās's sedition. He ordered him transported from

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<sup>3570</sup> On Ashnās the Turk see Bosworth, *The History of al-Tabarī*, XXXIII, 98, note 281.

<sup>3571</sup> April 5, 838.

<sup>3572</sup> Arabic *tāghiyat al-Rūm* (the tyrant of the Romans); that is, Theophilus son of Michael.

<sup>3573</sup> 17 Ramaḍān 223 = August 12, 838.

<sup>3574</sup> That is, Aetius, the *stratēgos* of the Anatolikon theme; see Bosworth, *The History of al-Tabarī*, XXXIII, 109.

<sup>3575</sup> The name, written without dots in the MSS, is too ambiguous to identify.

Adana bound in heavy chains in a litter of felt<sup>3576</sup> sealed around him and with a massive yoke around his neck. After reaching a place called Bā‘aynāthā, a day’s journey from Naṣībīn, Ibn ‘Anbasa died and was buried there. His son, Ṣāliḥ b. ‘Ujayf, asked that his relationship to his father be disavowed and that he be called Ṣāliḥ al-Mu‘taṣimī. He cursed his father and rejected all association with him.

Al-Māzyār—he was Muḥammad b. Qārin b. Bundādhurmuz<sup>3577</sup>—was the Iṣbahbadh of Ṭabaristān. He had come to al-Ma’mūn following the death of his father and his paternal uncle’s assumption of authority over the kingdom of Ṭabaristān. Al-Ma’mūn assigned him two of the towns of Ṭabaristān and wrote to his uncle ordering him to turn them over to him. Al-Māzyār departed for Ṭabaristān, but when word of this reached his uncle, the latter, troubled and angry, came out as if to meet with him. Accompanying al-Māzyār was a client (*mawlā*) of his father’s, a man of experience. He said to him: “Your uncle has appeared in this manner only to attack you suddenly. So as soon as you approach him and separate from your companions, I will hand you a spear. Thrust it into his chest.” And so he did, killing his uncle. The kingdom united behind him, and he asserted his control over the region. He then wrote to al-Ma’mūn to report that his uncle had challenged the caliph’s authority over the region.

When al-Māzyār’s position grew strong, he took to writing:<sup>3578</sup> “From Jīl Jilān, Iṣbahbadh of Khurāsān,<sup>3579</sup> Muḥammad b. Qārin, Client (*Mawlā*) of the Commander of the Faithful.” Then, in a show of pretension, he changed this to: “Partner (*Muwālī*) of the Commander of the Faithful.”<sup>3580</sup> Finally the affair reached such proportions that he rebelled openly and repudiated his allegiance. Some say that al-Afshīn corresponded with him and incited him to

3576 Reading with M, *fī qubbat labūd*; ed. Leiden (following C), *fī fīhi labūd* (in his mouth a felt).

3577 See Bosworth, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, XXXIII, 135. Bundādhurmuz corresponds to an Iranian form Wandād-hurmuz. On his family, see the article by M. Rekaya in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Kārinids.

3578 That is, using the following elaborate titulature to head his letters.

3579 Following M; ed. Leiden emends to follow al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:1298 (“From the Jīl-i Jilān, Iṣbahbadh-i Iṣbahbadhān, Bishwār Khurshād”), but the reading in M can be left as it is, although the implied claim to be Iṣbahbadh of *Khurāsān* is problematic. See Bosworth, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, XXXIII, 172, notes 483–484.

3580 The change from *mawlā* to *muwālī* involves the addition of only one letter in Arabic, but implies a change from a subordinate status to one of equality. See Bosworth, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, XXXIII, 172, note 484.

repudiate his allegiance. | Al-Mu'tاشim dispatched Muhammad b. Ibrâhîm<sup>3581</sup> with an army to campaign against him. He also wrote 'Abdallâh b. Tâhir that he should supply Ibn Ibrâhîm with troops. Ibn Ibrâhîm fought al-Mâzyâr, while 'Abdallâh increased the pressure on him by sending forces, which fought him and gained control over the valleys and mountains. Finally, al-Mâzyâr went out one night and surrendered to a relative of 'Abdallâh, who escorted him (to Samarra) in the year 226.<sup>3582</sup> Al-Mâzyâr was flogged to death, and his body was gibbeted beside Bâbak's.

Muhammad b. 'Isâ related to me: "At the time when al-Mâzyâr arrived, al-Afshîn was in prison. Ibn [Abî] Du'âd<sup>3583</sup> brought al-Afshîn and al-Mâzyâr face to face, and said to al-Mâzyâr, 'This is al-Afshîn, who you claim incited you to rebel.' Al-Afshîn said to him: 'By God, lying is repugnant even in ordinary people; how much more so in kings! By God, your lying will not save you from death; so do not make lying the crowning achievement of your life!' Al-Mâzyâr therefore said, 'By God, he neither wrote nor sent messages to me; however, Abû l-Hârith, my deputy, reported to me that when he approached him he received him with warmth and kindness.' Al-Afshîn was returned to prison, and al-Mâzyâr was beaten to death."

The initial reason for al-Afshîn's imprisonment was that Minkajûr al-Farghânî, the maternal uncle of al-Afshîn's sons and his deputy governor in Azerbaijan, rebelled there. He gained the support of Bâbak's followers and proceeded to Warthân, where he killed Muhammad b. 'Ubaydallâh al-Warthânî<sup>3584</sup> and a group of supporters of the government. Al-Mu'tاشim said to al-Afshîn, "Bring Minkajûr before me!" Al-Afshîn dispatched a strong force against him under the command of Abû l-Sâj, who was called Dîwdâd.<sup>3585</sup> Afterward, however, al-Mu'tاشim was told that Minkajûr had rebelled only under orders from al-Afshîn and that al-Afshîn had dispatched Abû l-Sâj to him only to reinforce him. Al-Mu'tاشim therefore sent Muhammad b. Hammâd to take charge of the

<sup>3581</sup> Muhammad b. Ibrâhîm b. Muş'ab of the Muş'abî line parallel to that of the Tâhirids. See Bosworth, *The History of al-Tabarî*, XXXIII, 98, note 282, and Kaabi, *Tâhirides*, 1:409.

<sup>3582</sup> 226 A.H. = October 31, 840 – October 20, 841.

<sup>3583</sup> He was the chief judge, who was playing an important role in the Mihna. Ed. Leiden, following C (M similarly), omits *Abî*. M reads Ibn Dâwûd, but the part played by the chief judge, Ahmad b. Abî Du'âd, in the interrogations is confirmed by al-Tabarî.

<sup>3584</sup> Note that according to an earlier passage al-Warthânî had left the province for Samarra.

<sup>3585</sup> Or "Dêwdâd": on the career of this military commander of Central Asiatic origin (Ushrûsana), see al-Tabarî, *Târikh*, 3:1656–1657 (trans. G. Saliba, *The History of al-Tabarî*, XXXV, 121), and the article by C. E. Bosworth in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Sâdjids.

2:584 postal and intelligence service (*barīd*) and dispatched Bughā al-Turkī,<sup>3586</sup> who campaigned against Minkajūr. When Bughā gained the upper hand, Minkajūr, humbled, requested a guarantee of safe-conduct. Bughā granted him safe-conduct and escorted him to Samarra. By this time al-Afshīn was already in prison, his imprisonment having taken place in the year 226. He died in prison, and his body was hung naked for an hour during the day on the Bāb al-Āmma in Samarra; then it was taken down and burnt.

The persons with the greatest influence over al-Mu'taṣim were Ahmād b. [Abī] Du'ād al-Iyādī, the chief judge (*qādī al-quḍāt*), and al-Faḍl b. Marwān, the secretary. Afterward, al-Mu'taṣim became angry with al-Faḍl, exiled him, and confiscated his wealth. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Malik al-Zayyāt<sup>3587</sup> then acquired influence over him. Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm headed his security services (*shurāt*). Over the palace guard (*haras*) were 'Ujayf b. 'Anbasa, then al-Afshīn, and finally Ishāq b. Yaḥyā. His chamberlains (*hajaba*) were a number of Turks, including Waṣif, Sīmā al-Dimashqī, Sīmā al-Sharābī, and Muḥammad b. Ḥammād b. D.n.q.sh.<sup>3588</sup>

Al-Mu'taṣim died on Thursday, 11 nights remaining in Rabī' 1 of the year 227.<sup>3589</sup> His son Hārūn (al-Wāthiq) prayed over him, and he was buried in his palace known as al-Jawsaq. He was 49 years of age; his caliphate had lasted eight years. He left six sons: Hārūn al-Wāthiq, Ja'far al-Mutawakkil, Muḥammad, Ahmād, 'Alī, and al-'Abbās.

### The Days of Hārūn al-Wāthiq Bi-llāh

Hārūn al-Wāthiq bi-llāh b. Abī Ishāq, whose mother was a slave concubine (*umm walad*) named Qarāṭīs, assumed office on the day of al-Mu'taṣim's death. This was Thursday, 11 nights remaining in Rabī' 1 of the year 227,<sup>3590</sup> correspond-

3586 On the career of this commander of Central Asian Turkish origins, see the article by Matthew S. Gordon in *EI*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. Bughā al-Kabīr.

3587 On the career of the vizier Ibn al-Zayyāt see the article by D. Sourdel in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ibn al-Zayyāt, Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Malik.

3588 The name is written without dots in the MSS; the consonants can be determined from the parallel sources, but the vocalization is unknown. See Bosworth, *The History of al-Tabarī*, XXXIII, 184, note 520.

3589 19 Rabī' 1 227 = January 6, 842; cf. al-Tabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 3:1323, where it is dated one day earlier.

3590 Cf. al-Tabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 3:1329, where a date of 8 Rabī' 1 227 (December 26, 841) is given.

ing to the non-Arab month, | of Kānūn II (January). On that day the Sun was in Capricorn, 15° 22'.

As soon as he had rendered his allegiance, Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm set out for Baghdad. He traveled all night, reaching Baghdad just before daybreak. He appointed men over the city's quarters<sup>3591</sup> and prisons, and, assembling the commanders and dignitaries, he had them swear allegiance. The rank and file of the army and the local toughs<sup>3592</sup> rose up against Shu'ayb b. Sahl, the judge (*qādī*) of the East Side of Baghdad, and plundered his residence. Ishāq dispatched Ja'far [\_\_\_\_]<sup>3593</sup> and Ibrāhīm al-Dayraj and a contingent of troops with them. They brought out Shu'ayb b. Sahl and escorted him to Ishāq's residence.

Al-Wāthiq intended to go on pilgrimage in this year, but although his determination was sincere, his pilgrimage was postponed. He gave his mother permission, and she set out accompanied by Ja'far b. al-Mu'taṣim, but she died after reaching Kufa. Al-Wāthiq gave his brother Ja'far permission to continue. He did so and led the people in the pilgrimage.

The first of his commanders for whom al-Wāthiq made an appointment was Ashnās al-Turkī, whom he put in charge of a region extending from the capital<sup>3594</sup> to the farthest limit of the Maghrib. Ashnās dispatched his officials and wrote to Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Aghlab, appointing him over the Maghrib on his behalf. Aḥmad b. al-Khaṣīb [was charged with administering affairs for him].<sup>3595</sup> Al-Wāthiq assigned Khurāsān to Ītākh al-Turkī,<sup>3596</sup> along with al-Sind and the districts along the Tigris. Al-Sind had grown unstable, and its governor, 'Imrān b. Mūsā b. Yaḥyā b. Khālid, had been killed. Ītākh dispatched 'Anbasa b. Ishāq al-Dabbī to al-Sind, and he arrived in the province, which had fallen under the control of a number of local princes. When 'Anbasa arrived,

<sup>3591</sup> Arabic *aṭrāf*; possibly meaning "army units."

<sup>3592</sup> Arabic '*'wāmm al-jund wa-l-ghawḡā'*, the last word of which might also be rendered as "mob"; see David Waines, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, xxxvi, 4–5 and note 17, where a similar collocation occurs.

<sup>3593</sup> In the MSS the name is written with an undotted middle letter as *M-‘-sh-h*, which corresponds to no known name.

<sup>3594</sup> Arabic *min bābihī* (from his gate).

<sup>3595</sup> Both MSS contain a lacuna which the Leiden editor proposed treating as *al-mudabbir lahu* (the one charged with his affairs). As noted further on, Ibn al-Khaṣīb served as Ashnās's secretary (*kātib*) and administered on his behalf the provinces assigned to him.

<sup>3596</sup> Also vocalized as Aytākh. He was a Turkish army commander who rose to prominence under al-Mu'taṣim and al-Wāthiq. He fell out of favor during the reign of al-Mutawakkil and was killed in 235/849–850. See the article in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Aytākh al-Turkī.

the princes signaled their loyalty and obedience and placed themselves at his disposal—all except ‘Uthmān [...].<sup>3597</sup> ‘Anbasa marched against him [...] and remained]<sup>3598</sup> in charge of the province for nine years.

2:586 In Damascus, Ibn Bayhas al-Kilābī<sup>3599</sup> rebelled with a great host gathered from the tribes of Qays. In Palestine, a man named Tamīm al-Lakhmī, who was known as Abū Ḥarb and given the nickname al-Mubarqa‘,<sup>3600</sup> rebelled with support from the Lakhm, Judhām, Āmilā, and Balqayn.<sup>3601</sup> He proceeded to the district [of Jordan].<sup>3602</sup> In Barqa, a group of Berbers threw off their allegiance; they were joined by a group from the Quraysh, from the Banū Asīd b. [Abī]<sup>3603</sup> l-Īṣ, and they rose against their governor, Muḥammad b. ‘Abdawayh b. Jabala. Al-Wāthiq dispatched Rajā’ b. Ayyūb al-Hiḍārī. He began in Damascus, where he attacked Ibn Bayhas and captured him. Then he proceeded to Palestine, where he attacked Tamīm al-Lakhmī. He captured him and had him transported to Samarra, where he was put on display at the Bāb al-Āmma and a public proclamation was made. Rajā’ marched to Egypt in the year 228,<sup>3604</sup> stopped in Giza, and then proceeded to Barqa. Those who were there fled; he got hold of a number of them and had them transported away; then he departed.

‘Abdallāh b. Tāhir died in Khurāsān in the year 230<sup>3605</sup> at the age of 47. His residence there was Nīshāpūr, and his time as governor lasted 14 years. Al-Wāthiq appointed Tāhir b. ‘Abdallāh b. Tāhir<sup>3606</sup> to the post. ‘Abdallāh b. Tāhir had governed Khurāsān as no one ever had. The province submitted to him, and under him order prevailed.

The tribes of the Qays had begun to cause trouble on the road to the Ḥijāz. They so obstructed the road that people were reluctant to make the pilgrimage.

3597 Lacuna in both MSS; in M the letters *al-S* ... are visible.

3598 Another lacuna occurs here. ‘Remained’ is the Leiden editor’s conjecture.

3599 The MSS have the word *ahl* (the family of) before Ibn Bayhas. The Leiden editor saw the word as a copyist’s attempt to make sense of the badly written name of Ibn Bayhas.

3600 That is, the Veiled One. A longer account of his rebellion comes at the end of al-Ṭabarī’s account of the reign of al-Mu’tasim (al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:1319–1322); see also the article by H. Eisenstein in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Mubarka‘, and the discussion in Cobb, *White Banners*, 116–118.

3601 The tribal name is also given as Bulqayn.

3602 Lacuna in the MSS, which the Leiden editor conjectured was to be filled in this way. M seems to have a different word, which is only partially visible.

3603 Addition by the Leiden editor.

3604 228 A.H. = October 10, 842 – September 29, 843.

3605 230 A.H. = September 18, 844 – September 6, 845.

3606 Following M; *b. Tāhir* is absent from C and ed. Leiden. On the circumstances of the appointment, see al-Šūlī, *Kitāb al-Awrāq*, 559.

They set up a certain man from the Sulaym, someone named ‘Uzayza al-Khufāfi,<sup>3607</sup> and addressed him as caliph. In response, al-Wāthiq dispatched Bughā the Elder in the year 230, with orders to kill every tribal Arab that he found. | Bughā set out before the pilgrimage season. The Qays gathered from every direction—most of them were of the Banū Sulaym—with ‘Uzayza as their leader. Bughā encountered them, and they fought him. He killed a large number of them and hung their bodies from trees. Others he took captive and imprisoned in the Palace of Yazīd b. Mu‘awiyah in Medina. They broke out and attacked the people of Medina, but the people of Medina turned on them and killed most of them. Bughā transported the rest away in shackles.<sup>3608</sup> Iṣhāq b. Ibrāhīm went on the pilgrimage in that year.

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Al-Wāthiq became angry with Ibrāhīm b. Rabāḥ. Ibrāhīm had acquired influence with al-Wāthiq because of his relationship with him when al-Wāthiq was a prince. He had appointed Ibrāhīm to head the department of estates (*dīwān al-diyā’*), but Ibrāhīm, squandering his time on diversions, delegated his duties to Najāḥ b. Salama, his secretary (*kātib*), and to Yamān b. [...]<sup>3609</sup> the Christian (*al-Naṣrāni*). The two men ceded large sums to the people.<sup>3610</sup> When (complaints) to al-Wāthiq about Ibn Rabāḥ became many,<sup>3611</sup> the caliph ordered his estates and wealth to be seized and transferred his duties to ‘Umar b. Faraj al-Rukhkhaṭī.

Aḥmad b. al-Khaṣīb was the secretary of Ashnās al-Turkī, who governed the Jazīra, the Syrian provinces, Egypt, and the Maghrib; the administrator of all this was Aḥmad. It was brought to al-Wāthiq’s attention that Ibn al-Khaṣīb had accumulated vast wealth, and so the caliph, infuriated with him, seized his wealth and that of his brother Ibrāhīm. The two men were tortured, as was their mother.

Ashnās died in this year. His position and most of his offices were transferred to Ḥiṣād al-Turkī, but his estates and wealth were left intact to his sons. The administration of these properties was returned to ‘Abdallāh b. Ṣā’id, who continued to administer them until his death.

<sup>3607</sup> As conjectured by the Leiden editor. The *nisba* is corrupt in both mss. Al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:336, refers to him as ‘Uzayza b. Qattāb al-Sulamī.

<sup>3608</sup> Details of Bughā’s harsh treatment of the rebels in al-Ṣūlī, *Kitāb al-Awrāq*, 558.

<sup>3609</sup> Lacuna in both mss.

<sup>3610</sup> Arabic *al-nās*, perhaps to be understood as “notables”. The suggestion may be that they failed to collect appropriate revenue from estate-holders and were the target of complaints from government officials as a result.

<sup>3611</sup> This seems to be the sense of the Arabic (following M): *fa-kathura ‘alayhi ‘inda l-Wāthiq*. There is some uncertainty about the text.

Armenia rose up with seditious activity by Arab tribesmen, Armenian leaders (*baṭāriqa*), and those who wielded local influence. The kings of Jibāl and Bāb al-Abwāb gained control over adjacent lands, | and the government's authority waned. Al-Wāthiq appointed Khālid b. Yazīd b. Mazyad and ordered him to proceed to the region. He assigned him certain districts of Diyār Rabī'a. Khālid set out with a large army. Once news of him reached those who had taken control in those regions, they grew fearful of him. Most of them wrote to him; each said that he remained loyal, and they sent gifts. Khālid replied, "I will accept the gift only of him who comes to me." This only increased their anxiety. Khālid wrote to Ishāq b. Ismā'il and ordered him to come to him. When he did not, Khālid marched against him. Ishāq was on the verge of submitting, but Khālid [fell ill]<sup>3612</sup> and died several days later. He was borne in a coffin to Dabīl,<sup>3613</sup> where he was buried. His supporters dispersed, and so the province again became as unsettled as ever. Al-Wāthiq appointed Muḥammad b. Khālid to his father's position. Muḥammad wrote to report how his father's supporters had left, and he asked that they be sent back to him. Al-Wāthiq dispatched Aḥmad b. Bisṭām to Naṣībīn, where he flogged, imprisoned, and burned homes. His father's associates and clients then rallied to Muḥammad. He fought the Ṣanāriyya and Ishāq (b. Ismā'il) until he expelled the latter, defeated the former, and remained in control of the province.

Al-Wāthiq interrogated people<sup>3614</sup> regarding the createdness of the Qur'ān. He wrote to the judges, ordering them to do the same in all the other provinces and to admit only the testimony of those who supported the doctrine of God's unity.<sup>3615</sup> He imprisoned many people on this basis.

The Byzantine monarch (*tāghiyat al-Rūm*) wrote mentioning the large number of Muslim prisoners in his possession and proposing an exchange.<sup>3616</sup> Al-Wāthiq agreed to this, and dispatched Khāqān the Eunuch (*al-Khādim*).

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3612 Lacuna in both mss; the bracketed words are the conjecture of the Leiden editor.

3613 Unpointed in the MSS; the reading is that of ed. Leiden.

3614 Arabic *al-nās* probably refers to dignitaries and office-holders; there is little evidence that the Miḥna ever directly targeted the populace at large.

3615 Arabic *tawḥīd*. One argument advanced in support of the created nature of the Qur'ān was that an uncreated Qur'ān, being eternal, would imply the existence of something co-eternal with God, and this would be contrary to a strict belief in God's unity and uniqueness (both subsumed in the word *tawḥīd*).

3616 Arabic, "calling for a *fidā'* (literally, 'a ransoming')." The episode is described at length in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 3:1351–1357 (trans. Kraemer, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, xxxiv, 38–44).

[...].<sup>3617</sup> [One was ...],<sup>3618</sup> who was known as Abū Ramla, and the other was Ja'far b. Aḥmad al-Hadhdhā', who was head of the (local) army. Al-Wāthiq appointed Aḥmad b. Sa'īd b. Salm al-Bāhilī over the frontier region (*al-thaghr*). They proceeded to a place called the Lamos River,<sup>3619</sup> two days' journey from Tarsus. Present at the prisoner exchange | were 70,000 lancemen, as well as others without lances. Abū Ramla and Ja'far al-Hadhdhā' stood at the bridge that spanned the river. As each male prisoner approached, they interrogated him regarding the Qur'ān. Anyone who said that it was created was ransomed and given two dinars and two garments. The number of those who were ransomed came to 500 men and 700 women. This took place in Muḥarram in the year 231.<sup>3620</sup>

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Aḥmad b. Naṣr b. Mālik al-Khuzaī went to Ibn Abī Du'ād on a matter of concern to him, but the latter dismissed him, and so he went away blaming him. He took to disparaging Ibn Abī Du'ād and referring to him as an unbeliever. A group of people<sup>3621</sup> supported him, never doubting that it was righteous anger on behalf of the faith. Suspicion turned their hearts to disobedience because of the offense to the Qur'ān.<sup>3622</sup> Some men came out, beat a drum, and made

3617 Although the MSS show no lacuna, the Leiden editor inferred the presence of one, probably lengthy. His note calls attention to al-Tabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 3:1353, where another person, Yahyā b. Ādām al-Karkhī, an associate of the judge Ibn Abī Du'ād, is given the *kunya* Abū Ramla and is mentioned as having been sent with Ja'far b. al-Hadhdhā' to be present at the prisoner exchange in addition to Khāqān. This makes sense in the context of al-Tabarī's longer account. The exchange was overseen by a palace official, a judicial official, and a military official.

3618 The conjectured words are based on the context.

3619 The Lamos River, on the border between Islamic and Byzantine territory, had been the site of earlier prisoner exchanges between al-Rashid and Nicephorus I in 805 and again in 192/808. See Kraemer, *The History of al-Tabarī*, XXXIV, 38 and note 134.

3620 Muḥarram 231A.H. = September 7, 845 – August 28, 846.

3621 Al-Ya'qūbi's language (*qawmun minhum*, a group of them) is vague; the nuance would seem to be "a group of you-know-who." The parallel in al-Tabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 3:1344, identifies "them" as ḥadīth scholars (*ash'hāb al-ḥadīth*) and deniers of the doctrine of the created Qur'ān.

3622 The translation follows the apparent reading of M. In ed. Leiden, the Arabic reads: *fa-shra'abbat qulūbuhum li-l-ma'siyati li-sababi l-qur'ān* (ed. Leiden); literally, "their hearts stretched out (i.e., they exalted themselves) to/toward disobedience/transgression because of the [offense to] the Qur'ān." In M, the word that the Leiden editor read as *fa-shra'abbat* looks more like *fa-starābat* (their hearts became filled with suspicion, or with evil opinion), and then the two following phrases beginning with *li-* can be seen as stating the cause of their evil opinion: "because of the transgression, because of the

their way the area of Ṣahrā' Abī l-Sarī.<sup>3623</sup> They were arrested but continued their support for him.<sup>3624</sup> Al-Wāthiq wrote to Ishāq (b. Ibrāhīm) ordering him to send al-Khuzā'ī to him, and he did so. Al-Wāthiq addressed him with angry words, and some people came and submitted statements of testimony against him. Al-Wāthiq interrogated al-Khuzā'ī regarding the Qur'ān, and he refused to state that it was created. Al-Wāthiq reviled him, and al-Khuzā'ī replied in kind. Al-Wāthiq therefore beheaded him and had his body gibbeted in Samarra.<sup>3625</sup> He had his head sent to Baghdad, where it was placed on display on the East Side.

Muhammad b. 'Amr al-Shaybānī the Khārijite rebelled in Diyār Rabī'a, where Abū Sa'id Muhammad b. Yūsuf was in charge. Abū Sa'id proceeded against him with the army. Muhammad b. 'Amr was joined by three to four hundred Khārijites. He got as far as Sinjār, but then he fled in defeat toward Mosul, with Abū Sa'id in pursuit. The latter captured him and took him into Naṣibīn seated on a cow; then he transported him [...] to al-Wāthiq. He<sup>3627</sup> wrote to him saying, "He ought not be killed, for no Khārijite will rebel as long as he is alive." He remained imprisoned through the rest of al-Wāthiq's reign.

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Al-Wāthiq distributed large sums in Mecca, Medina, and the other provinces to the Hāshimites, the rest of Quraysh, and the people generally.<sup>3628</sup> He made many distributions to the people of Baghdad, time after time, to the heads of

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defaming (restoring the MSS reading *li-sabb*, which the Leiden editor emended to *li-sabab*) of the Qur'ān."

3623 A *ṣahrā'*, according to Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, s.v., Ṣahrā' Umm Salama, is a flat piece of land without trees, hills, or mountains; however, he mentions no place with this name in Baghdad. Al-Ya'qūbī, *Buldān* (ed. Leiden), 311, uses the word to designate what Wiet in his translation (p. 145, note 2) identifies as three cemeteries in Kufa and therefore sees *ṣahrā'* as a synonym of *jabbāna* (cemetery). However, no known cemetery in Baghdad was named after someone called Abū l-Sari. The location probably was on the East Side of the city, since that is where al-Khuzā'ī's head was set up for public display after his execution.

3624 That is, for al-Khuzā'ī. An alternate translation: "and confessed (i.e., testified) against him."

3625 According to al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 3:1348, al-Wāthiq attempted to carry out the execution with his own hand but, when he bungled the task, required the assistance of a Turkish officer.

3626 Lacuna in both MSS.

3627 The referent of the pronoun is not clear.

3628 Arabic *al-nās kāffatan*, to be taken in the sense of "important people, dignitaries, courtiers" as contrasted with the *ahl Baghdaḍ* (the people/populace of Baghdad), mentioned in the next sentence.

the leading families as well as to the population at large. Many fires having occurred in Baghdad, he distributed generous amounts of money to a number of merchants and had (the properties) of others rebuilt. He also waived the tithe that used to be collected from those arriving from the Sea of China.

Those who wielded the greatest influence over al-Wāthiq were Ahmād b. Abī Du'ād, Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Malik, and 'Umar b. Faraj al-Rukhkhajī. Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm headed his security services (*shurāt*), and Ishāq b. Yaḥyā b. Sulaymān b. Yaḥyā b. Mu'ādh his palace guards (*haras*).

Al-Wāthiq fell ill, and his sickness became so severe that a pit like an oven was dug for him in the earth and heated<sup>3629</sup> with tamarisk wood. He was placed in it repeatedly. He would say in his illness, "I wish I had forgiven slips and that I were a porter carrying loads on my head."<sup>3630</sup> The question of having allegiance sworn to his son was raised with him, but he replied: "I would not have God see me assuming responsibility for the caliphate both alive and dead."

Al-Wāthiq had moved out of the palaces of al-Mu'taṣim after having a palace known as al-Hārūnī built for him on the bank of the Tigris.<sup>3631</sup> He had two ceremonial platforms (*dakkatayn*) attached to it: the western and the eastern platform. It was among the finest of palaces.

His death occurred on Wednesday, 6 (nights) remaining in Dhū l-Hijja of the year 232.<sup>3632</sup> His age on that day was 34 years. His caliphate lasted five years, nine months and thirteen days. He left six sons: Muḥammad, 'Alī, 'Abdallāh, Ibrāhīm, Ahmād, and Muḥammad the Younger.

### The Days of Ja'far al-Mutawakkil

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Ja'far b. al-Mu'taṣim, whose mother was a slave concubine (*umm walad*) named Shujā', was given the oath of allegiance on Wednesday, 6 nights remaining in

<sup>3629</sup> Reading with M, *sujira*; the reading of ed. Leiden *sukhhina*, is synonymous, but less idiomatic, though one could argue that the corresponding passage in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 3:1363, uses the expression *tannūr musakhkhan*. The illness is identified there as *istisqā'* (dropsy)—edema caused by accumulation of fluid beneath the skin. The treatment was an attempt to draw off the fluid through perspiration in something like a sweat lodge.

<sup>3630</sup> In other words, "instead of bearing the responsibility of the caliphate."

<sup>3631</sup> Cf. al-Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, 264–265. The palace was named al-Hārūnī after al-Wāthiq, whose given name was Hārūn; al-Wāthiq bi-llāh (Who Trusts in God) was a regnal name.

<sup>3632</sup> 23 Dhū l-Hijja 232 = August 10, 847; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 3:1363, gives the same date.

Dhū l-Hijja of the year 232.<sup>3633</sup> The first persons to swear allegiance were Sīmā al-Turkī, who was known as al-Dimashqī, and Waṣīf al-Turkī. Al-Mutawakkil rode to the Dār al-‘Āmma<sup>3634</sup> immediately and ordered the distribution of the equivalent of eight months of salary to the army. The sons of seven caliphs greeted him as a group: Manṣūr b. al-Mahdī, al-‘Abbās b. al-Hādī, [Abū]<sup>3635</sup> Aḥmad b. al-Rashīd, ‘Abdallāh b. al-Amīn, Mūsā b. al-Ma’mūn and his two brothers,<sup>3636</sup> Aḥmad b. al-Mu’taṣim and his two brothers, and Muḥammad b. al-Wāthiq.

For forty days he kept everything as it had been.<sup>3637</sup> Then he turned against Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Malik,<sup>3638</sup> confiscated his wealth, and had him tortured to death. Al-Mutawakkil held many things against him. Muḥammad was a man of great severity and little mercy, given to aggression and scornful treatment of others, and from whom no one was known to have received charity or kindness. He was given to saying, “Shame is effeminacy, mercy weakness, and generosity folly.” His disgrace brought only expressions of malicious pleasure and joy at his misfortune.

Al-Mutawakkil wrote to ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Riḍā b. Mūsā b. Ja‘far b. Muḥammad that he should travel to him from Medina. ‘Abdallāh b. Muḥammad b. Dāwūd al-Hāshimī had written indicating that certain people were claiming that ‘Alī b. Muḥammad was the Imam.<sup>3639</sup> He journeyed from Medina accompanied by Yaḥyā b. Harthama, and made his way to Baghdad. When he was at a place called al-Yāsiriyya, he set up camp. Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm, who rode there to meet him, saw | the people’s deep yearning for him and how they gathered to catch sight of him. Ishāq waited until evening and brought him into the

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<sup>3633</sup> That is, on the day of al-Wāthiq’s death, August 10, 847.

<sup>3634</sup> Dār al-‘Āmma (the Public Audience Hall), part of the palace complex in Samarra, was where the caliph sat in audience on Monday and Thursday; see the article by A. Northedge in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Sāmarrā’.

<sup>3635</sup> Added in the *Addenda et emendanda* of ed. Leiden to agree with the name given in the list of al-Rashīd’s sons at ed. Leiden, 2:521.

<sup>3636</sup> Reading with M *wa-akhawayh* (and his two brothers), here and after the next name. C reads *wa-akhūh* (and his brother), which the Leiden editor emended to *wa-ikhwatih* (and his brothers). The reading of M is problematic, given that al-Ma’mūn, according to al-Ya‘qūbī, left sixteen sons, and al-Mu’taṣim left six.

<sup>3637</sup> That is, he made no changes in personnel or policy during the customary forty days of mourning.

<sup>3638</sup> That is, Ibn al-Zayyāt, the vizier. Cf. the longer account in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:1370–1377.

<sup>3639</sup> Both M and C read *al-amān* (safety); the translation follows the emendation of ed. Leiden.

city by night. 'Alī b. Muḥammad remained in Baghdad for part of that night and then proceeded to Samarra.

Al-Mutawakkil forbade the people from arguing about the Qur'ān.<sup>3640</sup> He set free from the prisons those from the provinces and those who had been seized during the caliphate of al-Wāthiq. He released them all and clothed them with garments. He dispatched letters to the provinces forbidding debate and disputation, and the people refrained.

The caliph turned against 'Umar b. Faraj al-Rukhkhaṭī and his brother, Muḥammad. Muḥammad b. Faraj was governor of Egypt at the time, so al-Mutawakkil dispatched a letter ordering that he be transported (to Iraq). Their wealth was seized—this occurred in the year 233.<sup>3641</sup> 'Umar was imprisoned in Baghdad, Muḥammad in Samarra, and they remained in prison for two years.

Aḥmad b. Abī Du'ād was stricken with hemiplegia.<sup>3642</sup> Al-Mutawakkil appointed his son Muḥammad, who was known as Abū l-Walīd, in his place. On this occasion<sup>3643</sup> Abū l-'Aynā' commented, "He was imprisoned because his tongue had become worthless, and he was unable to speak."<sup>3644</sup>

Al-Mutawakkil turned against al-Fadl b. Marwān, confiscated his estates and wealth, and sent him into exile. Afterward, he showed him favor and had him reinstated. He also turned against Aḥmad b. Khālid, known as Abū l-Wazīr, and seized his wealth in the year 234.<sup>3645</sup> He reconciled with him afterward. When al-Mutawakkil turned against the secretaries, he said to Ishaq b. Ibrāhīm, "Find me two men, one to run the department of the land tax (*dīwān al-kharāj*), the other the department of estates (*dīwān al-ṣiyā'a*)."<sup>3646</sup> Ishaq replied: "I have them: Yahyā b. Khāqān and Mūsā b. 'Abd al-Malik b. Hishām." Yahyā had been imprisoned by Ishaq on account of funds that (Ishaq) had sought from him in (Yahyā's) capacity as governor of Fārs.<sup>3647</sup> Mūsā was also in prison. Al-Mutawakkil had them brought forth, and he appointed Yahyā b. Khāqān over the department of the land tax and Mūsā | over the department of estates.

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<sup>3640</sup> That is, any further debate on the createdness of the Qur'ān.

<sup>3641</sup> 233 A.H. = August 17, 847 – August 4, 848.

<sup>3642</sup> Arabic *fālija*: paralysis on one side of the body, usually the result of a stroke.

<sup>3643</sup> Ed. Leiden suggests a lacuna here; M has no indication of one. The text is obscure.

<sup>3644</sup> This obscure comment seems to refer not directly to Ibn Abī Du'ād's stroke, but to the confiscation of his estates and imprisonment of his sons some three and a half years later; see al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 3:1379, 1410–1411.

<sup>3645</sup> 234 A.H. = August 5, 848 – July 25, 849.

<sup>3646</sup> Suggested reading. An alternative is "Yahya had been imprisoned *before* Ishaq (had taken power or spoken up) for moneys that had been sought *from him* in his capacity as governor of Fārs."

Al-Mutawakkil ordered that his son Muḥammad<sup>3647</sup> be addressed as *amīr* and that he be prayed for from the pulpits.<sup>3648</sup> He sent letters to this effect to the provinces. This occurred in Dhū l-Qa‘da in the year 234.<sup>3649</sup>

Ītākh al-Turkī sought permission to make the pilgrimage in this year. Al-Mutawakkil granted him permission, and Ītākh set out dressed in his finest attire. But then al-Mutawakkil received word that Ītākh had been about to initiate a plot against him, but finding himself unable to do so had asked to go on the pilgrimage. Al-Mutawakkil therefore wrote to Ja‘far b. Dīnār, known as al-Khayyāṭ, who was governor of Yemen; he was to go to Mecca and urge Ītākh to hasten his return. When Ītākh reached Mecca, Ja‘far went to him, and so Ītākh departed for Iraq. Al-Mutawakkil dispatched Sa‘id b. Ṣalīḥ the chamberlain to him, and the latter met Ītākh in Kufa. When Ītākh neared Baghdad, Ishāq met him and ordered him to remove his black garb, his sword, and his ceremonial belt. Ītākh was escorted into Baghdad attired in a white gown and a white turban. Ishāq took him as far as the Palace of Khuzayma (b. Khāzim) at the head of the bridge, imprisoned him, and bound him in chains. Ītākh’s estates and wealth were seized. Sulaymān b. Wahb and Qudāma b. Ziyād, his two secretaries, and his son Manṣūr were sent to Baghdad, where they were brought before Ītākh. They (were made to) censure and humiliate him on the basis of the charges laid against him, and his son Manṣūr was ordered to spit in his face. He refused and said, “The Commander of the Faithful has slaves whom he can order to do whatever he wishes.” Ītākh remained in prison for a number of days, then died and was thrown into the Tigris. The possessions of Harthama b. al-Naṣr, the governor of Egypt, were seized because of what reached al-Mutawakkil concerning his correspondence with Ītākh and his collusion with him. All of Ītākh’s duties relative to Egypt were now assigned to Abū Ishāq.<sup>3650</sup> When news of these developments reached ‘Anbasa b. Ishāq, Ītākh’s resident governor in al-Sind, he traveled to Iraq. Al-Mutawakkil appointed Hārūn b. Abī Khālid to replace him and took no measures against ‘Anbasa.

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Al-Hasan b. Sahl died in this year. He had retired to his residence before this and thus no longer carried out any responsibilities on behalf of the government.

<sup>3647</sup> Muḥammad would reign as al-Muntasir (247–248/861–862) in Samarra.

<sup>3648</sup> That is, as heir to the caliphate.

<sup>3649</sup> Between May 27 and June 25, 849.

<sup>3650</sup> As noted in the *Addenda et emendanda* of the Leiden edition, the reading “Abū Ishāq” is likely corrupt. It probably should be emended to “Ishāq b. Yaḥyā,” who became governor of Egypt under al-Muntasir. Al-Kindī and Ibn Taghribirdī indicate that al-Muntasir was assigned Egypt (his *kunya* was Abū ‘Abdallāh).

Muhammad b. al-Baīth held sway over a region of Azerbaijan known as Marand.<sup>3651</sup> Ḥamdayah b. ‘Alī, the governor of Azerbaijan, shunned him<sup>3652</sup> but then [...],<sup>3653</sup> and he had him transported to the capital. When he arrived there, a complaint was lodged against Ḥamdayah b. ‘Alī. Ḥamdayah was beaten and held responsible for certain funds on account of which the complaint against him had been lodged. Ibn al-Baīth was set free.<sup>3654</sup> Ibn al-Baīth remained some months, then fled from Samarra to Marand. He rallied to himself the irregulars (*ṣa‘ālīk*) in his region and openly rebelled and became disobedient. Ḥamdayah b. ‘Alī was released [from prison] and appointed over the province. He set out against him, but (Ibn al-Baīth) engaged him in battle and killed him.

Ibn al-Baīth having become stronger, al-Mutawakkil sent against him Zīrak al-Turkī, who fought him. Then al-Mutawakkil sent ‘Attāb b. ‘Attāb against him—the province was assigned to Bughā the Younger. He kept fighting Ibn al-Baīth for several months, and then offered him a safe conduct. As soon as Ibn al-Baīth came to him, Bughā had him transported to the capital, where he was imprisoned in the custody of Ishāq (b. Ibrāhīm). This occurred in the year 235.<sup>3655</sup> He remained in prison for only a short while before dying. Yahyā b. Rawwād was also transported (to Iraq). He<sup>3656</sup> was given a title<sup>3657</sup> and a military command.

Also in this year, al-Mutawakkil ordered that Dhimmīs<sup>3658</sup> should wear yellow hoods;<sup>3659</sup> that they should ride mules and donkeys with wooden stirrups

3651 The name is corrupt in both MSS. See al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:1380–1382 (trans. Kraemer, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, XXXIV, 77–81, and note 267).

3652 The sense of Arabic *nāfarahu* is problematic, especially as the context cannot be determined due to the following lacuna. In al-Ṭabarī’s account, Ḥamdayah rallies a force of 10,000 men, but is unsuccessful in dislodging Ibn al-Baīth, and al-Mutawakkil sends additional forces who eventually capture the town and Ibn al-Baīth. Al-Ṭabarī’s account does not mention any subsequent complaint against Ḥamdayah.

3653 Lacuna in both MSS but it probably refers to his capture.

3654 On the freeing of Ibn al-Baīth, see al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:1387–1389. According to one account, he escaped imminent execution because his literary talent in Persian and Arabic so impressed al-Mutawakkil that he freed him.

3655 235 A.H. = July 26, 849 – July 14, 850.

3656 The referent of the pronoun is unclear.

3657 Arabic *ism*.

3658 Arabic *ahl al-dhimma*: Christians and Jews who had the status of protected monotheistic minorities.

3659 Arabic *tayālīsa* (pl. of *taylasān*). Evidence for this being a kind of hood or cowl is presented by Kraemer, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, XXXIV, 89, note 304. For further discussion

and with saddles bearing pommels; that they should ride neither thoroughbred horses (*khayl*) nor hackneys (*birdhawn*); and that they should affix to their doors wooden boards bearing images of devils.

Al-Mutawakkil had the oath of allegiance sworn to his son Muḥammad (al-Muntaṣir) as his heir apparent, followed by his sons Abū ‘Abdallāh al-Mu‘tazz bi-llāh and Ibrāhīm al-Mu‘ayyad bi-llāh. He brought the notables [of every province to Samarra and for their oaths of allegiance presented them with gifts. He also gave the army the equivalent of ten months' salary and dispatched preachers to deliver sermons announcing the news.

Muḥammad al-Muntaṣir performed the pilgrimage in this year accompanied by al-Mutawakkil's mother. He led the people in performing the pilgrimage rites and displayed commendable virtue along the route.

[...]<sup>3660</sup> to each of the heirs apparent an area of territory. To al-Muntaṣir he assigned Egypt and the Maghrib; his secretary was Aḥmad b. al-Khaṣīb. To Abū ‘Abdallāh al-Mu‘tazz bi-llāh he assigned Khurāsān and al-Jabal; his secretary was Aḥmad b. Isrā’īl. To Ibrāhīm al-Mu‘ayyad he assigned the Syrian districts, Armenia, and Azerbaijan; his secretary was Muḥammad b. ‘Alī, known as [...].<sup>3661</sup>

At this time al-Mutawakkil ordered that no Dhimmī should be employed in any government office, that any newly built churches and synagogues should be razed, and that they should be prevented from constructing.<sup>3662</sup> He sent letters to this effect to all of the provinces.

Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm died, and al-Mutawakkil transferred to his son Muḥammad all of his responsibilities for the revenue of the districts (*tasāsīj*) of the Sawād, the provinces of Egypt, the villages of the Tigris and other areas, along with offices in [...]<sup>3663</sup> and Fārs. For seven days al-Mutawakkil bestowed robes of honor on him—seven robes on each day—and assigned him a large number of standards.<sup>3664</sup> Muḥammad assumed a highly favored place in the eyes of

of the requirement that non-Muslims wear distinctive clothing (Arabic *ghiyār*), see the article by M. Perlmann in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Ghiyār*.

<sup>3660</sup> Apparent lacuna in both MSS. The sense is “He assigned ...”

<sup>3661</sup> The name is missing; M has a short space that may or may not be a lacuna. See Kraemer, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, XXXIV, 223, note 727, for evidence that the missing word(s) may be “Bard al-Khiyār” or “al-Şūlī.”

<sup>3662</sup> Arabic *imāra*, which would include the upkeep of existing buildings.

<sup>3663</sup> Based on the parallel in Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 7:36, the Leiden editor inferred the presence of a lacuna here, although the MSS show none.

<sup>3664</sup> Arabic *ahwiya* (pl. of *līwā’*): military commands.

the caliph. [Muhammad] <sup>3665</sup> retained his father's officials. His secretary for tax revenue (*kharāj*) was 'Alī b. 'Isā b. Yazdānirūdh,<sup>3666</sup> for correspondence (*rasā'il*) it was Maymūn b. Ibrāhīm; and for appeals (*mazālim*) it was Ishāq b. Yazīd, a relative of Hārūn b. Jabghūyah.<sup>3667</sup>

(Muhammad b. Ishāq)<sup>3668</sup> sent<sup>3669</sup> al-Ḥusayn b. Ismā'il to Fārs to replace his uncle Muhammad b. Ibrāhīm. He ordered him to torture his uncle until he extracted the revenue that had accrued to him. He was tortured to death.

'Abd al-Wāhid b. Yaḥyā, known as Hawt,<sup>3670</sup> a relative of Tāhir (b. al-Ḥusayn), was responsible for the land tax (*kharāj*) and supplementary imposts (*ma'āwin*) of Egypt. Muḥammad b. Ishāq confirmed him in his position.<sup>3671</sup>

Muḥammad (b. Ishāq) survived his father for a year, then died. 'Abdal-lāh b. Ishāq succeeded him, but only over the security services (*shurat*). He sent Muḥammad b. Ishāq's secretaries who had previously served his father to al-Mutawakkil, who had his officials flogged. He brought 'Alī b. 'Isā, Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm's secretary over the districts of the Sawād, from Samarra and put him in charge of the Supreme Tax Bureau (*Dīwān al-Kharāj al-Aṣzam*), a post in which he remained for two months. Then (al-Mutawakkil) dismissed him and replaced him with Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Mudabbir.<sup>3672</sup> The wealth of ('Alī b. 'Isā's) two sons, al-Ḥusayn and Ismā'il, was confiscated. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Mudabbir arrested his officials from the districts of the Sawād and reached a settlement with them only when they agreed to pay large sums of money. Al-Mutawakkil appointed Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Mudabbir over seven departments (*dawāwīn*): the department of land tax, the department of estates, the department of private expenditures, (the department of) public (expenditures),<sup>3673</sup> the department of religious alms (*ṣadaqāt*), the depart-

<sup>3665</sup> Added by the Leiden editor.

<sup>3666</sup> Name corrupt in both MSS. See Sourdel, *Vizirat*, 1:186, note 5.

<sup>3667</sup> On the likely form of the name, see Bosworth, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, XXXII, 103, note 322.

<sup>3668</sup> Context suggests him and not the caliph.

<sup>3669</sup> Both MSS read *wa-waṣala*, which, with the following preposition *bi-*, gives the same sense as the emendation in ed. Leiden (*wa-wajaha*), which is unnecessary.

<sup>3670</sup> The name occurs as Khūṭ in al-Kindī, *Kitāb al-Umarā'*, 199, 200, 464–466, with a note (p. 464) that the MS sometimes omits the dot on the initial letter, which would yield Hūṭ or Ḥawt, as in al-Yāqūbī.

<sup>3671</sup> Suggested reading following M; ed. Leiden, *'alā jundihī* (over his army).

<sup>3672</sup> Normally written as "al-Mudabbir."

<sup>3673</sup> The wording of M, *wa-l-nafaqāt nafaqāt al-khāṣṣa wa-l-āmma* (the [department of] expenditures, private expenditures and public) suggests that this was one *dīwān*, but the list requires seven departments.

ment of clients (*mawālī*) and slave soldiers (*ghilmān*), and the department of the regular army (*jund*) and Shākiriyā.<sup>3674</sup> He increased the flow of revenue considerably.

Muhammad b. Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir came to Baghdad from Khurāsān in the year 237,<sup>3675</sup> and everything that had been assigned to Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm was assigned to him. The administrative functions in Egypt were assigned to ‘Anbasā b. Ishāq al-Dabbī on behalf of al-Muntaṣir.<sup>3676</sup> He had resided in Egypt for no more than a few months before the Byzantines laid siege to Damietta with 2:597 85 ships.<sup>3677</sup> They killed many Muslims and burned 1,400 houses. | The enemy leader was named [...].<sup>3678</sup> They captured 1,820 Muslim women, 1,000 Coptic women, and 100 Jewish women. The weapons and naphtha<sup>3679</sup> that were in Damietta were taken. The inhabitants fled and some 2,000 of them drowned in the sea. The Byzantines remained for two days and two nights and then departed.

Al-Mutawakkil turned against Muhammad b. al-Faḍl, the secretary (*kātib*) in charge of the department of edicts,<sup>3680</sup> when he was apprised of something the latter had done, and he replaced him with ‘Ubaydallāh b. Yaḥyā b. Khāqān. He promoted the latter, raised his rank and status, appointed him to the post, and directed him to write (as his signature) “Client of the Commander of the Faithful” (*Mawlā Amīr al-Mu’minīn*)—his client affiliation (*walā’*) had been to

<sup>3674</sup> On the last two government departments, see Matthew Gordon, *The Breaking of a Thousand Swords*, 188, note 298.

<sup>3675</sup> 237 A.H. = July 5, 851 – June 22, 852.

<sup>3676</sup> Who had been appointed over Egypt as part of his father's succession arrangement.

<sup>3677</sup> See the parallel account of this Byzantine raid in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:1417–1418, along with the notes provided by Kraemer in his translation, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, xxxiv, 124–127, esp. note 414.

<sup>3678</sup> The undotted name is too ambiguous to read. In M it looks like Qaṭūnārīs (or Faṭūnārīs), which corresponds to al-Ṭabarī's “Ibn Qaṭūnā,” one of three Byzantine admirals, each of whom is said to have come with 100 ships, but the name cannot be identified with any known Greek commander.

<sup>3679</sup> Reading with the MSS *al-naft*; ed. Leiden changes it to *al-saqat* (refuse, goods of little value), which makes little sense. Naphtha was the main component of Greek fire, an incendiary mixture of naphtha (Arabic *naft*) and other chemicals that could be projected at enemy ships to set them on fire. On the use by Muslims of such incendiary weapons, see the article by V. Christides in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Naft.

<sup>3680</sup> Arabic *dīwān al-tawqī*. The word *tawqī*, originally meaning “to indite, register the decree of a ruler,” gradually came to mean the ruler's decision on a petition, his written decree or edict on a matter, and then the office or bureau concerned with drawing up such documents. See the article by F. Babinger and C. E. Bosworth in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Tawqī.

the Azd.<sup>3681</sup> He also directed him to order the secretaries of the departments to date documents in his own name,<sup>3682</sup> but ‘Ubaydallāh asked the caliph to excuse him from this—although in fact it was he who would appoint the officials of the land tax, estates, post and intelligence, supplementary imposts (*ma‘āwīn*), and the judiciary throughout the realm, with no one else sharing his responsibilities. This notwithstanding, ‘Ubaydallāh was held in high regard by the people.<sup>3683</sup> He appointed his father over the department of appeals (*mazālim*), and when his father died he appointed his uncle ‘Abd al-Rahmān to replace him.

Al-Mutawakkil turned against Muhammad b. Aḥmad b. Abī Du’ād and his father and appointed Yahyā b. Aktham al-Tamīmī as chief judge (*qāḍī al-quḍāt*). Ibn Abī Du’ād’s estates and wealth were confiscated, and he was brought to Baghdad, where he remained but a short time before dying. [...]<sup>3684</sup> his eldest sons. Al-Mutawakkil retained Yahyā [for a short time; then he appointed]<sup>3685</sup> in his place Ja‘far b. ‘Abd al-Wāhid al-Hāshimī.

Al-Mutawakkil departed for Baghdad (*Madīnat al-Salām*) in the year 238. He stayed in tents at al-Shammāsiyya and then entered Baghdad. Crossing straight through it, he went on to al-Madā'in for recreation.

<sup>3681</sup> It was still customary for a non-Arab convert to Islam to be given the status of client (*mawlā*) to the person who had witnessed his conversion to Islam and, by extension, to that person's tribe. (The role of godparents in Christian baptism is analogous.) Such a relationship was called *walā* (literally, “proximity”) and passed to the person's descendants. By changing ‘Ubaydallāh's clientage from the tribe of Azd to himself personally, al-Mutawakkil was raising his status. See the article by P. Crone in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Mawlā, and D. Sourdel, *Vizirat*, 1:277, and notes.

<sup>3682</sup> Arabic *an yu’arikhū l-kutuba bi-smihī* (to date the documents in his name): apparently meaning that they were to write the concluding formula of official documents as “Written by ‘Ubaydallāh b. Yahyā b. Khāqān, client of the Commander of the Faithful, on such and such a date.”

<sup>3683</sup> Arabic *al-nās*; again, referring as usual to “important people, dignitaries.” The introductory phrase *ma‘ā dhālikā* is ambiguous: it may have its usual adversative meaning (this notwithstanding) or it may simply mean “with all this” or “given all this.” So it is impossible to determine whether al-Yāqūbī means that ‘Ubaydallāh was held in esteem *because of* his many offices or *in spite of* them.

<sup>3684</sup> The Leiden editor inferred a lacuna here, although the MSS show no break. From the parallel in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:1410–1411, which mentions that other sons of Aḥmad b. Abī Du’ād were imprisoned, one can infer that the missing phrase was something like “He imprisoned ...”

<sup>3685</sup> The bracketed words were added by the Leiden editor to fill what he inferred was a lacuna, although the MSS show none.

2:598 The situation in Armenia became unstable. A group of local chiefs (*baṭāriqa*) and others became active, taking control of their areas. Al-Mutawakkil therefore appointed Abū Sa‘id Muḥammad b. Yūsuf, who set out for the province. Abū Sa‘id called for his robe and put it on, then he called for one of his sandals and put it on, and then he dropped dead with no sign of illness. Al-Mutawakkil appointed his son Yūsuf, who set out and reached the province. He wrote to the local chiefs, and some of them responded positively. Buqrāt b. Ashūt went to him under a guarantee of safe-conduct. Yūsuf sent him to al-Mutawakkil and [...].<sup>3686</sup> [...] b. [...] met (Yūsuf) in battle and killed him, and the situation in the province worsened. Al-Mutawakkil therefore dispatched Bughā the Elder. When he reached Arzan,<sup>3688</sup> Mūsā b. Zurāra, who had taken control of Badlīs,<sup>3689</sup> approached him under a guarantee of safe-conduct. Bughā had him bound and transported to al-Mutawakkil. Then he made his way to a place called Albāq,<sup>3690</sup> where Ashūt b. Ḥamza was located. He laid siege to him; then he gave him a guarantee of safe-conduct and had him transported to Samarra, where he was beheaded. Then he made his way to [...] b. [...] and fought him for some days; he defeated him without granting him a safe-conduct and sent him to Samarra, where he was beheaded at the Bāb al-Āmma and his body gibbeted.<sup>3692</sup> Bughā then wrote to Ishāq b. Ismā‘il, who held sway in Tiflis, ordering that he come to him. Ishāq wrote back that he had never been disobedient;<sup>3693</sup> if Bughā desired revenue he would provide it, and if he desired men he would supply them, but he could not come in person. Bughā marched

3686 Visible lacuna in both MSS.

3687 The name (apart from “b.”) is too corrupt to be read.

3688 Arzan: the most important city with this name was located in eastern Anatolia on the east bank of the Arzanşū River (modern Garzansu), a tributary of the Euphrates. See the article by R. N. Frye in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Arzan.

3689 Badlīs (modern Bitlis) is in eastern Anatolia, about 25 km southwest of Lake Van. See the article by G. L. Lewis in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Bidlīs.

3690 Although the Arabic geographers do not mention this town, a modern town of the same name exists in the Salmās region of northwestern Iran, near the Turkish border. See the article by C. E. Bosworth in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Salmās.

3691 The same unreadable name as occurs earlier in the paragraph.

3692 The preceding sentence is found only in M; it has dropped out of C (and hence ed. Leiden) by homeoteleuton.

3693 The Leiden editor inserted the word *al-sultān*, thinking it demanded by Arabic grammar; but the indefinite form in the phrase *lam yukhrij yadan min ṭā’atīn* (had not withdrawn his hand from any obedience) seems possible. On the meaning of *sultān* at the end of the paragraph, see the following note.

against him, fought him, and defeated him. He was beheaded, and his head was transported to the ruler (*sultān*).<sup>3694</sup>

Bughā marched against the Ṣanāriyya and fought them, but they defeated him and routed his troops, so he turned away from them in disarray. He tracked down those to whom he had extended a guarantee of safe-conduct and seized them; but a group of them managed to escape and wrote to the ruler of the Byzantines, the ruler of the Khazars, and the ruler of the Slavs (*Šaqāliba*), and they came together with a large force. Bughā wrote regarding this to al-Mutawakkil, and he appointed | Muḥammad b. Khālid b. Yazīd b. Mazyad al-Shaybānī over the province. When he arrived, the troublemakers ceased their activity, so he renewed their guarantees of safe-conduct.

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The inhabitants of Ḥimṣ rose up in the year 240.<sup>3695</sup> They drove out their resident governor, Abū l-Mughīth Mūsā b. Ibrāhīm, who made his way to Hama. Al-Mutawakkil dispatched ‘Attāb b. ‘Attāb and Muḥammad b. ‘Abdawayh b. Jabala, designating Muḥammad as the governor of the province. The latter pacified them and remained in their area for a number of months, until they rose up again and rioted against him. He again pacified them and, using deception, arrested a number of their notables and bound them in irons. They were transported to al-Mutawakkil but then returned to Muḥammad, who had them flogged to death and gibbeted on the doors of their houses. He tracked down the men who were causing the civil strife and annihilated them.

Al-Mutawakkil appointed Aḥmad b. Muḥammad (b. Mudabbir) to administer the land tax of Damascus and Jordan. This took place because the secretaries in the government departments intrigued against him because of their fear of him. They argued that the taxes of the province required a fiscal investigation (*ta‘dil*)<sup>3696</sup> and that the only person who could make such an investigation was the one who was in charge of the department of land tax. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad was dispatched in the year 240 to make that adjustment for Damascus and Jordan; he imposed on each area what it could rightfully bear.

3694 Strictly speaking, *sultān* at this period meant “power, authority,” and not the ruler or sovereign who possessed that power. “Sultān,” in other words, was an attribute of the caliph, not his title. Perhaps the safest way of understanding the phrase here is to take it as meaning that the head was transported back to the *residence* of the ruler, the seat of government. On the development of the word *sultān* in Arabic, see the article by J. H. Kramers in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Sultān*.

3695 240 A.H. = June 2, 854 – May 21, 855.

3696 On this use of *ta‘dil* (setting right, adjustment, equalization) as a technical term for reassessment of tax obligations, see Morimoto, *Fiscal Administration*, 43, 153, 246.

Hārūn b. Abī Khālid, the governor of al-Sind, died in the year 240. ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Sāmī, a descendant of Sāma b. Lu’ayy<sup>3697</sup> and the dominant figure there, wrote saying that if he were appointed governor over the province, he would administer its affairs and set it in order. Al-Mutawakkil responded positively, and so al-Sāmī held the post throughout the days of al-Mutawakkil.

The Byzantine ruler (*tāghiyat al-Rūm*) sent envoys and gifts. These were small, and al-Mutawakkil sent him several times as much. He dispatched Shunayf<sup>3698</sup> the Eunuch (*al-Khādim*), who was responsible for his [...]<sup>3699</sup> and put him in charge of the prisoner exchange. Shunayf went to Tarsus in the year 241<sup>3700</sup>—the governor of the frontier regions (*thughūr*) was Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā | al-Armanī. Shunayf went out to the Lamos River bridge and announced that he had prisoners in his possession. He had transported Byzantine prisoners from every province in which they were found, and he purchased slaves of the Christians.<sup>3701</sup>

Al-Mutawakkil constructed palaces on which he spent tremendous sums. These included al-Shāh, al-‘Arūs, al-Shibdāz,<sup>3702</sup> al-Badī’, al-Gharīb, and al-Burj. He spent 1,700,000 dinars on al-Burj.

There was a meteor shower the eve of Thursday, 1 Jumādā II 241.<sup>3703</sup> They continued to rain down from the beginning of night until the break of day. Earthquakes occurred in Qūmis and in Nīshāpūr and vicinity in the year 242; in Qūmis many people died. The people were struck by a powerful quake on Tuesday, 10 nights remaining of Sha’bān;<sup>3704</sup> some 200,000 persons died, and after it some towns in Khurāsān were swallowed up. In the same month, a hot

3697 Al-Ya’qūbī has given an account of this son of Lu’ayy (one of the progenitors of the Quraysh) above, ed. Leiden, 1:270.

3698 Both MSS read “Sayf,” emended by the Leiden editor on the basis of al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:1427.

3699 Both MSS have a single word here that is corrupt and cannot be read.

3700 241 A.H. = May 22, 855 – May 9, 856.

3701 This seems to mean that he not only exchanged prisoners, but used money to ransom Muslims who had been enslaved by the Byzantines.

3702 The palace was named after the Sassanian ruler Aparvīz’s famous horse, whose image was said to have been carved into a mountain near Qarmāṣīn in Dīnawar. Al-Mas’ūdī, who calls it “one of the wonders of the world,” gives the name in the form Shabdāz (*Murūj*, 1:314 [§ 635]; the vocalization Shibdāz is given by Yāqūt, *Mujam al-Buldān*, s.v.). For a list of al-Mutawakkil’s palaces, the cost of each, and poems praising them, see al-Ṣūlī, *Kitāb al-Awrāq*, 489–494.

3703 October 17, 855. The Orionid meteors peak around this date.

3704 19 Sha’bān 242 = February 18, 857.

gale from the direction of [...]<sup>3705</sup> reached the populace of Fārs, along with dust that choked people's throats. People and animals died and trees caught fire. The people of Egypt were struck by an earthquake so strong that the columns of mosques were rocked and homes and mosques collapsed—this in Dhū l-Hijja of this year.<sup>3706</sup>

Al-Mutawakkil decided to travel to Damascus after its cool climate was described to him, because he was sensitive to the heat. He wrote to Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Mudabbir<sup>3707</sup> ordering him to requisition palaces and to ready houses. He also sent letters about repairing the road and constructing stage-camps and sleeping places. He left Samarra on Monday, 10 nights remaining in Dhū l-Qa'da of the year 243.<sup>3708</sup> He arrived in Damascus on Wednesday, 8 nights remaining in | Ṣafar of the year 244.<sup>3709</sup> He took up residence in these palaces and remained for 38 days. He then heard something that disturbed him from one of the Turkish clients (*mawālī*), so he left Damascus for Iraq. During his reign he made no journeys except this one, apart from pleasure outings. During this journey, he saw nothing and attended to no one's welfare, although all of Syria had been struck by earthquakes that destroyed Latakia and Jabala and led to the deaths of so many inhabitants that people fled into the desert and abandoned their homes and everything in them. This continued without interruption for several months into the year 245.<sup>3710</sup>

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Al-Mutawakkil moved to a site known as al-Māhūza, which was located three farsakhs from the Samarra palace.<sup>3711</sup> There he built a city that he named al-Ja'fariyya, and he dug a canal to it<sup>3712</sup> from al-Qāṭūl. He moved the secretaries, the government offices, and the people (*al-nās*) entirely to the new site, where

<sup>3705</sup> The MSS have an undotted word too ambiguous to read.

<sup>3706</sup> Began March 31, 857.

<sup>3707</sup> Ed. Leiden originally read (with C), "Muhammad b. Aḥmad b. Mudabbir," and the editor corrected it in the *Addenda et corrigenda*. The mistake can be explained from M, which originally read simply, "Aḥmad b. Mudabbir." Someone corrected the omission by writing "Muhammad b." in the margin, but apparently neglected to indicate where "Muhammad b." was to be inserted. A later hand added "Aḥmad" after the marginal correction and inserted a small "x" above "Aḥmad" in the text, further confusing the issue, and the copyist of C produced the reading "Muhammad b. Aḥmad."

<sup>3708</sup> 20 Dhū l-Qa'da 243 = March 10, 858.

<sup>3709</sup> 21 Ṣafar 244 = June 8, 858.

<sup>3710</sup> 245 A.H. = April 8, 859 – March 27, 860.

<sup>3711</sup> Reckoning a farsakh as 3 Arab miles, this would come to approximately 18.0 km (11.2 mi.) to the north of Samarra.

<sup>3712</sup> Reading with M, *ilayhā* (sloppily written); ed. L, *minhā* (from it).

he built a palace whose like had never been heard of before. This occurred in Muḥarram in the year 246.<sup>3713</sup>

Al-Mutawakkil turned against the secretary Najāḥ b. Salama,<sup>3714</sup> who was the secretary who had wielded the greatest influence over him, except for ‘Ubaydallāh b. Yahyā. He had persisted in [...]<sup>3715</sup> people's money. Al-Mutawakkil turned him over to Mūsā b. ‘Abd al-Malik b. Hishām, the head of the department of land tax, and to al-Ḥasan b. Makhlad b. al-Jarrāḥ, the head of the department of estates. The two men had guaranteed him payment of 2,000,000 dinars. Mūsā b. ‘Abd al-Malik had him tortured for a number of days, and he died under his hands. His estates, homes, and wealth were seized. This took place in Dhū l-Qaḍā in the year 246.<sup>3716</sup>

Al-Mutawakkil had behaved coarsely toward his son Muḥammad al-Muntaṣir, and so they<sup>3717</sup> incited Muḥammad against him and plotted to attack him. On Tuesday, 3 Shawwāl 247,<sup>3718</sup> a group of Turks that included Bughā the Younger, Ūtāmīsh | the companion (*sāhib*) of al-Muntaṣir, Bāghir, Baghlūn,<sup>3719</sup> [...],<sup>3720</sup> Wājin, [...],<sup>3721</sup> and Kindāsh broke in. Al-Mutawakkil was in a private audience chamber.<sup>3722</sup> They set upon him and killed him with their swords. They killed al-Fath b. Khāqān along with him.

<sup>3713</sup> Began March 28, 860.

<sup>3714</sup> For two not always reconcilable accounts of the fall of Najāḥ b. Salama, see al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:1440–1447 (trans. Kraemer, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, xxxiv, 158–164). Both versions situate the episode in the context of rivalry at court between Najāḥ and the vizier ‘Ubaydallāh b. Yahyā b. Khāqān and al-Mutawakkil's need for money to finance his building projects.

<sup>3715</sup> The word, which from the context must be a verb, is undotted and too ambiguous to read. The Leiden editor conjectured *yatanaddakh* (sprinkle himself with), but the conjecture makes little sense.

<sup>3716</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:1443, gives a date of 23 Dhū l-Qaḍā 246 (February 18, 860) for his death.

<sup>3717</sup> “They” refers to the group of Turks mentioned in the next sentence. The parallel in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:1452–1465, gives examples of the caliph's coarse behavior and intentional snubs toward his son.

<sup>3718</sup> December 10, 861.

<sup>3719</sup> M, Baghlūn, corrected by ed. Leiden.

<sup>3720</sup> The name is too ambiguous to be read.

<sup>3721</sup> Another name too ambiguous to be read.

<sup>3722</sup> Arabic *majlis khalwa*. This might also mean “a private gathering,” but the parallel accounts contain frequent occurrences of the word *majlis* in the sense of an audience chamber. Perhaps “private sitting-room” would fit the context. The account in al-Ṭabarī has al-Mutawakkil eat and drink a great deal, so that he was drunk at the time of the assassination.

Al-Mutawakkil's caliphate lasted for 14 years, 9 months, and 9 days. He was 42 years old. He was buried in his palace known as al-Ja'farī that he had named al-Māḥūza.<sup>3723</sup> The persons with the greatest influence over him were al-Fatḥ b. Khāqān and 'Ubaydallāh b. Yahyā the secretary. His security services (*shurat*) were headed by Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm, followed by Muḥammad b. Ishāq, followed by Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. Tāhir. His palace guard (*haras*) was headed by Ishāq b. Yahyā b. Mu'ādh, followed by Rajā' b. Ayyūb, followed by Sulaymān b. Yahyā b. Mu'ādh. His chamberlains (*hujjāb*) were Waṣīf and Bughā.<sup>3724</sup>

### The Days of Muḥammad al-Muntaşir

The oath of allegiance was sworn to Muḥammad al-Muntaşir b. Ja'far al-Mutawakkil, whose mother was a Byzantine slave concubine (*umm walad*) named Ḥubshiyya, on the night that his father was killed. This was the eve of Wednesday, 6 Shawwāl 247.<sup>3725</sup>

On that day the Sun was in Scorpio, 15° 52'; the Moon in Libra, 26° 4'; Saturn in Virgo, 21° 20'; Jupiter in Taurus, 2° 35'; Mars in Sagittarius, 25° 2'; Venus in Scorpio, 2° 25'; and Mercury in Scorpio, 3° 22'.

Al-Muntaşir brought together his brothers [Abū]<sup>3726</sup> 'Abdallāh al-Mu'tazz bi-llāh and Ibrāhīm al-Mu'ayyad and had them swear the oath of allegiance, along with all the other people (*al-nās*) in attendance. He rode to the Dār al-'Āmma, where he presented the army with the equivalent of ten months pay (*rizq*). He left the Ja'farī palace for Samarra<sup>3727</sup> and ordered the destruction of

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<sup>3723</sup> The text seems to be disturbed. One would expect, "in his palace at *al-Māḥūza* that he had named *al-Ja'farī*."

<sup>3724</sup> The text does not specify which of the two Bughās is meant.

<sup>3725</sup> Sic. According to al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 3:1455, the events leading to the assassination of al-Mutawakkil took place on Tuesday, 3 Shawwāl (the date that al-Ya'qūbī has just given for the assassination), but the assassination itself took place after dark and therefore according to Arabic reckoning on Wednesday, 4 Shawwāl, with al-Muntaşir receiving the oath of allegiance the same night (al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 3:1465, 1471). Since al-Ya'qūbī himself has given Tuesday as the *third* day of the month, his saying that Wednesday was the *sixth* is strange. The mss are very clear. On the reign of al-Muntaşir, see the article by C. E. Bosworth in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Muntaşir.

<sup>3726</sup> As corrected in the *Addenda et emendanda* of ed. Leiden. The mss read "his two brothers (*dual*) 'Abdallāh, and al-Mu'tazz bi-llāh, and al-Mu'ayyad, and had them (*plural*) swear ..."

<sup>3727</sup> That is, he left the new district constructed by his father, al-Mutawakkil, and moved back to the older center of the city.

those palaces. He had the people (*al-nās*) move away from them; that city was abandoned and fell into ruins, and the people (*al-nās*) returned to their homes in Samarra.

He removed his brothers al-Mu'tazz and al-Mu'ayyad from the succession and made them testify that they had removed themselves.<sup>3728</sup>

He transferred Ahmād b. Muḥammad b. al-Mudabbir from the Syrian districts to Egypt. The Syrian districts were distributed among a group (of officials).

The persons with the greatest influence over him were Ūtāmish and Ahmād b. al-Khaṣīb. His caliphate lasted for six months. He died on Saturday, 4 Rabī' II 248.<sup>3729</sup> He was 25 years and 6 months old.

### The Days of Ahmād al-Musta'īn

The oath of allegiance was sworn to Ahmād b. Muḥammad b. al-Mu'taṣim on the day that al-Muntaṣir died. This was Saturday, 4 Rabī' II.<sup>3730</sup>

On that day the Sun was in Gemini, 15° 11'; Saturn in Virgo, 16° 7'; Jupiter in Gemini, 15°; Mars in Gemini, 3° 27'; Venus in Cancer, 14° 22'; and Mercury in Cancer, 4° 22'.

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Al-Musta'īn was not qualified to hold the office of caliph; however, when al-Muntaṣir died, the Turks distrusted the sons of al-Mutawakkil, fearing evil consequences.<sup>3731</sup> Ahmād b. al-Khaṣīb advised them to swear allegiance to Ahmād b. Muḥammad b. al-Mu'taṣim, which they did. Some of the commanders refused. Disputes broke out between the Turks and the Abnā', and they ended up fighting for three days until the situation of the Abnā' weakened. Al-Musta'īn distributed large sums to the people (*al-nās*), and his situation stabilized.

Ūtāmish al-Turkī, Shujā' b. al-Qāsim—he was Ūtāmish's secretary—and Ahmād b. al-Khaṣīb exerted such influence over al-Musta'īn that no one else had any say at all. Afterward, the Turks moved against Ahmād b. al-Khaṣīb. Al-Musta'īn turned against him and exiled him to the Maghrib four months after taking office. He was transported by sea to Crete and then to al-Qayrawān.

<sup>3728</sup> That is, that they had done so voluntarily.

<sup>3729</sup> June 7, 862.

<sup>3730</sup> Other dates are given; see the article by K. V. Zetterstéen and C. E. Bosworth in *EI<sup>2</sup>*, s.v. al-Musta'īn.

<sup>3731</sup> That is, the consequences of their murder of al-Mutawakkil: any of the slain caliph's surviving sons might be tempted to exact vengeance on them.

No person was feared more by the companions of al-Musta'İN than the master of Khurāsān.<sup>3732</sup> Therefore when Ṭāhir b. ‘Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir died in Rajab 248<sup>3733</sup> at the age of 44, their anxiety was dispelled, and they schemed to send Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh away from Iraq to Khurāsān. Al-Musta'İN asked him to proceed to Khurāsān, but he replied, "My brother appointed his son to succeed him, and therefore I fear that with my departure the situation in the land will deteriorate." Al-Musta'İN wrote to Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir b. ‘Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir, appointing him governor of Khurāsān in his father's stead.

The Khārijite Abū l-‘Amūd rebelled in Diyār Rabi'a in this year. Al-Musta'İN dispatched [...]<sup>3734</sup> al-Farghānī against him. He engaged him in battle, killed him, and dispersed his following.

When Ṭāhir (b. ‘Abdallāh) died | and his son Muḥammad was appointed governor—he was quite young when he was appointed—a group of Khārijites and others rose up in Khurāsān. The Khārijites became so numerous that they nearly wrested control over Sijistān. Ya'qūb b. al-Layth came before him<sup>3735</sup>—known as al-Ṣaffār,<sup>3736</sup> he was a daring and courageous man. He asked Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir to grant him leave to march against the Khārijites and to gather volunteers. Muḥammad granted him permission to do so. Ya'qūb proceeded to Sijistān and drove out the Khārijites there. He then marched to Kirmān and did the same until he had purged the province of them. His standing rose, and [al-Musta'İN]<sup>3737</sup> wrote to Muḥammad that he should appoint al-Ṣaffār as governor of Kirmān. He took up residence there and had an excellent effect on the province.

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3732 Arabic *ṣāḥib Khurāsān*. One is tempted to see this as referring to Ṭāhir b. ‘Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir, the governor of Khurāsān, whose death is reported in the next sentence. However, the context makes it likely that "master of Khurāsān" was a way of referring to Ṭāhir's brother Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh, originally from Khurāsān, who had been serving as military governor of Iraq since his appointment by al-Mutawakkil in 237/851 and whose presence members of al-Musta'İN's entourage might well fear because of his power and former closeness to al-Mutawakkil. For other accounts, see Kaabi, *Tahirides*, 1:333–334; Sourdel, *Vizirat, passim*; and Saliba, *The History of al-Tabari*, xxxv, 6 and note 20.

3733 The month began on August 31, 862.

3734 The name is too ambiguous to be read. In M it looks like "... *kājūr*." Al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 3:506 gives the name as Unūjūr al-Turkī.

3735 Both MSS have *qāla lahu* (said to him); ed. Leiden emends to *qāma lahu* (came before him).

3736 That is, the Coppersmith; on him, the founder of a line that displaced the Ṭāhirids, see the article by C. E. Bosworth in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ya'qūb b. al-Layth al-Ṣaffār.

3737 Added by the Leiden editor to avoid ambiguity.

A man from the Lakhm rose up in Jordan. The governor of Jordan pursued him, and so he made his way to [...]<sup>3738</sup> and fled. One of his officials, known as al-Quṭāmī,<sup>3739</sup> rose in his stead and his following became substantial. He collected the land tax and crushed one army after another that was sent against him by the governor of Palestine. He continued in this way until the arrival of Muzāḥim b. Khāqān al-Turkī at the head of a contingent of Turks and other troops. Muzāḥim dispersed his followers and drove them from the province.

The people of Ḥimṣ rebelled against their governor, Kaydar b. ‘Abdallāh al-Ushrūsanī, who marched against them with a contingent of troops. They defeated these troops—he himself went to Hama—killing a number of the troops and gibbeting their bodies. Al-Musta‘īn then appointed ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Ḥabīb al-Azdī over Ḥimṣ. He set out toward the city, but he died when he was four stages from it.<sup>3740</sup> Al-Musta‘īn then appointed al-Fadl b. Qārin al-Ṭabarī. When he reached the province, its inhabitants received him with expressions of loyalty and obedience, but they complained about how Kaydar had mistreated them. Al-Fadl entered | the city and remained for some days, the province being quiet. Then he discovered that they were planning to rise up against him, and so he seized a group of them and beheaded them.

Al-Musta‘īn exiled ‘Ubaydallāh b. Yaḥyā to Mecca, then to Barqa. This occurred early in the year 249.<sup>3741</sup>

The army in Samarra rose up time after time. They fought among themselves and struggled against Ūtāmish. They said, “He has taken our salaries (*arzāq*) and denied our promotions (*marātib*).” A mob of Turks and freedmen (*mawālī*) marched to al-Karkh, and when Ūtāmish came out to appease them, they killed him and his secretary, Shujā‘ b. al-Qāsim. This occurred in the month of Rabī‘ II in the year 249.<sup>3742</sup> Their homes were plundered. This took place with the support of al-Musta‘īn, who sent letters cursing him to all the provinces.

In the year 249, al-Musta‘īn sent Ja‘far al-Khayyāt at the head of the summer campaign. Accompanying him was ‘Umar b. ‘Abdallāh al-Aqṭā‘, the governor

3738 The reading is uncertain. M appears to read Nābulus, but the last letter does not look like a normal final *sīn*. The Leiden editor conjectured that it should be read as the fortress of “Bāb Ufayq.”

3739 Suggested reading in ed. Leiden; the name is undotted in both MSS.

3740 The stage (Arabic *marħala*, plural *marāħil*) was the distance that a traveler could cover in one day, and therefore varied in length, depending on the terrain. The geographer al-Muqaddisi gives a normal range of between 6 and 7 farsakhs (approximately 35.9 to 41.9 km). See *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Marħala.

3741 249 A.H. = February 24, 863 – February 12, 864.

3742 The month began on April 24, 863.

of Malatya. Having entered Byzantine territory, 'Umar requested permission to push ahead—he was with 8,000 troops. The enemy surrounded him, and in Rajab of the year 249 he and those with him were wiped out.<sup>3743</sup>

Al-Musta'İN appointed 'Alī b. Yahyā al-Armanī over Armenia in this year. The situation in the province had become unsettled. He made his way to Mayyāfariqīn. The Byzantines attacked and penetrated deeply into Muslim territory. A group of the inhabitants of the province met with 'Alī b. Yahyā, demanding that he confront the Byzantines and urging him on. He marched out with them, met the Byzantine army, and engaged them in a fierce battle. He was killed, and the Byzantines made off with his corpse.<sup>3744</sup> The Byzantines deemed it a tremendous victory because of all the trouble he had caused them.

In this year, the people of Ḥimṣ rose up against al-Fadl b. Qārin al-Ṭabarī, their governor, and gathered forces against him from clans of the Kalb. He fortified himself against them in the palace of Khālid b. Yazīd b. Mu'awiya, which he had renovated, and they besieged him. Those with him seized him and turned him over to his opponents, who took him, butchered him, and hung his corpse on al-Rastan Gate.<sup>3745</sup> Having killed him, they grew fearful of the governor of Damascus, so they marched against him—he was Nūsharā<sup>3746</sup> b. Tājīl al-Turkī. He attacked them with a force composed of al-Bābakiyya<sup>3747</sup> and others. These routed them, and they retreated to Ḥimṣ. Al-Musta'İN then dispatched Mūsā b. [Bughā]<sup>3748</sup> the Elder with a force of 6,000 freedmen (*mawālī*) to Ḥimṣ. When he reached the city, a man named Dābir al-'Affār<sup>3749</sup> led a large number of Kalb tribesmen and others against him and engaged him in battle. When the tide turned against them, Mūsā entered Ḥimṣ by force and permitted it to be plundered for three days. It was sacked, its houses set

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3743 The month began on August 20, 863. In the parallel in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 3:1509, the name of the leader of the summer campaign is given as Ja'far b. Dīnār, apparently the same person.

3744 Reading *badanahu*, as corrected by the Leiden editor; C and M read *yadahu* (his hand).

3745 This gate in Ḥimṣ is mentioned by al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 3:1464; M reads *Bāb al-Rasīn*.

3746 Undotted in both mss. See Gordon, *Thousand Swords* (index), and Cobb, *White Banners*, 100, who reads the name as al-Nawsharā.

3747 This is a curious name, if it is indeed the correct reading. In C the word is undotted; M has a dot only under the third letter. Sourdel, *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Bābak, mentions "Bābakiyya" in the sense of "followers of Bābak." It seems odd that his followers or former followers would be fighting under a Turkish commander on behalf of the government in Syria.

3748 Lacuna in both mss; ed. Leiden completes the name on the basis of al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 3:1533; cf. Cobb, *White Banners*, 100.

3749 The name is undotted in both mss. The translation follows the suggested reading in ed. Leiden.

afire, and the merchants' goods pillaged. Leading the uprising in Ḥimṣ was al-‘Uṭayf<sup>3750</sup> b. Ni‘ma al-Kalbī.

In al-Ma‘arra, a person known as al-Qaṣīṣ<sup>3751</sup>—Yūsūf b. Ibrāhīm al-Tanūkhī—rose up as well. He gathered contingents of the Tanūkh and made his way to the city of Qinnasrīn, where he fortified himself. He remained there until Muḥammad al-Muwallad, the client of the Commander of the Faithful (*Mawlā Amīr al-Mu‘minīn*), arrived. Al-Muwallad won al-Qaṣīṣ over and also won over ‘Uṭayf b. Ni‘ma. (Al-Muwallad) marched toward him, but then turned on ‘Uṭayf b. Ni‘ma and killed him. Al-Qaṣīṣ fled and made his way to Jabal al-Aswad. Tribal groups of the Kalb gathered near Ḥimṣ in opposition to al-Muwallad. He marched against them and engaged them in battle. At first the tide of battle was against them, but they rallied against him and routed him, killing a large number of his men. He retreated to Aleppo with his routed force.<sup>3752</sup> | Al-Qaṣīṣ returned to Qinnasrīn, where a clash occurred between him and the Kalb. Al-Muwallad was dismissed (by al-Muṣṭa‘īn, who then) appointed Abū l-Sāj al-Ushrūsanī as governor. He wrote to al-Qaṣīṣ, promising him safe-conduct, and extended to him access to the roads and official protection. He then appointed him over Latakia and its environs.

Yaḥyā b. ‘Umar [b. Yaḥyā]<sup>3753</sup> b. Abī l-Ḥusayn b. Zayd b. ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib was in Samarra. He approached a certain official on some business of his, but the latter dealt with him in a manner not to his liking,<sup>3754</sup> so he left for Kufa, where the people rallied to him. He rose up in Kufa, opened the prison, and released everyone in it. He drove off the governor of Kufa, consolidated his position, and his followers grew in number. Al-Muṣṭa‘īn dispatched a Turk named Kalkātekīn,<sup>3755</sup> while Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir dispatched al-Ḥusayn b. Ismā‘īl, a relative of his. Yaḥyā b. ‘Umar marched out at the head of a large force and an enormous following. The armies met at a place called Shāhī<sup>3756</sup> between Kufa and Baghdad, 13 nights remaining in Rajab in the year

3750 M, Ghutayf; C, undotted; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:1533, ‘Uṭayf.

3751 Suggested reading in ed. Leiden (alternate reading, al-Fuṣayṣ, in Cobb, *White Banners*, 100).

3752 Following ed. Leiden, *fi fallīhi*; M, *fi qillatīn* (with a small number).

3753 Present in M (written between the lines); absent in C and ed. Leiden.

3754 Reading *bi-mā lā yuḥibbu*; the last word is scarcely legible in M, only partially complete in C.

3755 Or Kalbātekīn. See al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:1523.

3756 The mss have simply “S/Sh ...” followed by a lacuna. The reading “Shāhī” is based on al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:1519.

249,<sup>3757</sup> and fought fiercely. Then Yahyā's men deserted him, and he was killed in the battle. His head was carried to Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh b. Ṭahir. It was placed before him on a shield, and the people came in to congratulate him. However, one of the Banū Hāshim said to him, “You are being congratulated for an act such that had the Messenger of God witnessed it, he would have received condolences for it.”

The army of Fārs rose up in this year against their governor, al-Ḥusayn b. Khālid. They rioted against him and, seizing revenue that just had been delivered, they took their salaries (*arzāq*) from it. Their leader was ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Quraysh al-Bukhārī.<sup>3758</sup> Fārs had been joined to the lands under the authority of Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh b. Ṭahir. When the news reached him, he appointed | ‘Abdallāh b. Ishāq, who went to the province with supplies and troops. When he reached it, the army offered him obedience. His target was Ibn Quraysh. He treated him harshly at first, but then showed him favor and assigned him the task of campaigning against a group of Khārijites near al-Fursh<sup>3759</sup> and al-Rūdhān,<sup>3760</sup> which are on the border separating Fārs and Kirmān. Ibn Quraysh proceeded to the environs of Iṣṭakhr. He corresponded with the army, informing them that he had rebelled against ‘Abdallāh b. Ishāq. They voiced support for him because of the mistreatment they had received at the hands of ‘Abdallāh and his failure to deliver their salaries to them. ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn returned, and (the troops) rose up against ‘Abdallāh. They evicted him from his home, plundered his valuables and household effects, and appointed ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn as their chief. ‘Abdallāh departed for Baghdad. Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh dispatched [‘Abdallāh]<sup>3761</sup> b. Naṣr b. Ḥamza al-Khuza’ī (against Ibn Quraysh). When he reached the province, he made overtures to ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn, but the latter did not accept a settlement. He continued to elude him in an area in the countryside of Fārs.

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Ismā’il b. Yūsuf al-Ṭalibī rose up in the area of Medina because of a matter that arose there between him and the governor. The latter had behaved unfairly in regard to a *waqf* property belonging to Ismā’il. He gathered a band of Arab tribesmen and proceeded to the area of al-Rawḥā’. He seized government

3757 17 Rajab 249 = September 5, 863.

3758 Neither ms has dotting on “Quraysh” or “al-Bukhārī.” Also, neither al-Ṭabarī nor Ibn al-Athīr provide this *nisba*; they have “Ibn Shibl,” but they do agree on “Quraysh.”

3759 M writes the name of the place without dots; the reading of ed. Leiden is based on Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 10:324, and Iṣṭakhrī, 109.

3760 Undotted in both mss; M apparently has “al-Rūzān.”

3761 Missing in both mss, but has to be assumed.

revenue that had been brought in from various places, and then made his way to Mecca, where Ja‘far b. al-Fadl, who was known as Bashāshāt, was the governor. Engaging him in battle, Ismā‘il defeated Bashāshāt and entered Mecca where he remained for three days. He then went to al-Muzdalifa and reached Minā in the morning. The people there had scattered in flight and those in the company of Ibn Ya‘qūb<sup>3762</sup> entered Mecca, but the people of Mecca assumed that they were Ismā‘il’s men and attacked them with swords, killing a great number of them. Ismā‘il approached Mecca, but the people of Mecca denied him | entry, and so his men turned their swords on them until he was able to enter. He performed the *Tawāf* and the *Sa‘y*, then returned to complete the *Tawāf*.<sup>3763</sup> He then proceeded to Minā. In Mecca there was a man named Muḥammad b. Ḥātim who was responsible for the expenses of construction projects. He said to Ya‘qūb, “Tear off the gold and silver from the lintel<sup>3764</sup> and threshold of the Ka‘ba, distribute it to the people, and fight Ismā‘il.” Ya‘qūb stripped off the gold. Ismā‘il, however, remained in Minā through the Days of Minā; then he departed.

[...]<sup>3765</sup> Prices rose so much in Baghdad and Samarra that the price of a *qafiz*<sup>3766</sup> (of wheat) reached 100 dirhams. Fighting persisted, the grain supply was disrupted, and money became scarce.<sup>3767</sup> Envoys hurried between them<sup>3768</sup> in the year 252.<sup>3769</sup> Al-Musta‘in finally proposed a settlement. Its terms were that he would abdicate, yield authority to al-Mu‘tazz, and proceed to some location where he and his children might reside in safety; also, an agreed stipend would be provided to him, as well as estates to sustain him.

3762 Identity unclear; an Ibn Ya‘qūb appears a bit later in the text.

3763 That is, he circumambulated the Ka‘ba (the *tawāf*), ran between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa (the *sa‘y*), and performed the circumambulation again. These rites are part of the pilgrimage (*hajj*) and the lesser pilgrimage (*‘umra*).

3764 The MSS show a lacuna after the word *darwandā* (lintel), but nothing seems to be missing.

3765 The Leiden editor inferred a lacuna here, but none is visible in M, where there is a small *nūn* at end of preceding sentence, marking the end of a section.

3766 A measure of capacity for wheat. It varied between cities and regions. In Baghdad, it contained 120 ratls or 48.2 kg of wheat. See the article by E. Ashtor in *ER*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Mawāzīn*.

3767 The reference is likely to the civil conflict between al-Mu‘tazz and al-Musta‘in of this year. As the Leiden editor suggests, the lacuna appears to be very large; it may have been as much as a folio.

3768 Presumably between al-Mu‘tazz and al-Musta‘in although the Arabic pronoun is plural, not dual.

3769 252 A.H. = January 22, 866 – January 10, 867.

His offer was accepted, so he abdicated. Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh<sup>3770</sup> swore the oath of allegiance (to al-Mu’tazz). Al-Musta‘īn wrote the letter of abdication and had it witnessed; then he proceeded to Wāsiṭ with his mother, his children, and the rest of his family, there to establish his residence.

### The Days of al-Mu’tazz Bi-llāh

Abū ‘Abdallāh al-Mu’tazz bi-llāh b. al-Mutawakkil, whose mother was a slave concubine (*umm walad*) named Qabīha,<sup>3771</sup> was given the oath of allegiance in Samarra on Thursday, 7 Muḥarram 252.<sup>3772</sup> He wrote to all the governors, informing them of the agreement that had been reached concerning Ibrāhīm al-Mu’ayyad and ordering them to pray for Ibrāhīm immediately after him. The provincial governors swore the oath of allegiance to al-Mu’tazz after learning | that Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh b. Tāhir and others in Baghdad had sworn it. Ibn Mujāhid, the master (*ṣāhib*) of Shimshāṭ,<sup>3773</sup> declined to do so, as did Īsā b. Shaykh<sup>3774</sup> in Palestine, Yazīd b. ‘Abdallāh in Egypt, and ‘Imrān b. Mihrān in Isfahan. Al-Mu’tazz dispatched Ḥātim b. Zayrak<sup>3775</sup> to Shimshāṭ, where he attacked Ibn Mujāhid and the people there. He took him and a group of its leading men to Āmid and beheaded them.

Nūsharāb<sup>3776</sup> b. Tājīl al-Turkī, the governor of Damascus, marched on Īsā b. Shaykh as Īsā, the governor of Palestine, marched toward him. Their forces met in Jordan, where a series of heavy clashes occurred in which Nūsharāb’s son was

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<sup>3770</sup> That is, in his capacity as governor of Baghdad and, until that point, an ally of al-Musta‘īn.

<sup>3771</sup> *Qabīha* means “Ugly.” Pellat in the index to his edition of al-Mas‘ūdī, *Muṛūj*, 7:570, assembles the references to her and concludes that the name was apotropaic: meant to ward off the bad luck that might be attracted by her beauty. The name may reflect, however, nothing more than the playful intent behind some slave names.

<sup>3772</sup> January 28, 866. On his caliphate, see the article by C. E. Bosworth in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Mu’tazz Bi ‘llāh.

<sup>3773</sup> Shimshāṭ (not to be confused with Sumaysāṭ farther south) was an Islamic town on the left bank of the southern headwater of the upper Euphrates in the borderland between the Arabs and the Greeks; see the article by C. E. Bosworth in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Shimshāṭ.

<sup>3774</sup> On his career, see the article by M. Canard in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Īsā b. al-Shaykh; also Cobb, *White Banners*, 37–41.

<sup>3775</sup> Ed. Leiden, Zarik or Zurayk; M is too ambiguous to read. Al-Tabarī, *Ta’rīkh*, 3:1881, mentions a Ḥātim b. Zayrak b. Salām.

<sup>3776</sup> So written in al-Yāqūbī; other versions of the name are al-Nūsharī or al-Nawsharī. See the article by C. E. Bosworth in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Nūsharī.

killed. The army deserted ‘Isā, leaving him alone; he fled to Palestine and then made his way to Egypt, carrying away all that he could. Nūsharā entered al-Ramla, while al-Mu‘tazz dispatched a Turk to Egypt to administer the oath of allegiance. Yazīd b. ‘Abdallāh, the governor of Egypt, detained him at al-‘Arīsh for several days, then permitted him to enter Egypt, where (Yazīd) and those in his presence, along with ‘Isā b. Shaykh, swore the oath of allegiance to al-Mu‘tazz.

Al-Mu‘tazz dispatched a Turk named Muḥammad b. al-Muwalled to Palestine after receiving a report about ‘Isā b. Shaykh and what had happened between him and Nūsharā. When Muḥammad b. al-Muwalled reached Himṣ, where ‘Uṭayf<sup>3777</sup> al-Kalbī had taken control, he summoned ‘Uṭayf to obedience and offered him a guarantee of safe-conduct. ‘Uṭayf accepted, but when al-Muwalled got hold of him, he beheaded him. The Kalb therefore rose against him from every side and drove him away. Muḥammad b. al-Muwalled made his way to Palestine, and on his arrival Nūsharā left. ‘Isā b. Shaykh made his way from Egypt with a well-supplied force. When he arrived in Palestine, he settled in a palace that he had built between Ramla and Lod. He gave [Ibn]<sup>3778</sup> al-Muwalled no opportunity to act against him, and each was afraid to attack the other. Both men afterward went back to Iraq.

(Al-Mu‘tazz) dispatched Muzāḥim b. Khāqān to Malatya, where the Byzantines had appeared several times.

In Egypt, a man from the Kināna named Jābir, known as Abū Ḥarmala, rose up. [...]<sup>3779</sup> He dispatched him to Lower Egypt, and he himself stayed where he was. Support for him increased, and he levied the land tax.

Şafwān al-‘Uqaylī had risen up in Diyār Muḍar in the days of al-Musta‘īn, as we have mentioned in our previous account of him.<sup>3780</sup> He had proclaimed his support for al-Mu‘tazz and had fought against Muḥammad b. Dāwūd, known as Abū l-Ṣaqr.<sup>3781</sup> As soon as the conflict had ended<sup>3782</sup> and the officials on hand in al-Rāfiqa had sworn allegiance, Muḥammad b. al-Ash‘ath al-Khuza‘ī, the head of the intelligence service (*ṣāḥib al-barīd*) in Diyār Muḍar, wrote to

<sup>3777</sup> As in M, C; the Leiden editor emended to Ghuṭayf. In any case, it is not certain that this is the same person as al-‘Uṭayf b. Ni‘ma al-Kalbī mentioned above, ed. Leiden, 2:606.

<sup>3778</sup> Added by the Leiden editor.

<sup>3779</sup> A lacuna must be assumed, although the MSS show no break.

<sup>3780</sup> The text as extant lacks any previous mention of Şafwān al-‘Uqaylī. It presumably occurred in the lacuna indicated at ed. Leiden, 2:610.

<sup>3781</sup> The likely reading of M; ed. Leiden reads “Ibn al-Saghīr,” noting that the name is undotted in C.

<sup>3782</sup> Likely referring to the the conflict between al-Mu‘tazz and al-Musta‘īn.

al-Mu'tazz, informing him of Ṣafwān's disaffection and indicating that he was harboring thoughts of rebellion. Al-Mu'tazz dispatched Sīmā al-Ṣa'lūk against him with orders to transport Ṣafwān directly to him. Meanwhile, two men had risen up in Ḥarrān, one of them a descendant of Abū Lahab, the other an Umayyad. Each proclaimed his rightful leadership. Sīmā accordingly turned his attention first to the two men, and only after seizing them did he proceed to al-Rāfiqa. Meanwhile, Ṣafwān al-'Uqaylī had attacked Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath al-Khuzaī and killed him. When Sīmā arrived, [...]<sup>3783</sup> Ibn 'Abdūs<sup>3784</sup> and a series of clashes occurred between them. Ibn 'Abdūs then called for a settlement, on condition that he be allowed to govern his own province and that he would pay him 900,000 dirhams.<sup>3785</sup>

Mūsā b. Bughā remained in Hamadhān. He dispatched a deputy (*khalifa*) of his to | the region held by al-Kawkaṭī b. al-Arqāṭ, and clashes took place between their forces. Mūsā marched against 'Imrān b. Mihrān, who was in control of Isfahān, and fought him. Having designated a deputy over the province, he withdrew and returned to Hamadhān.

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Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh<sup>3786</sup> b. Ṭāhir died in Baghdad in Dhū l-Qa'da 253.<sup>3787</sup> Al-Mu'tazz wrote to 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir, appointing him to his brother's offices: the security service (*shurṭa*) and the other offices that his brother had held. On the day of his death, Muḥammad was 44 years old. [...]<sup>3788</sup> Then Ṭāhir b. Muḥammad<sup>3789</sup> b. 'Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir, the master (*sāhib*) of Khurāsān, dispatched Sulaymān b. 'Abdallāh, his paternal uncle, after word reached him concerning the troubled situation (in Iraq) and the control exercised by Waṣīf, Bughā, and other Turks over the caliphate—al-Mu'tazz is said to have written to Ṭāhir concerning this. Sulaymān proceeded to Baghdad at the head of a large contingent from the army of Khurāsān. Then he entered

<sup>3783</sup> A lacuna is likely. The translation follows M, *fa-lammā qadima* [unmarked lacuna] *ibn Abdūs*. The copyist of C left out the word *qadima* (arrived) and for *lammā* wrote *lahā*, which the Leiden editor emended to *laqīya* (met), yielding: "Sīmā met Ibn 'Abdūs," which makes sense but is probably not the original text.

<sup>3784</sup> His identity is unclear though, by implication, it is al-'Uqaylī.

<sup>3785</sup> The MSS might be read as *wa-yadfa'a ilayhi Bughā wahdahu ...* (and that Bughā alone would pay him ...). But as the Leiden editor acknowledged in a note, the meaning of the passage is obscure.

<sup>3786</sup> Both MSS have "Ibn 'Abdūs"; corrected by ed. Leiden.

<sup>3787</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, *Tarīkh*, 3:1691, gives the date of 14 Dhū l-Qa'da (November 15, 867).

<sup>3788</sup> The Leiden editor inferred the existence of a long lacuna here, based on comparison with the parallel in Ibn al-Athir, *al-Kāmil*, 7:121.

<sup>3789</sup> Both MSS have "Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir"; corrected in ed. Leiden.

Samarra, where the people were in no doubt that he would take control. (Al-Mu'tazz) bestowed a robe of honor [on him],<sup>3790</sup> while Waṣīf and Bughā plotted to get rid of him, and so he was ordered to return to Baghdad. He reached the city on Tuesday, 14 nights remaining in the month of Rabi' I in the year 254.<sup>3791</sup>

Bughā sent Ḫālīl b. Shaykh to deal with the military district of Palestine. The Turks lay in wait for him,<sup>3792</sup> to kill him in retaliation for Nūsharā's son, whom Ibn Shaykh had killed in Jordan. Ibn Shaykh set out in disguise on a rainy day with a small cavalry detachment,<sup>3793</sup> eluded them, and made his way to Palestine. There he discovered funds that had been brought from Egypt. He impounded them and (with them) drafted | contingents of Arab tribesmen. He gathered to himself a good number of Rabi'a tribesmen, and he contracted a marriage alliance between himself and the Kalb tribes. He built himself a fortress outside of the city of al-Ramla that he named al-Ḥusāmī.<sup>3794</sup>

As the unrest increased,<sup>3795</sup> revenue deliveries from the provinces were delayed and the treasuries were exhausted. The Turks rose up in Karkh Samarra. Waṣīf rode out to quiet them, but they shot him with arrows, killed him, and severed his head. This occurred in the year 253.<sup>3796</sup> Bughā<sup>3797</sup> now stood alone in a position of authority. Then, however, Ṣāliḥ b. Waṣīf became active; his father's men gathered around him, and he assumed his father's standing. Al-Mu'tazz grew so weak that he could no longer command or forbid, and the provinces broke away. In Diyār Rabi'a, a Khārijite named Musāwir<sup>3798</sup> b. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, known as Abū Ṣāliḥ, from the Banū Shaybān, rebelled. He made his way to Mosul, where he drove off the local governor. He then approached Samarra, where he took up residence in al-Muhammadiyya,<sup>3799</sup> three farsakhs from the palaces of the caliph. He entered the palace, sat upon the furniture, and made use of the bath. Al-Mu'tazz sent officer after officer, army after army, against him, but he defeated all of them. His following increased, and his power grew.

3790 Not in the MSS; added by the Leiden editor.

3791 15 Rabi' II 254 = April 13, 868.

3792 Reading *rāṣadahu*, as emended by ed. Leiden; the MSS read *ṣaddahu* (barred his way).

3793 Arabic *khayl jarida*; explained in the glossary to *Bibliotheca geographorum arabicorum* (ed. De Goeje), 8xiv, as a troop containing less than 40 horsemen.

3794 Sic ed. Leiden (apparently following C); M, al-Ḥusāsī (undotted and ambiguous).

3795 That is, in Samarra.

3796 253 A.H. = January 11, 867 – December 31, 867.

3797 That is, Bughā the Younger.

3798 As corrected by the Leiden editor; cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 3:1688.

3799 Al-Muhammadiyya was one of al-Mutawakkil's palaces. See Kraemer, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, XXXIV, 154, note 510.

Muzāhim b. Khāqān died on 5 Muḥarram 254.<sup>3800</sup> A son named Ahmād assumed his position<sup>3801</sup> for only a few days before he fell ill and died. His tenure in office lasted three months. He died in the month of Rabī‘ II.<sup>3802</sup> Urkhūz b. Ūlugh Ṭarkhān al-Turkī took charge of the province.

'Alī b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Mūsā b. Ja'far b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib died in Samarra on Wednesday, 3 nights remaining in Jumādā I in the year 254.<sup>3803</sup> | Al-Mu'tazz sent his brother, Ahmād b. al-Mutawakkil, who prayed over him, this taking place on the avenue known as Shāri' Abī Ahmād. As the people grew in number and gathered together, their wailing and clamor increased. His funeral bier therefore was returned to his residence and he was buried there. He was 40 years of age. He left two sons behind, al-Ḥasan and Ja'far.

Al-Mu'tazz became hostile toward Bughā (the Younger) and showed favor to Ṣāliḥ (b. Waṣīf) and Bāyakbāk.<sup>3804</sup> He transferred to Bāyakbāk responsibility for the supplementary imposts (*ma'iwin*) in Egypt, and Bāyakbāk appointed Ahmād b. Tūlūn as his deputy. Ahmād b. Tūlūn proceeded to al-Fuṣṭāṭ in the month of Ramaḍān in the year 254.<sup>3805</sup>

Al-Mu'tazz received word that Bughā had decided to move against him,<sup>3806</sup> and so he plotted to kill him. When Bughā received word of this, he fled and went to the region of Mosul, anticipating that most of the Turks and others would join him there, but no one did, and so he set out to return to Samarra in a small skiff. Armed guards<sup>3807</sup> seized him, and al-Mu'tazz, notified of his arrest, ordered that Bughā be beheaded. He was beheaded, his residence was

<sup>3800</sup> January 5, 868.

<sup>3801</sup> Probably referring to the governorship of Egypt; cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 3:1693, where his death is said to have taken place in Egypt at the end of 253.

<sup>3802</sup> The month began on March 30, 868.

<sup>3803</sup> 26 Jumādā I 254 = June 22, 868; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 3:1697, dates his death one day earlier. He was the tenth Imam of the twelver Shi'a, and was known as 'Alī al-Hādī. He was the son of Muḥammad al-Taqī and the grandson of 'Alī b. Mūsā, known as al-Riḍā.

<sup>3804</sup> The name follows the spelling in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 3:1697; it is written as Bānakyāl in M; ed. Leiden Bābakbāk.

<sup>3805</sup> The month began on August 24, 868. This is al-Ya'qūbi's first mention of Ahmād b. Tūlūn, the founder of a short-lived autonomous state in Egypt. On his life, see the article by Matthew S. Gordon in *EI*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. Ahmād b. Tūlūn.

<sup>3806</sup> Reading *al-wuthūb bihi*, as corrected in ed. Leiden; M and C read *al-wuqūf bihi* (to stand with him).

<sup>3807</sup> Arabic *ash'hāb al-masāliḥ* apparently refers to troops manning guard posts on road; see the *Glossarium* to the Leiden Ṭabarī, ccxcv.

sacked, and his son Fāris was banished to the Maghrib, this in the year 254.<sup>3808</sup> Fearing that the Turks would rise up, al-Mu'tazz sent all the Hāshimites who were in Samarra—both sons of caliphs and others—to Baghdad to prevent the Turks from snatching any of them.

Ahmad b. Tūlūn and Ahmād b. al-Mudabbir, the head of the land tax department in Egypt, turned on each other. Shuqayr the Eunuch (*al-Khādim*), known as Abū Ṣuhba, stirred up hatred between the two men. Shuqayr was in charge of the intelligence service (*barīd*), a number of estates assigned as land grants,<sup>3809</sup> and the production of goods for use by the state (*sultān*)—from his name comes the name of Shuqayrī brocade.<sup>3810</sup> Each man wrote letters attacking the other. Bāyakbāk, who backed Ahmād b. Tūlūn, exerted the greatest influence over the affairs of the caliphate, and he was supported in the matter by al-Ḥasan b. Makhlad b. al-Jarrāḥ and Abū Nūḥ ʻIsā b. Ibrāhīm b. Nūḥ. He<sup>3811</sup> wrote to order the dismissal of Ibn al-Mudabbir and the appointment of an Egyptian notable named Muḥammad b. Hilāl. The latter took charge of the land tax. Ibn Tūlūn had Ibn al-Mudabbir arrested and placed in irons. He clothed him in a woollen coat and stood him in the sun, a condition in which he remained for three months.

Yaʻqūb b. al-Layth al-Ṣaffār gained strength. He marched on Fārs, where ʻAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Quraysh held sway. He defeated the latter's army and took him captive, and assumed control over Fārs.

Ṣāliḥ b. Waṣīf al-Turkī turned against the secretary Ahmād b. Isrāʼil, al-Mu'tazz's vizier, against al-Ḥasan b. Makhlad, the head of the department of estates, and against ʻIsā b. Ibrāhīm b. Nūḥ.<sup>3812</sup> He imprisoned them, seized their wealth and estates, had them subjected to various forms of torture, and assumed full control. Al-Mu'tazz feared that the Turks would act in concert.<sup>3813</sup>

<sup>3808</sup> 254 A.H. = January 1 – December 19, 868.

<sup>3809</sup> Arabic *diyāʻ al-iqtāʻ*.

<sup>3810</sup> Arabic *al-dabīqī al-shuqayrī*. Dabīqī, named for the town of Dabīq near Damietta, was a kind of brocade produced in Egypt. See the article by G. Wiet in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Dabīq.

<sup>3811</sup> Apparently Bāyakbāk, rather than the caliph himself.

<sup>3812</sup> At this point, M inserts the words “and against Ibn Nūḥ.” This would seem to be a copyist's error. The copyist of C, working from M, tried to make sense of this by turning it into “and ‘Alī b. Nūḥ”—interpreting *ʻalā* (against) as the name *ʻAlī*, which has the same spelling. As no such person is mentioned anywhere, the Leiden editor inferred that the name ought to be removed from the text as a scribal error. Note that in al-Ṭabarī, *Taʼrīkh*, 3:1706, ʻIsā b. Isrāʼil has the kunya Abū Nūḥ.

<sup>3813</sup> Arabic *fa-hamma al-Mu'tazz bi-jam' al-Atrāk*. This is quite cryptic, given the lack of context. It might possibly mean, “al-Mu'tazz was about to act against the assemblage of the Turks.” Cf. the parallel account of the deposition in al-Ṭabarī, *Taʼrīkh*, 3:1709–1711.

Then (Şâlih) burst in on him and removed him from his audience chamber. He was confined to an inner room, and obliged to draw up a document in which he declared his own abdication. He died two days later, and al-Muhtadī prayed over him. This occurred on Tuesday, 3 nights remaining in Rajab in the year 255.<sup>3814</sup> His tenure in office, from the day he was given the oath of allegiance to the day on which he abdicated, was four years and nine months. The time that elapsed from the abdication of al-Musta'in and the taking of the oath of allegiance to him by those in Baghdad was three years and seven months. He was 22 years old and he left three sons: 'Abdallāh, Muḥammad, and al-Muhtadī.

### The Days of Muḥammad al-Muhtadī b. Hārūn al-Wāthiq Bi-llāh

2:617

The commanders agreed that none among the sons of caliphs was more virtuous or intelligent than Muḥammad b. al-Wāthiq. His mother was a slave concubine (*umm walad*) named Qurb. He had been among those who had been sent to Baghdad during the days of al-Mu'tazz. He was brought back,<sup>3815</sup> and when he arrived they swore allegiance to him. Their support for him was unanimous. The oath of allegiance to him was sworn on Tuesday, 3 nights remaining in Rajab in the year 255.<sup>3816</sup> He sat in open court on Thursday after allegiance had been sworn to him. The documents said that al-Mu'tazz had removed himself from office, and so he became known as "The One who Deposed Himself."<sup>3817</sup>

Al-Muhtadī displayed the finest conduct and the most praiseworthy views. He presided in person over the sessions in which petitions and complaints were heard,<sup>3818</sup> personally dealt with matters of state, and signed official documents in his own hand. He put a stop to frivolous entertainments and gave precedence to people of learning. He would appear one day dressed in a certain way, and it would remain the same for many days without his changing it.

Şâlih (b. Waṣīf) and Bāyakbāk wielded the greatest influence over him. Şâlih brought Aḥmad b. Isrā'il and ʻIsā b. Ibrāhīm b. Nūḥ from prison to the Bāb al-Āmma, where they were flogged to death.

<sup>3814</sup> 27 Rajab 255 = July 11, 869. According to al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, 3:1709, this was the date of his deposition; his death took place on 2 Sha'bān (July 16).

<sup>3815</sup> That is, to Samarra.

<sup>3816</sup> That is, on the day of the deposition of al-Mu'tazz.

<sup>3817</sup> Arabic *Khāli' Nafsihi*. This may echo the title bestowed on the unfortunate al-Amīn, *al-Makhlū'* (the Deposed One).

<sup>3818</sup> Arabic *mazālim*.

Al-Hasan b. Makhlad was set free, and Ahmād b. al-Mudabbir was restored to the department of the land tax in Egypt, a position he retained for seventy<sup>3819</sup> days. Then Ahmād b. Tūlūn received a letter from Bāyakbāk ordering the dismissal of Ibn al-Mudabbir and the reappointment of Muḥammad b. Hilāl. He carried out the order.

The people of Ḥimṣ rose up against Muḥammad b. Isrā’īl. He left fleeing, but Ibn ‘Akkār<sup>3820</sup> overtook him. A battle ensued between them in which Ibn ‘Akkār was killed. Ibn Isrā’īl returned to the province.

(Al-Muhtadī) sent al-Mu’tazz’s mother Qabiha, al-Mutawakkil’s sons Abū Ahmād and Ismā’īl, and ‘Abdallāh b. al-Mu’tazz to Mecca. Later they were brought back to Iraq.

2:618 He wrote | to all of those who had been engaged in sedition or had seized local control with guarantees of safe-conduct. He wrote in similar fashion to Īsā b. Shaykh al-Raba‘ī and ordered him to send all that he held of the revenues of Egypt and other places as well. When Ibn Shaykh refused, al-Muhtadī wrote to Ibn Tūlūn, ordering him to march against Ibn Shaykh. He did so, but on reaching al-‘Arish he received a letter ordering him to withdraw, so he withdrew without having engaged in fighting.

Ibn Shaykh engaged Amājūr al-Turkī, the governor of Damascus, in battle. Amājūr defeated him and killed his son Manṣūr. Ibn Shaykh therefore retreated and took his family members to Tyre, where he fortified himself.

A Ṭālibid named Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad, a descendant of ‘Umar b. ‘Alī, also known as al-Ṣūfi, rose up in the region of Upper Egypt. Also in the same region, a man claiming to be ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd b. ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb rose up in arms against the government.

The position of the master of Basra<sup>3821</sup> became stronger. He marched on al-Ubulla and sacked the town. Factionalism<sup>3822</sup> caused such feuding among the people of Basra that they burned down each other’s houses.

<sup>3819</sup> Following M *sabīn* (clearly written); ed. Leiden (following C) has the graphically similar *tisīn* (ninety).

<sup>3820</sup> Ibn ‘Akkār: unidentified. None of the parallel sources mentions him.

<sup>3821</sup> Arabic *ṣāhib al-Baṣra*. This was ‘Alī b. Muḥammad, a figure of obscure origin; he is said to have laid claim to various genealogies. He is credited by al-Ṭabarī with having organized the so-called Zanj revolt, a rebellion by East African slaves and freedmen working in the salt-flats near Basra. Al-Ya’qūbī refers to him only in passing (here and at ed. Leiden, 2:620), but al-Ṭabarī provides a long account of the Zanj movement (*Ta’rīkh*, 3:1742 ff.; trans. David Waines, *The History of al-Tabarī*, XXXVI, 29 ff.); see also the article by Alexandre Popovic in *EI*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. ‘Alī b. Muḥammad al-Zanjī, and by G. S. P. Freeman-Grenville in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *al-Zandj*.

<sup>3822</sup> Arabic *‘asabīyya*, usually implying tribal rivalries.

Al-Muhtadī turned against the Turks and decided to give preference to the Abnā'. When the Turks learned of this, they became estranged from him and began to slander him openly. He therefore had a group of them brought before him and ordered them beheaded, including Bāyakbāk, their leader. When the Turks assembled and rioted, al-Muhtadī came out to confront them, sword in hand, with a copy of the Qur'ān hanging from his neck. He appealed to the populace<sup>3823</sup> and sanctioned killing Turks, seizing their property, and sacking their homes. However, the Turks overwhelmed him, | the populace abandoned him, and he was left standing alone. Having received a number of wounds, he fled into the home of one of the commanders, a man named Ahmād b. Jamīl. The Turks overtook him, seized him, and bore him away on his mount, his wounds dripping blood. They called on him to abdicate, but he refused. He died two days later. His death took place on Tuesday, 14 nights before the end of Rajab in the year 256.<sup>3824</sup> His caliphate lasted one year less eleven days.

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### The Days of Ahmād al-Mu'tamid 'Alā-llāh

Ahmād al-Mu'tamid 'alā-llāh b. Ja'far b. al-Mutawakkil was given the oath of allegiance on the day that al-Muhtadī was killed: Tuesday, 14 nights remaining in Rajab in the year 256, corresponding to the non-Arab month of Ḥazīrān (June). On that day the Sun was in Leo, 27° 28'; the Moon in Aquarius, 8° 22'; Saturn in Sagittarius, 25° 30', retrograde; Mars in Leo, 3° 40'; Venus in Leo, 1° 44'; and Mercury in Gemini, 9° 33'.

Al-Mu'tamid appointed 'Ubaydallāh b. Yahyā b. Khāqān as vizier and put him in charge over his affairs. The caliph sent letters announcing the oath of allegiance to the provinces. The oath of allegiance was administered in Khurāsān by Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir b. 'Abdallāh b. Ṭāhir; in the districts of the Euphrates by Mālik b. Ṭawq al-Taghbī; in Diyār Muḍar, Diyār Rabi'a, and the district<sup>3825</sup> of Qinnasrīn by Abū l-Sāj Dīwdād<sup>3826</sup> | al-Uṣrūshānī; and in Egypt by Ahmād b. Ṭūlūn al-Turkī. In Palestine, 'Isā b. Shaykh b. al-Salīl al-Raba'i refused to take the oath. One of the Turks—his name was Amājūr—was dispatched against him with a force of 700 Turks. When Amājūr reached Damascus, 'Isā

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<sup>3823</sup> Arabic *al-āmma*, the populace at large.

<sup>3824</sup> 16 Rajab 256 = June 19, 870; cf. the slightly different dates in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 3:1813, 1831.

<sup>3825</sup> Reading *jund*; both MSS have a corrupt reading.

<sup>3826</sup> M, C, *ibn Dāwūd*; corrected by ed. Leiden (which mistakenly retains *ibn*); cf. above, ed. Leiden, 2:583, and the note there.

b. Shaykh marched out against him from Palestine. Having reached the gate of Damascus, he besieged Amājūr. When the siege tightened around Damascus, Amājūr and his men left the city. One of ʻIsā b. Shaykh's sons, named Manṣūr, and one of his lieutenants, named Ẓafar b. al-Yamān, who was known as Abū l-Ṣahbā', pursued them. Amājūr and his men attacked them, killing Manṣūr b. ʻIsā b. Shaykh and capturing the man known as Abū l-Ṣahbā'. He was beheaded and gibbeted. ʻIsā b. Shaykh withdrew to al-Ramla.<sup>3827</sup>

The rebel leader in Basra, who claimed to be of the family of Abū Ṭālib—his name was ‘Alī b. Muḥammad<sup>3828</sup>—marched on al-Ubulla. He plundered the town, laid it waste, and set it on fire. Saʻīd b. Ṣalīḥ marched against him, engaging him near the [Abū] al-Khaṣīb River.<sup>3829</sup>

Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn, the governor of Egypt, received letters from al-Mu'tamid ordering him to restore the offices of the land tax to Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Mudabbir. The latter was imprisoned in his custody, and Muḥammad b. Hilāl was administering the land tax. Ibn al-Mudabbir was released from prison on Saturday, 7 nights remaining in Dhū l-Qaʻda in the year 256,<sup>3830</sup> and assumed administration of the land tax. His imprisonment had lasted 9 months and 25 days.

In this year, some members of the Banū Hilāl<sup>3831</sup> and some of the people of Mecca clashed during the Station at Mount ʻArafāt.<sup>3832</sup> People from each group were killed. | The master of the pilgrimage that year was al-Husayn b. Ismāʻil al-Ṭāhirī, and Aḥmad b. Ismāʻil b. Yaʻqūb, who was nicknamed Kaʻb al-Baqar,<sup>3833</sup> led the people in the pilgrimage rites.

<sup>3827</sup> This is a slightly different and more detailed account of the event mentioned above in the reign of al-Muhtadī, ed. Leiden, 2:618.

<sup>3828</sup> This was the head of the Zanj movement mentioned above, ed. Leiden, 2:618.

<sup>3829</sup> Neither ms has "Abū" in the name of the river; corrected by the Leiden editor—see Waines, *The History of al-Tabari*, xxxvi, pp. xix, 109, and index.

<sup>3830</sup> 23 Dhū l-Qaʻda 256 = October 22, 870.

<sup>3831</sup> The Banū Hilāl were a tribe in Najd in the interior of the Arabian peninsula. According to al-Ṭabarī, *Taʼrīkh*, 3:1338, they had allied themselves with the Banū Sulaym in the depredations against Medina during the reign of al-Wāthiq and were pacified by Bughā al-Kabīr after he had pacified the Banū Sulaym in 230/845 (cf. the notice in al-Yaʻqūbī, ed. Leiden, 2:586–587, where, however, the Banū Hilāl are not mentioned). For the subsequent history of the tribe, its emigration to Egypt and then to North Africa, see the article by J. Schleifer in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Hilāl.

<sup>3832</sup> That is, at the ceremonial "standing" in the plain before Mount ʻArafāt that marks the climax of the pilgrimage. It falls on 9 Dhū l-Hijja, which in 256 would have fallen on November 7, 870.

<sup>3833</sup> The name is written as Kiʻāb in the mss; corrected by the Leiden editor on the basis of

Following the death of Bāyakbāk al-Turkī, al-Mu'tamid transferred the latter's appointments over Egypt and elsewhere to Yārjūkh<sup>3834</sup> al-Turki. Yārjūkh al-Turki wrote to Aḥmad b. Tūlūn al-Turkī, the governor of Egypt, confirming him in his duties.

Al-Mu'tamid appointed Muḥammad b. Harthama b. A'yan over Barqa. Muḥammad reached al-Fustāṭ in the month of Rabi' II in the year 257,<sup>3835</sup> and then marched on to Barqa.

Al-Mu'tamid sent al-Ḥusayn the Eunuch (*al-Khādim*), who was known as 'Araq al-Mawt,<sup>3836</sup> to ʻIsā b. Shaykh, who had taken control of Palestine, with an offer of safe-conduct for his person, his property, and his children and a pardon for what he had previously done, along with his appointment over Armenia. ʻIsā accepted the offer and departed from the province in Jumādā II in the year 257.<sup>3837</sup> He turned over all that was in his possession to Amājūr al-Turkī, but failed to return a single dirham of the revenue.<sup>3838</sup>

A great fire appeared in the sky, moving from east to west and then dispersing. It was followed by a great crash and an earthquake. This occurred at sunrise, eight nights remaining in Rajab,<sup>3839</sup> corresponding to the non-Arab month of Ḥazīrān (June).

Aḥmad b. Tūlūn transported the revenue collected in the treasury in Egypt to the Commander of the Faithful, al-Mu'tamid. It amounted to 2,100,000 dirhams. He led the cavalry personally and transported the *tirāz*, the *khaysh*, and the wax.<sup>3840</sup> He vouched for the amount of the payment himself and,

al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, 5:298 (§ 3653), where his name is given as Ka'b al-Baqar Muḥammad [b. Aḥmad] b. ʻIsā b. Ja'far Ibn al-Mansūr. As the Leiden editor notes, a similar name is given in Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 7:11; cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 3:1841, where the full name (but not the nickname) is given as Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ʻIsā b. Abī Ja'far al-Mansūr, making it clear that the man was the great-grandson of the caliph al-Mansūr. Aḥmad b. Ismā'il b. Ya'qūb and Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ʻIsā would seem to be two different people, with the name of the latter having fallen out due to a lacuna.

<sup>3834</sup> Undotted in both MSS; the Leiden editor transcribed it as Yārjūj, but Yārjūkh is the form found in al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh*, 3:1707, and *passim*.

<sup>3835</sup> The month began on February 26, 871.

<sup>3836</sup> The nickname means "Sweat of Death."

<sup>3837</sup> The month began on April 26, 871.

<sup>3838</sup> Perhaps referring to the revenue from Egypt that he had seized; see above, ed. Leiden, 2:618.

<sup>3839</sup> 22 Rajab 257 = June 15, 871.

<sup>3840</sup> *Tirāz* were the linen bands embroidered with the name of the caliph or his representative and worn as insignia of office (see the article by Sanders et al. in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v.). *Khaysh* was a coarse, loose linen made with flax of poor quality and used in the manufacture

having delivering it to Amājūr al-Turkī and having his receipt of it witnessed,  
 2:622 Ibn Tūlūn departed for al-Fustāṭ. | Al-Mu'tamid bi-llāh wrote to Ahmad b.  
 Tūlūn, appointing him over Alexandria in place of Ishāq b. Dīnār b. 'Abdallāh.  
 Ahmad b. Tūlūn proceeded to Alexandria in the month of Ramaḍān in the year  
 257.<sup>3841</sup>

Aḥmad al-Mu'tamid bi-llāh appointed Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Mudabbir over the land tax of the Syrian districts, removing him from control of the land tax of Egypt. He appointed Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b.<sup>3842</sup> Shujā', known as Ibn Ukht al-Wazīr,<sup>3843</sup> over the land tax of Egypt. He arrived in al-Fustāṭ in the month of Ramaḍān in this year. Al-Mu'tamid removed Shuqayr the Eunuch (*al-Khādim*), known as Abū Ṣuhba, from the office of the intelligence services (*barūd*) in Egypt and replaced him with Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ahwāzī, who arrived (in Egypt) in Shawwāl of this year.<sup>3844</sup>

In this year, Aḥmad b. Tūlūn sent a Turk named Māṭā'ān<sup>3845</sup> with 1,000 horsemen to accompany the pilgrimage caravan from Egypt. He ordered him to enter Medina and Mecca armed and in the company of a guard and to do the same at Mount 'Arafāt. He did so, appearing at 'Arafāt with banners, drums, and arms.

In this year, the man who pretended to be of the Family of Muḥammad<sup>3846</sup> entered Basra. He plundered the city and burned the congregational mosque. One of the Turks, a man named Muḥammad al-Muwallad, was sent out against him, but when the pretender learned of this, he departed without confronting al-Muwallad.

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of sacks, wrappings, and rudimentary tents (Ch. Pellat in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v.). For the last item, M clearly reads *al-sham'* (wax)—the word is undotted in C. The mention of wax as a special product of Egypt is strange. A copyist's error may have substituted *al-sham'* for *al-ṣamgh*, the term for gum arabic, which was brought to Egypt from the Sudan.

<sup>3841</sup> The month began on July 23, 871.

<sup>3842</sup> "Ibn" is not present in ed. Leiden. In M, the copyist first wrote Aḥmad b. al-Mudabbir Shujā'. He or a reader drew a line through "al-Mudabbir," but left "ibn" uncancelled. The copyist of C omitted both words. Cf. al-Kindī, *Kitāb al-Umarā'*, 217, where his name is given as Abū Ayyūb Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Shujā'.

<sup>3843</sup> The name means "the Vizier's Sister's Son."

<sup>3844</sup> The month began on August 22, 871.

<sup>3845</sup> Conjectured reading; the name is otherwise unknown.

<sup>3846</sup> Following M, *al-mudda'īlā āl Muḥammad*; ed. Leiden, following C, omits *ilā āl Muḥammad*, leaving simply "the man who claimed," i.e., the pretender. This was the leader of the Zanj rebellion, 'Ali b. Muḥammad, who has been mentioned above.

In this year, the affair of the man known as Abū 'Abd al-Rahmān al-'Umari became serious.<sup>3847</sup> Declaring himself at war against the government officials,<sup>3848</sup> he engaged Shu'ba b. Ḥarkān,<sup>3849</sup> Ahmad b. Ṭūlūn's companion, and clashed with him at Aswān.

In this year, factionalism<sup>3850</sup> arose in Palestine between the Lakhm and the Judhām. The ensuing conflict between them took lives on both sides. 2:623

In this year, al-Fadl b. al-'Abbās b. al-Ḥasan b. Ismā'il b. al-'Abbās b. Muḥammad led the people on the pilgrimage.

Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Mudabbir left al-Fustāṭ for the Syrian districts in Muḥarram in the year 258<sup>3851</sup> and took charge of the Syrian districts. [...] He made for the city of Dimyāṭ and assumed control over the offices of the land tax.<sup>3852</sup>

In this year, Muḥammad al-Muwallad al-Turkī entered Basra and expelled the man who pretended to be of the Family of Muḥammad and his following from it. Some people returned (to Basra), but they found not a single habitable dwelling.

In this year, the army in Barqa rose up against Muḥammad b. Harthama b. Ayyān, the head of the auxiliary security service (*ma'ūna*) and drove him from the city. [...] <sup>3853</sup> to al-Fustāṭ.

In this year, Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn made the Ṭālibids leave Egypt for Medina, sending people to escort them. Their departure took place in Jumādā II.<sup>3854</sup> One of the descendants of al-'Abbās b. 'Alī stayed behind, desiring to go to the Maghrib instead. Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn arrested him, had him flogged 150 strokes, and had him publicly paraded around al-Fustāṭ.

<sup>3847</sup> Reading with M, *qawiyā*, but the second letter of the word looks more like a *rā'* than a *yā'*. Ed. Leiden emends to *bada'a* (began).

<sup>3848</sup> Arabic *ash'hāb al-sulṭān*.

<sup>3849</sup> The reading of the name is conjectural.

<sup>3850</sup> Arabic *'asābiyya*, implying tribal strife.

<sup>3851</sup> The month began on November 18, 871.

<sup>3852</sup> There is no record of Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Mudabbir's having returned to Dimyāṭ or held office again in Egypt. Indeed, "When Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn occupied Damascus, in 264/877, Ibn al-Mudabbir was after a short time again arrested ..., sentenced to pay a *muṣādara* of 600,000 dirhams, sent to Egypt and kept in prison until his death" (H. L. Gottschalk in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ibn al-Mudabbir). The easiest solution is to assume a lacuna before the sentence. Accordingly, the subject of "He made for the city of Dimyāṭ" would be someone whose name has dropped out of the text.

<sup>3853</sup> A lacuna is visible in both MSS.

<sup>3854</sup> The month began on April 14, 872.

In this year, pestilence broke out in Iraq and many people died. A man would leave his home and die before he could return. It is reported that 12,000 persons died in Baghdad in a single day.

In this year, Abū Ayyūb Alḥmad b. Muḥammad—Ibn Ukht al-Wazīr—the head of the department of land tax in Egypt, enlarged the congregational mosque in Egypt with an addition to the back of it.

2:624 In this year, Abū Alḥmad b. al-Mutawakkil ‘alā-llāh<sup>3855</sup> set out with a large force against the rebel in Basra, the man who pretended to be of the Family of Abū Ṭālib. The army, the supplies, and the weapons were on boats, but a fire broke out on the boats and they burnt up. Abū Alḥmad turned back.

In this year, Alḥmad b. Ṭūlūn exacted the oath of allegiance to himself from the army, the Shākiriyā, the freedmen (*mawālī*), and the rest of the people (*al-nās*): they were to treat as enemies all whom he treated as enemies, treat as friends all whom he treated as friends, and make war on whomsoever he made war.

In this year, Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Yahyā al-Armanī led the summer campaign. Shuqayr<sup>3856</sup> the Eunuch (*al-Khādim*), al-Mutawakkil's client, arrived to carry out a ransoming of prisoners. The opposing sides gathered at the Lamos River and carried out the ransoming, with (the Muslims) imposing as a condition on the Byzantines a truce of four months. This occurred in the month of Ramaḍān in the year 258.<sup>3857</sup>

In this year, Yārjūkh al-Turkī was killed in Samarra. The oath of allegiance was sworn to Alḥmad b. al-Muwaffaq b. al-Mutawakkil as heir apparent, and he was given the title of al-Mu’taṣid. Yārjūkh's responsibilities regarding Egypt and other assignments were transferred to him and he was prayed for from the pulpits of Egypt.

Al-Faḍl b. al-‘Abbās b. al-Ḥasan led the people in the pilgrimage. Earthquakes, strong winds, and darkness struck the people of the areas around Medina—the Banū Sulaym, the Banū Hilāl, and other Qays tribes, along with the other Bedouins. They fled to Medina and to Mecca to seek refuge around the Prophet's tomb and the Ka‘ba. They brought with them some of the possessions of the pilgrims whom they had robbed along the way. They reported that a large number of them had perished in the desert. This occurred in the year 259.<sup>3858</sup>

<sup>3855</sup> Known in the sources typically as al-Muwaffaq (d. 278/891), he served as regent and virtual caliph under al-Mu’tamid, largely on the basis on his close relations to the military command. See the article by H. Kennedy in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Muwaffak Ṭalḥa b. Dja‘far.

<sup>3856</sup> Following M (first two letters undotted); ed. Leiden reads Shanīf; cf. 2:615.

<sup>3857</sup> The month began on July 11, 872.

<sup>3858</sup> 259 A.H. = November 7, 872 – October 26, 873.

In this year, the water of the Nile turned a yellowish color and remained in that state for days before it returned to its former color.

In this year, | Abū Ṣuhba Shuqayr the Eunuch (*al-Khādim*) and Ibn Muṭahhar al-Ṣan‘ānī, the head of the intelligence services (*barīd*) in Egypt, died.<sup>3859</sup> 2:625

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3859 A short colophon follows in M: "Finished is what is extant of the History of Wādiḥ the Secretary, may God have mercy upon him and forgive him. God bless His Messenger our Master Muḥammad, his family, and his companions, and grant them peace."



*Indices*

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